PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE-SEMINAR OF TAMIL STUDIES

MADURAI

INDIA

JANUARY 1981

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MADURAI - TAMIL NADU - INDIA
JANUARY 1981

VOLUME ONE

EDITED BY
M. ARUNACHALAM

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TAMIL RESEARCH
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FOREWORD

The Fifth International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies was to have been held in Dakar (Senegal), under the auspices of President Senghor of Senegal, but in October 1978 the Government of Tamil Nadu, after obtaining the consent of President Senghor, invited me to convene it in Madurai in January 1980 in collaboration with the Madurai Kamaraj University. I was reluctant to undertake this responsibility owing to my advancing age (84) but I was persuaded to do so by friends. In September 1979 it was decided to postpone the Conference to June 1980, as the general elections to Parliament in the country were declared to take place in December 1979-January 1980. Soon after, elections for the State Legislature were also declared and the Conference had to be further postponed to January 1981. This suited the convenience of the foreign scholars also.

Consequent on the successive postponements, there was a feeling that the conference may be further postponed and in this climate the scholars delayed sending their research papers. After they were assured that there would be no further postponement, the scholars sent in their papers and hence the receipt of papers towards the end was somewhat large and the Editor found some difficulty in coping with the work. The Editor is to be congratulated on the excellent manner in which he has done the work.

The Chairman, the Secretary – Treasurer and the Members of the Steering Committee have done outstanding work for the success of the Conference.

The Government of Tamil Nadu is to be congratulated on the total financial assistance they extended to the Conference.

Madras,
30th March 1981.

A. SUBBIAH
Convenor

IN MEMORIAM

Thiru A. Subbiah, the Convener of the V International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies at Madurai passed away on 25th May 1981, hardly four months after the conclusion of the Conference. It is noticed that no meeting of Tamil Scholars has been held so far to condole the death of Thiru A. Subbiah. This indifference has been due to two reasons: the first is that most pedants not only in Tamil nadu, but also abroad, regarded A. Subbiah as a mere banker and as a trespasser in the field of Tamil language and literature; the second reason is that most Tamil scholars are ignorant of the outstanding contribution which A. Subbiah made in the cause of Tamil in foreign countries and at International Conferences.

Subbiah was a thorough cosmopolitan. He had firm belief in the great Tamil ideal–

> "Every country is my native land,
> and every man, my kinsman". *Purananuru*

Though he belonged to a very orthodox Saivaite Velalar family in Tirunelveli, he had great contempt for the caste system which he regarded as contrary to the Tamil genius. In fact, he gave his daughter in marriage to a Thevar by caste and two of his sons have married American girls. He has also an American son-in-law.

It is true that he was General Manager of the Indian Overseas Bank; but in that capacity he proved his mettle as an independent and fearless administrator. He went to many foreign countries and established branches of the Indian Overseas Bank. During that period he made friends with distinguished scholars in foreign countries, who evinced a keen interest in Tamil studies. He voluntarily retired from banking service in 1952 much against the desire of the management who wished him to continue. But Subbiah wanted time for his cultural pursuits and for the rest of his life he devoted himself to a study of Tamil grammar, especially *Thol-kappiam*. He purchased at very great cost most modern books on linguistics and made an intimate study of the principles of linguistics. His great love of Tamil and his undoubted erudition in linguistics as applied to the Tamil language are amply evidenced by the several original and learned papers he contributed at several International Conferences including the ones held at Paris, in Mexico and at Madurai (vide his Paper on "Tamil and the Dravidians", which has been published in this volume). He was Co-founder for the *Tamil Culture* which was the research organ of the IATR and was responsible for sponsoring many research papers through its columns including his own papers.

Of the several scholars connected with the International Association of Tamil Research, A. Subbiah, next to Fr. Thani Nayagam, contributed most towards the spreading of the message of the Tamils in foreign countries. To my knowledge, after his 70th year, he went round the world at least three times, and in the course of his tours, he went to different states in Europe, U.S.A., Canada and South America, contacted University Professors, who were interested in oriental studies, and persuaded most of them, to install chairs for Tamil in their Universities. At the Paris Conference of the I.A.T.R., the draft Constitution of the organization prepared by A. Subbiah, with some help from me, was put up for consideration before the primary members of the I.A.T.R. hailing from 32 countries. Delegates had no access to this meeting. The only Tamils who were present at this meeting were A. Subbiah, Thaninayagam and myself. After the Constitution was considered clause by clause, it was passed by the Assembly. At once, a Member from the U.S.A. leapt to his feet and moved a resolution congratulating A. Subbiah for all the good work he had done abroad in the cause of Tamil. This resolution was passed unanimously with a standing ovation from all those who attended the meeting. Only then I realized in what great esteem A. Subbiah was held by scholars of different countries of the world.

And that is why the Government of Tamil Nadu requested A. Subbiah to take over the responsibility of convening the V International Conference at Madurai. When the request was received by A. Subbiah, he was 82 years old, and he was reluctant to undertake the burden of convening the Conference. On the assurance of some of his close friends, who promised to share the burden with him, he ultimately accepted the request of the Government of Tamil Nadu, and set about with great vigour to correspond with his scholar friends all over the world. The conspicuous success of the V International Conference must be attributed undoubtedly to the generous assistance rendered by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Thiru M. G. Ramachandran and his Ministerial colleagues and official subordinates: but then it must be remembered that the success of the Conference from the academic point of view was not only due to the organizing ability but also the widespread international contacts, that A. Subbiah enjoyed.

He had been closely following the printing work of these volumes but the hand of death snatched him away before he could see the release of the volumes. May the soul of this sturdy champion of the Tamil language, literature and culture rest for ever in peace.

Madras
August 10th, 1981.

S. MAHARAJAN

EDITOR'S NOTE

The International Association of Tamil Research has pleasure in presenting the proceedings of the Fifth International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, which met at the Madurai Kamaraj University in January 1981.

We are grateful to the Government of Tamilnadu for their liberal grant towards the cost of publication of these Proceedings.

A sense of poignant grief attaches to the publication of these volumes in this that thiru A. Subbiah, Treasurer of the IATR and Convenor of the V International Conference, who was the Chief guiding force behind the Conference and the publication of the papers, passed away on 25-5-81 before the actual publication of the Proceedings. He was eagerly awaiting the completion of the printing but did not live to see the completion and publication.

The Proceedings appear in three volumes, papers in English being included in Volumes I and II and papers in Tamil in a separate volume as Volume III. Volume I contains papers up to Section 7, and Volume II contains papers from Section 7a to Section 17. Volume III contains Tamil papers on all the sections.

Though the final form of the volumes is the entire responsibility of the Editor, he has always been guided by the advice of Tiru A. Subbiah and Justice Maharajan who however never interfered with the editorial work. Tiru R. Muthukumaraswamy, Secretary of the Conference, was also helpful on many an occasion. The papers could have passed through a greater amount of screening but it was ultimately decided to include in the Proceedings all the papers read at the conference.

The transliteration of proper names can be seen here to be not of a uniform pattern. The style sheet proposed to be adopted by the IATR was communicated to the contributors but only a very few had chosen to adopt it. The style sheet was intended to accommodate the Tamil spelling as it was written and not as it was pronounced. It could not naturally represent Sanskrit and other foreign sounds. A large number of contributors had adopted the transliterated forms in general use, some others had adopted the Tamil Lexicon style of spelling and the others had used the standard diacritical style. But the last could not be printed because of the printing difficulties in the Press. But there has been no pedantic insistence on any single style of transliteration. We request the readers to bear with us in this regard.

On behalf of the IATR sincere and profound gratitude is here expressed to all those who contributed to the success of the Conference.

Most readers of these Proceedings do know that Tiru M. G. Ramachandran, Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, had taken great interest in the conference and in its success. He had also taken a personal interest in the accommodation and the food arrangements for the delegates. He never liked to assume a place of importance in the Conference by taking a seat on the dais but chose to remain as one among the audience. To him and to the other Hon'ble Ministers who were Vice-Presidents of the Steering Committee, particularly to Tiru R. M. Veerappan and Tiru C. Aranganayakam, the Steering Committee is grateful for their solicitude and care.

We hereby express our gratitude to Dr. V. Sp. Manikkam, Vice-Chancellor, and Tiru B. Murugan, Registrar, of the Madurai Kamaraj University for their unstinting help and co-operation at all times, as for example in immediately arranging for an additional hall and attendant facilities where they became necessary after the first day's Conference.

Tiru J. Mohan helped in proof reading from the beginning of the printing work and we had the assistance of Tiru Somalay also in proof reading for the Second Volume and part of the Tamil Volume. Our thanks are due to both of them.

It was hoped to release these volumes even before the commencement of the Conference in January 1981 but that could not be done because of the late submission of most of the papers. This has been explained in the Secretary's note.

A further feature may also be mentioned. The Proceedings of the Second International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies held in Madras in January 1968 were published in October 1971 and so the present publication although delayed is now released after seven months of the conference and is indeed a matter for satisfaction. The 1968 volume contained 956 pages in English (both volumes) and 240 pages in Tamil while the present 1981 volumes contain nearly 3,000 pages over 2400 pages in English and over 600 pages in Tamil and are printed on paper of a larger size.

To the early contributors and the scholars at large who had expected to have the volumes in January '81 but waited for more than eight months, we offer our sincere apologies for the delay in the publication.

May these papers, by the Grace of Sakti and Siva enshrined in this hallowed city of Madurai of many Tamil Academies of the Pre-Christian era, be of interest to Tamil lovers all over the world and inspire many such Conferences in the future.

Madras
Ist September 1981.

M. ARUNACHALAM
Editor

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V INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE - SEMINAR OF TAMIL STUDIES

A BRIEF REPORT

The V International conference–Seminar of Tamil Studies sponsored jointly by the International Association of Tamil Research and the Madurai-Kamaraj University was held between 4th and 10th January 1981.

At the request of the Government of Tamil Nadu, and the Hon. Chief Minister, Thiru M. G. Ramachandran in the month of October 1978, Thiru A. Subbiah, the Co-ordinator of the IATR agreed to conduct the V Conference in Tamil Nadu and opened the Conference Office at Adyar in February 1979. At that time it was planned to hold the conference in January 1980. A Steering Committee under the able Presidentship of Hon. Chief Minister, Thiru M. G. Ramachandran, was formed with Dr. Justice S. Maharajan as the Chairman of the Committee.

Invitations were sent to all the important Universities, Colleges, Institutions and Educational Bodies engaged in Tamil research requesting them to depute their scholars to attend the conference and present Research papers. Later on, due to the announcements regarding the Parliamentary and Assembly elections, the conference had to be postponed twice, from January to June 1980, and again from June 1980 to January 1981.

Finally the V International Tamil Conference was held in January 1981.

At Madurai

The Reception office of the V International Tamil Conference was set up at the Madurai Kamaraj University Campus in the Students' Study Centre building, adjacent to the Plenary Session Pandal and Dr. Mu. Va. Arangu. Thiru Manickam, the Interior Decorator, started setting up the office from 26th December 1980 and completed it on 1st January 1981.

The Reception office started functioning from 2nd January and Overseas delegates were registered from that day. Indian Delegates were registered from 3rd January. More than one third of the delegates were accompanied by their spouses.

A total number of 754 delegates from all the continents attended the conference - seminar. Apart from 291 delegates from India, there were 463 foreign delegates

from various countries, such as Australia, Bangla Desh, China, Czechoslavakia. Fiji, France, Greece, Hungary, Indonesia, Israel, Italy, Japan, Malaysia, Mauritius, Netherlands, Nigeria, Reunion Islands, Senegal, Singapore, Sri Lanka, South Africa, Sweden, Thailand, U.K., U.S.A. U.S.S.R., West Germany, West Africa etc.

Inaugural Function

The V International Conference - Seminar was formally inaugurated by Hon. Thiru. Sadiq Ali, the Governor of Tamil Nadu. Hon. Thiru M. G. Ramachandran, Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, presided over the function held at the Race Course Grounds, Madurai on 4th January 1981.

Research Papers

In March 1980, when it was decided to postpone the conference to January 1981, it was also decided that the research papers should be printed before the conference. Thiru M. Arunachalam was appointed Editor to edit the papers before they were sent to the Press.

Out of the 321 papers registered, only the texts of 50 papers were received by July 1980. During the July-September quarter, 100 papers were received. In the next quarter (October-December), the number of papers received was 150. During the duration of the Conference, 21 papers were received. These made it almost impractical to print the papers before the conference.

17 Research papers were printed and distributed at the conference along with abstracts for most of the papers.

Some of the papers contained observations on matters of controversy on international affairs; so it was felt desirable to have them screened by the Steering Committee before printing. The excessive length of many papers had also to be cut down.

Plenary Sessions

At the mass meeting convened on 4-8-1981 in the city of Madurai by the Tamil Nadu Government, a commencement of the Academic Conference was made by the announcement of the IATR and its work and the scope and aim of the present Conference to be held at the University Campus from the 5th January by the Chairman of the Conference.

The Plenary Sessions were held in the 'Tholkappiyar Arangu', a special pandal with a seating capacity of 5000 persons, erected near Dr. Mu. Va. Arangu. Under the Presidentship of Dr. Justice Maharajan the Conference-Seminar was inaugurated by the Founder-Member of the I.A.T.R. Thiru A. Subbiah on 5th January 1981 at 9 a.m.

The plenary sessions of the rest of the days were presided over by the following Dignitaries.

Jan.	6	Dr. K. Kailasapathy – Sri Lanka.
,,	7	Hon. Senator K. Raja – Malaysia.
,,	8	Hon. Justice P. R. Gokulakrishnan, Judge of the Madras High Court.
,,	9	Hon. Dr. V. R. Nedunchezhian, Minister for Finance.
,,	10	Dr. V. SP. Manickam, Vice Chancellor.

On each day three or four scholars presented their papers.

Obituary Notes on Rev. Fr. Thaninayagam, Dr. T. P. Meenakshisundaram and Dr. M. Varadarajan, personalities connected with the IATR, who had passed away since the last Conference, were read by Thiru A. Subbiah, Dr. S. Agastialingom and Dr. S. Shankar Raju Naidu respectively.

Representatives from many countries were allowed in the plenary sessions to express their views on the position of Tamil language and problems of Tamil people in their respective countries.

Hon. Chelliah Rajadurai , Hon. P. Amirthalingam, Hon. K. P. Ratnam, M. P., all from Sri Lanka, and Mr. Thevarasan and Mr. N. C. Naidoo from South Africa, spoke during these sessions.

Hon. Thiru E. K. Nayanar, the Chief Minister of Kerala attended one of the Plenary Sessions.

Hon. Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Thiru M. G. Ramachandran, was present among the audience on the 8th January. He also delivered an address.

Group Sessions

In the afternoons on 5th to 9th January 1981, Group Sessions were held in 12 rooms in the University Campus. On demand from the delegates, an extra room was made available from the 7th to the 9th to accommodate more papers.

The Chairman of each Group Session was chosen from a Panel already drawn up and approved by the Steering Committee.

Dr. M. Israel, Professor of Linguistics, Madurai Kamaraj University, was the Chief Coordinator for the Group Sessions. A team of 15 coordinators helped him in conducting the Group Sessions in the different rooms.

232 out of a total 321 papers received were presented at the Plenary Sessions and Group Sessions. Useful discussions took place in all the Sessions. The subject-wise break-up of the papers received is as follows:

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3.	Arts and Architecture	4
4.	Dance and Music	10
5.	Drama	6
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7b	Medieval Literature-Late	
7c	Literature-Modern	8
7d	Literature-Education	4
8.	Comparative Literature	11
9.	Children's Literature	2
10.	Folklore	11
11.	Overseas Tamil	15
12.	Philosophy and Religion	20
13.	Science and Technology	8
14.	Siddha Medicine	2
15.	Sociology	8
16.	Translation and Lexicography	9
17.	Miscellaneous	2
18.	Administration and Tamil	5
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The meagreness of the papers in the sections 2, 3, 6 and 7d is significant, as well as the large number of the papers in sections 1, 7 and 12.

Recording of the Proceedings

The Madurai Kamaraj University arranged tape recording of the entire proceedings of the Plenary Sessions. The Translation cell convened by the Government under the chairmanship of Dr. S. V. Subramaniam has covered the whole proceedings and has translated the salient points of the speeches and discussions.

A team of 15 teachers deputed by the Chief Educational Officer, Madurai, under instructions from Dr. K. Venkatasubramaniam, Director of School Education, prepared a summary of the Group Sessions.

Madras,
30th July 1981.

R. MUTHUKUMARASWAMY
Secretary and Treasurer

V INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE - SEMINAR OF TAMIL STUDIES

THE STEERING COMMITTEE

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12. Thiru I. MAHADEVAN, Madras 35
13. Dr. R. NAGASWAMI Madras 28
14. Dr. M. NANNAN, Madras 1
15. Dr. Avvai D. NATARAJAN, Madras 9
16. Thiru P. NEELAKANTAN, Madras 14
17. Dr. RAMA PERIYAKARUPPAN, Madurai 21
18. Dr. S. RAMANATHAN, Madras 5.
19. Thiru M. A. M. RAMASWAMY, Madras 20
20. Dr. S. SINGARAVELU, Malaysia
21. Thiru Mi. Pa. SOMASUNDRAM, Madras 40
22. Dr. U. S. SHANMUGAM, Madras 9
23. Thiru Puthaneri R. SUBRAMANIAM, Madras 18
24. Dr. V. I. SUBRAMANIOM, Trivandrum
25. Thiru Kudanthai P. SUNDARESAN, Kumbhakonam
26. Thiru A. L. VALLIAPPA, Karaikkudi
27. Prof. S. VIDYANANTHAN, Sri Lanka
28. Dr. K. VENKATASUBRAMANIAM, Madras 6

PRELIMINARY WORK

V INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE – SEMINAR OF TAMIL STUDIES 4th JANUARY TO 10th JANUARY 1981, MADURAI

The Steering Committee have pleasure in submitting herewith the Report of the V International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies, held in Madurai from the 4th January to 10th January 1981. The conference was a distinct success.

The report consists of two parts:

(a) From the time the Co-ordinator of the International Association of Tamil Research received a request from the Minister for Education on 13-10-78 requesting him to hold the Conference in collaboration with the Madurai Kamaraj University at Madurai to the issue of various circulars from the Conference to delegates and prospective delegates.

(b) Reading of the Research Papers.

The Steering Committee thank the Government of Tamilnadu and the Madurai Kamaraj University for all the assistance extended by them.

C. ARANGANAYAKAM
Minister for Education

Chairman of the Board of Governors of the International Institute of Tamil Studies, Madras and Pro-Chancellor of Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai.

Fort St. George
Madras – 600 009

13th October 1978

Sir,

The Government of Tamilnadu will be happy if I.A.T.R. will convene the Fifth International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies at Madurai from the 2nd to 8th of January 1980.

We shall be glad if you take necessary steps to invite scholars from all over the world to participate in the conference and submit papers on all aspects of Tamil Studies.

We know that acceptance of this request will involve considerable expenditure in connection with the accommodation of the invitees and their tour to places of cultural interest.

The Government of Tamil Nadu is eager and ready to meet the expenditure and to persuade the Madurai Kamaraj University to make all the necessary arrangements for accommodation, boarding etc.

Please inform me as to –

(i) Whether you are prepared to arrange for the conference at Madurai in the 1st week of January 1980; and

(ii) if so, what would be the preliminary arrangements you would like to make and the particulars of probable expenditure you will have to incur for meeting the preparatory work.

Awaiting an early reply from you,

Yours Sincerely,
C. ARANGANAYAKAM

To
Thiru A. SUBBIAH,
Co-ordinator,
International Association of Tamil Research,
No. 2, Balaram Road, Adyar, Madras-20.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TAMIL RESEARCH

A. SUBBIAH
Co-ordinator

(Temporary) 2, Balaram Road,
Adyar, Madras - 20
19th October 1978

To

The Hon'ble Thiru C. ARANGANAYAKAM
Minister for Education,
Government of Tamil Nadu,
Madras – 600 009

Dear Thiru Aranganayakam,

Sub: V International Conference - Seminar of Tamil Studies.

I thank you for your kind letter of 13th October '78 inviting the International Association of Tamil Research to hold the V International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies at Madurai in collaboration with the Madurai Kamaraj University from 2nd to 8th January 1980 and to invite scholars from different parts of the world to submit papers on all aspects of Tamil Studies and correlated subjects and otherwise participate in it.

2. We are glad to note from your letter that the Government of Tamil Nadu will persuade the Madurai Kamaraj University to make all the necessary arrangements for accommodation, boarding etc. It is necessary–

(i) to provide a large hall to accommodate 1,500 persons and 10 rooms to accommodate 100 persons each, the former for holding large seminars and the latter for holding group sessions (if a large hall is not available we may have finely decorated rainproof pandal),

(ii) to provide five-star hotel accommodation and boarding for all scholars sponsored by the International Association of Tamil Research,

(iii) to provide parking, postal, telegraph and telephone facilities near the venue of the conference,

(iv) to provide adequate medical facilities for the delegates,

(v) to provide luxury buses for delegates to travel to centres of archaeological and architectural importance and detail expert tourist guides to accompany them,

and (vi) to lend for the use of the Steering Committee a Government Staff Car and a driver with effect from 1-11-1978 returnable on 30-4-1980.

3. We propose to engage suitable premises at Madras for housing the Office of the Steering Committee of the Conference and we append below the estimate of the proposed expenditure in this connection. As the number of delegates, particularly foreign delegates, is difficult to estimate in advance, these will have to be considered only as estimates and the actual expenditure will vary according to the number of delegates who accept the invitation. The period of the Steering Committee will be from 1st November, 1978 to 30th April, 1980, i.e. 18 months.

Rent at Rs. 700	Rs. 12,000	
Staff	Rs. 1,50,000	This expenditure can be reduced by Government lending the services of competent staff.
Printing of Ordinary papers	50,000	Quotations will be called for.
Printing of proceedings	1,00,000	We propose to apply to the UNESCO for a grant in this behalf and if we succeed in obtaining a grant this amount will be correspondingly reduced.
Inland postage, telegram & telephones	20,000	
Foreign postage, telegram & telephones	60,000	
Furniture (Typewriter, Gestetner duplicator, Four tables and twenty chairs)	25,000	
Metallic Souvenir (Medallion)	15,000	May be donated or prepared at low cost by Government units.
Plastic bags	25,000	
	4,57,000	
Petrol & Sundries	43,000	
TOTAL	5,00,000	

In regard to staff as it is essential to have experienced staff and as there is not sufficient time at our disposal it would be better if the Government of Tamil Nadu would lend the services of suitable staff.

For the last Conference held at Madras in 1968 the expenditure was about the order of Rs. 4,00,000 exclusive of the cost of accommodation, boarding etc. which was borne by the Government of Tamil Nadu and members of the Public.

Taking into consideration the hike in prices and cost of services in the intervening period, an extra expenditure of Rs. One Lakh is inevitable. The payments to the IATR can be made in instalments of Rs. 50,000 by the Madurai Kamaraj University. The first payment should be made immediately.

4. I propose to have the following Steering Committee at Madras:

President:	Hon'ble Thiru M. G. RAMACHANDRAN Chief Minister of Tamilnadu
Vice-Presidents:	Hon'ble Thiru C. ARANGANAYAKAM Minister for Education Government of Tamilnadu Hon'ble Thiru R. M. VEERAPPAN Minister for Information & Tourism, Government of Tamilnadu
Chairman	Thiru Justice S. MAHARAJAN
Vice-Chairmen:	Dr. V. C. KULANDAISAMY Vice-Chancellor Madurai Kamaraj University Thiru C. G. RANGABASHYAM, I.A.S., Commissioner & Secretary to Government, Education Department
Secretary & Treasurer:	Thiru R. MUTHUKUMARASWAMY Librarian, Maraimalai Adigal Library, Madras
Joint Secretary:	Thiru B. MURUGAN Registrar, Madurai Kamaraj University
Members:	1. Thiru R. NAGASWAMY Director of Archaeology...(Archaeology) 2. Dr. K. VENKATASUBRAMANIAN Director of School Education, Madras...(Education)

3. Thiru I. MAHADEVAN, I.A.S....(Epigraphy)
4. Dr. K. K. PILLAY...(History)
5. Thiru Veenai S. RAMANATHAN...(Music)
6. Prof. C. BALASUBRAMANIAM
   Professor of Tamil,
   University of Madras...(Tamil)
7. Thiru M. A. M. RAMASAMI
   Chettinad House, Adyar...(Reception & Tours)

Convenor: Thiru A. SUBBIAH

(The Steering Committee will have powers of co-option.)

The Vice-Chancellor, Madurai Kamaraj University can form local Committees in which Heads of Departments of that University may be asked to take a leading part. The Mayor of Madurai, the Vice-Chancellor of Madurai Kamaraj University and others can also form the Local Reception Committee.

With kind regards,

Yours Sincerely,
A. SUBBIAH
Co-ordinator

V INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE-SEMINAR OF TAMIL STUDIES

(Madurai – 2nd to 8th January 1980)

PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENT

1. The International Association of Tamil Research (IATR) proposes to hold the V INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE-SEMINAR OF TAMIL STUDIES at Madurai in collaboration with the Madurai - Kamaraj University from the 2nd to the 8th January 1980.

2. **Madurai — Cultural Capital of Tamilnadu:** Madurai, as is well known, is the cultural capital of Tamilnadu, as Madras is its political capital. Earlier in 1968 the II International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies was held in Madras and was attended by about 100 foreign delegates from about 20 different countries and a further 100 delegates from Tamil speaking countries like Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Singapore, Fiji and Mauritius. The Conference at Madras was a great success and different language groups in India, including Sanskrit, have attempted to emulate it.

3. **Madurai — Ancient City:** Madurai is an ancient city where the three Tamil Sangams of the pre-Christian era are reported to have flourished and where Kannaki, the heroine of Cilappathikaram, is reported to have established that denial of justice, even if not deliberate, is fatal to a king.

4. **Madurai — A Busy Town Today:** Madurai, today, is a busy city with a population of about one million. It is the seat of an affiliating University, apart from the one in Madras which is also affiliating and the one in Chidambaram (Annamalai) which is residential. Usually, in the month of January it has a mild and cool climate (warm clothing optional). It is 500 kilometers distant from Madras – a little over an hour's journey by air or a night's journey by train. It is centrally situated within easy distance from Tiruchirappalli, Thanjavur, Chidambaram and Pondicherry in the north; Rameswaram, Thiruchendur, Thirunelveli. Suchindram and Kanyakumari (Cape Comorin) in the south; and Coimbatore in the west.

Travel to the temples at these centres will be arranged for the delegates and their wives. While it would not be possible to cater to their travel expenses from their home country, their expenses including boarding and lodging in Madurai and travel expenses to the temple centres will be met by the organisers.

5. **Registration:** Delegates who intend attending the Conference are requested to communicate with

The Secretary and Treasurer,
V International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies,
2, Balaram Road,
Adyar, Madras – 600 020, India

for purposes of registration.

6. **Other delegates who may be interested in attending the Conference:** If you are aware of any other delegates, who may be interested in attending the Conference, kindly communicate their names and addresses, to enable us to send them this announcement.

Madras – 20

12–3–'79.

A SUBBIAH

Convenor

V INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE-SEMINAR OF TAMIL STUDIES

Madurai - **2nd to** 8th January 1980

INVITATION

We have pleasure in inviting you to the above Conference. Kindly return the attached memo of particulars in triplicate duly filled in.

2. **Research Papers if any for the Conference:** Only research papers on some subject connected with Tamil (ancient, medieval, or modern) or ancient Dravidian will be accepted for the Conference, i.e., they should not be a paraphrase in the main of other publications. They should be original, research-oriented and bring out a new point of view. They should normally be typed in foolscap pages (one side only) with 45 lines of 12 to 15 words.

The research paper should bear at the head the TITLE OF THE PAPER, the AUTHOR'S NAME and the FULL NAME AND ADDRESS OF THE UNIVERSITY or other Institution to which he belongs. The paper should normally be written in English but those who find it difficult to do so may write in Tamil. The papers in Tamil will be published in a separate volume.

A summary of the paper will have to be prepared in a **single** foolscap sheet (with 45 lines of 12 to 15 words) and sent to the Conference Secretariat to be included in the Abstracts, not later than 31st August 1979.

The full paper should reach the Secretariat not later than 31st October 1979.

3. **Travel from Madras to Madurai:** This can be done either by air or by train. As most foreign delegates will be travelling by air they will have no difficulty in getting to Madurai and on the 1st and 2nd January 1980; there will be Conference Guides to take care of them. If they come on other dates, they will have to communicate their exact date of arrival to the Registrar, Madurai Kamaraj University, who will arrange to have them met. If for any reason they travel by train, they will have to communicate the day of arrival to the Registrar similarly to enable him to send Conference Guides to escort them.

4. (a) **Boarding and Lodging at Madurai:** This will be the responsibility of the Organisers at Madurai, who will bear all expenses in this connection. Transport to and from the venue of the Conference will be arranged by the Organisers.

(b) **Meals:** Food will be provided by the Organisers and to enable them to do so, delegates will advise the Organisers in advance their food preferences, i.e.,

Vegetarian	—	European
-do-	—	Indian
Non-Vegetarian	—	European
-do-	—	Indian

(c) **Laundry:** Laundry facilities will be available; particulars can be ascertained from the Organisers.

(d) **Banking:** Banking facilities will be provided.

(e) **Mail:** Mail will be distributed at the Hotel or other lodging place.

(f) **Medical Attention:** Medical attention will be arranged.

(g) **Information Bureau:** There will be an Information Bureau at the Conference where Delegates can apply for information not supplied here.

5. **Registration:** The Registration fee is $ 10 for foreign delegates, or Rs. 50/- for Indian delegates payable at any time upto 31st August 1979.

6. **Printed Proceedings:** The Printed Proceedings may cost Rs. 200 or more but those who wish to register in advance will get them at a concessional rate of Rs. 150 if paid before the close of the Conference.

2. Balaram Road, Adyar, Madras - 600 020
7-4-1979.

A. SUBBIAH
Convenor

V INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE-SEMINAR OF TAMIL STUDIES

(2nd January to 8th January 1980)

1. Name
2. Date of Birth
3. University/Institution where now working
4. In what capacity

5. Present Address
6. Educational Qualifications
7. Will you be accompanied by your wife?
8. Food preferences

   European Vegetarian
   Indian Vegetarian
   European Non-vegetarian
   Indian Non-vegetarian

9. Remarks

Passport Photo Copy

Signature

V INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE-SEMINAR OF TAMIL STUDIES

Under date 12–3–79, the **Preliminary Announcement** was sent to you. Under date 7-4-79 the **Invitation** was sent. We now enclose a **Style Sheet** for preparing papers for the Conference.

Style Sheet

(1) The Manuscript should be typed in heavy weight paper of good quality, not in paper used for carbon copies. **It must be in triplicate.**

(2) All copies must be **typewritten on one side of the paper only.**

(3) Leave not less than **1 inch margin** on all four sides.

(4) Number the pages of the copy on the UPPER RIGHT CORNER. Include all sheets of the copy in a single pagination.

(5) **Corrections:**

(i) Make all corrections of the copy as neatly as possible. Avoid 'delete' and other signs used in correcting proof.

(ii) An error discovered while typing should be X-ed out. An error discovered later should be corrected with a fine pen (**not** a ball point pen).

(iii) If a page has five or more corrections, retype it.

The following system of transliteration should be adopted:

Short Vowels	**Long Vowels**	**Stops**	**Nasals**	**Semi-Vowels and Laterals**
a அ	aa ஆ	k க	ng ங	y ய
i இ	ii ஈ	c ச	nj ஞ	v வ
	ai ஐ	d ட	nh ண	r ர
u உ	uu ஊ	T ற	N ன	L ழ
	au ஔ	t த	n ந	l ல
e எ	ee ஏ	p ப	m ம	lh ள
o ஒ	oo ஓ			

V INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE-SEMINAR OF TAMIL STUDIES

(Madurai-June 23 to 28, 1980)

Telegram: VINTAMIL

18 Tiruvenkadam Street
Adyar, Madras – 20
South India

3rd October 1979

Dear Colleague,

As you know, the V International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies was originally proposed to be held in the first week of January 1980. But, unfortunately, due to unforeseen cirucmstances, the Election Commissioner has decided to hold the General Elections to the Indian Parliament in that very week of January 1980. It has, therefore, been decided to postpone the Conference to be held at Madurai to the period commencing from the 23rd June 1980 to the 28th of June 1980 (both days inclusive).

May we request you kindly to put up with this inconvenience and make the Conference a success? We have made the necessary arrangements for your free accommodation and boarding during your sojourn at Madurai. The Government of Tamil Nadu have made elaborate arrangements to take the delegates at the Government's cost to places of historical interest. If for any reason you are unable to come at the adjourned date, please advise us to that effect. The last date for receipt of the Conference Papers remains unchanged, as they have to be printed meantime.

Please acknowledge receipt of this letter.

Yours faithfully,
A. SUBBIAH
Convenor

V INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE SEMINAR OF TAMIL STUDIES

(Madurai-January 4 to 10, 1981)

Telegram: VINTAMIL

18, Tiruvengadam Street,
Adyar, Madras 20
South India

Dated: 5th March 1980

Dear Colleague,

As you know, the V International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies originally proposed to be held in the first week of January 1980 was postponed, to be held at Madurai from the 23rd June 1980 to the 28th of June 1980. The Election Commissioner has since decided to hold the Assembly Elections in Tamil Nadu in June 1980. It has therefore been decided to postpone again the Conference to be held at Madurai to the period from the 4th January to 10th January 1981.

May we request you kindly to put up with this inconvenience and make the Conference a success? We have made the necessary arrangements for your free accommodation and boarding during your sojourn at Madurai. The Government of Tamil Nadu have made elaborate arrangements to take the delegates at the Government's cost to places of historical interest. If for any reason you are unable to come at the adjourned date, please advise us to that effect. The last date for receipt of the Conference Papers has been fixed at 30-4-1980.

Please acknowledge receipt of this letter.

Yours faithfully,
A. SUBBIAH
Convenor

TAMIL AND THE DRAVIDIANS

A. SUBBIAH

Tamil is the oldest of the living languages in the world. If recent historical developments prove correct, Tamil may be considered the proganitor of all language families in the world including Indo-European. The Dravidians, in the broader sense in which Bishop Caldwell used it, have become the most serious problem to world scholars, as they are unable to name any country as their original homeland. **From Finland in the Northernmost part of Europe to Australia in the South Eastern part of the world, traces of their contact have been discovered.**

In a paper published in the "Indo-Asian Culture", a semi-government publication, **Professor S. K. De,** an eminent Sanskritist, said:

> **The Dravidians are a mystery people of the world.** Attempts have been made to affiliate them racially with the Abyssinians and linguistically with Uralic races; such is the wide range followed in the choice of their affinities. From cultural evidence again it has been supposed that **they were originally a Mediterranean people and were possibly allied to the ancient Cretans and Lycians.** But we cannot yet be definite; and in reality we must confess our ignorance as to when and how they came to India, if at all they came from outside.
>
> **Although Southern India is now their stronghold, there is ample evidence, linguistic and otherwise, to show that at one time they extended from Baluchistan to Bengal**...Philologists of Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages have demonstrated how **the Aryan speech has been profoundly influenced since Vedic times by Dravidian languages in phonetics, vocabulary, syntax and in the general modification of grammatical forms.** Dravidian influences on other aspects of culture have also been gradually recognised and are now becoming a matter of such general acceptance among scholars that it is not necessary here to dilate upon it... A great deal of the fundamental basis of Hindu thought and Hindu religious notions including myths and legends on the one hand, and rituals on the other, are not Aryan in their origin but probably Dravidian or Dravidian and Kol mixed.

Alexander Kondratov, the Russian Scholar, writes in his 'The Riddles of the Three Oceans', published by Progress Publishers, Moscow in 1974:

> **The greatest controversy...centres round the Tamils, a Dravidian people with a distinctive culture. Scholars have named various countries and even**

continents as the original home of the Tamils. The Tamils themselves or their historians, to be more exact, believed that in the remote past the Tamil homeland was situated in the southern part of NAWALAM, a large island that was one of the first land masses to arise near the Equator, and that Lemuria, a lost continent considered to be the cradle of civilisation, was part of the same region.... The most surprising part of it is that **a study of the world's earliest civilisations reveals a whole series of riddles that can be solved only by using the hypothesis of Lemuria**, a large land mass in the Indian Ocean that was inhabited... by human beings who had reached a high level of civilisation.

Professor K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar writes in his article 'Dravidian Language and Literature' in the "Age of Imperial Unity" published by the Bharathiya Vidya Bhavan (1951):

The geographical limits of Thamilakam have been thus defined in an old work: Venkatam (i.e. the Tirupathi Hills) in the North, Kumari in the South and the sea on the East and West. Kumari is said to refer not to Cape Comorin but **to a river of that name now lost in the Indian Ocean.**

Indus Valley Civilisation

Donald A. Mckenzie, in his Foreword to 'Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India' by Professor R. D. Bannerji, who discovered the Mohenjo-Daro site, wrote:

It has been established that a wonderful pre-Aryan civilisation existed in the Indus Valley many centuries before the period of the Aryan intrusions. The Aryans did not enter India till the 2nd millenium B.C.

Of very special interest is the restoration of the Dravidians to their proper place in history as influential shapers of Indian civilisation.

Professor Bannerji himself said:

The Dravidians were certainly far more civilised than the Aryan invaders. Gradually the Dravidians forgot that they could claim a civilisation much older than that of the new invaders and that their ancestors did not worship the rude primitive gods of the Aryans.

In his book 'The Riddles of the Three Oceans', Kondratov wrote:

The surprising thing is that at least two out of three of the world's earliest civilisations turn out to be connected with people who spoke Dravidian Languages. The discovery, in the twenties and thirties, of a proto-Indian civilisation in the valley of the Indus is considered by scientists to be the most important archaeological find of the twentieth century....Although

no one has yet succeeded in deciphering the writing, a team of Soviet Researchers has used electronic computers to establish the family to which the language of the hieroglyphic inscriptions belongs... The report was prepared under the auspices of the All-Union Institute of Scientific and Technical Information and the Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. To begin with the team used computers to make a statistical analysis of the texts in order to get a picture of the abstract grammar of "Language X", as they called the language of the proto-Indian texts.

One by one, Sanskrit, Hittite, Hurrian, Rapanui and many other languages were weeded out .. **Finally only one claimant was left, the Dravidian language, whose structure turned out to be the closest to that of "Language X."**

Professor A. L. Basham, Professor of Asian Civilisations, Australian National University, refers to this civilisation in his book 'The Wonder That Was India' and writes:

Who were the people who built this great civilisation? Some Indian historians have tried to prove that they were the Aryans, the people who composed the Rig Veda, but **this is impossible.**

The modern South Indian is usually a blend of Mediterranean and proto-Australoid, the two chief ethnic factors in the Harappa culture.

Dravidians and the Brahuis

Dr. N. Lahovary, the Roumanian Diplomat, writes in his book 'The Dravidian Origins and the West' (1963):

Baluchistan appears, moreover, to have been a connecting link between the civilisations of the Iranian plateau and that of the Indus in the fourth and third millenia, as already mentioned by Sir Aurel Stein, a quarter of a century ago. We may think that the ancestors of the Dravidians came from even further afield than the highlands of Persia, as the Brahuis of Central Baluchistan have kept to our days the tradition of a north-Syrian origin from the Aleppo region. **This would be a new argument in favour of the opinions of Professor Nilakanta Sastry and of the author as to the Western and Peri-Mediterranean first home country of the Dravidians**.. For Professor Nilakanta Sastry (A History of South India) the ancestors of the Dravidians must have constituted, at one time, a part of the non-Semitic population of Iran and Mesopotamia and their origin was perhaps even more remote from India.

Dr. Gilbert Slater in his "Dravidian Element in Indian Culture" (1924) wrote:

> The tribes that speak Brahui resemble to a considerable extent the people of South India in physical characteristics and temperament and show a marked contrast to their neighbours, so that it is clear that **in their case affinity of language is the result of affinity of race.**

Dravidians and South Mesopotamians

Writing about the developments in Southern Mesopotamia, Kondratov writes in his book 'The Riddles of the Three Oceans':

> **It was in Southern Mesopotamia that a sudden cultural upsurge took place in the second half of the 4th millenium B.C., leading to the rise of a civilisation there.** Scholars explain that this was because a new energetic population at an advanced stage of development reached Southern Mesopotamia. This population could not, obviously, have been the Sumerians. The culture, one of the world's earliest, was first revealed during excavation on a hill which the local inhabitants called al-UBEID or al-UBAID. Hence, these unknown people with their own language are known as the Ubaids... We find that **quite.a number of Ubaid words are similar to Dravidian words or the roots of Dravidian words. Most of the skulls of Proto-Indians are identical with the skulls of the Ubaids.**

Dravidians, the Basques and the Caucasians

Dr. N. Lahovary writes in his book "Dravidian Origins and the West", after a study of the Dravidian languages and Basque, a pre-Indo-European language which still survives in the Pyrenees on the borderland between France and Spain:

> Dravidian, although today a very composite group of languages as a result of numerous different linguistic contacts in the course of time, is not an isolated group, but the survivor of an incorporating or polysynthetic family of pre-Mediterranean and pre-Hamito-Semitic languages (as shown by its more archaic structure) which stretched, some five or six thousand years ago without a break, over a vast zone of the near east. Under the pressure at different times of the Semitics, of the Indo-Aryans and of many other peoples of various origins, this vast unity broke up into scattered fragments. **Only the Basques and Caucasians, thanks to their refuge in mountains, and the Dravidians, have been able to preserve their ancient language. Some of these groups,** more isolated, or more numerous and compact, and temperamentally perhaps less prone to innovating, **kept their language in their most archaic forms, like the Dravidians, Caucasians or Basques.**

In an article in the Reader's Digest for April 1979 headed "Solving the Lost Continent Mystery", Thomas Fleming wrote:

> Equally fascinating are the connections between the Basques of Spain and the Mayan Indians, who built most of the New World pyramids. Both Basques and Mayans share aquiline profiles. Although the Basque language is considered unique, Muck writes of **a Basque missionary who was amazed to discover that an isolated tribe of pure Mayans in Gautemala understood him.**

Dravidians and Fenno-Ugrians

Professor Pentti Aalto, University of Helsinki (Finland) referred to the affinities between Dravidian and Fenno-Ugrian at the II International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies in 1968 (Volume I) and pointed out:

> **There are in any case several apparent typological resemblances between Fenno-Ugrian and Dravidian. The phonetic structure of the word stems is very simple: in initial position only one consonant, in intervocalic position in general only single consonants or clusters of two consonants are permitted...** During the development from proto-Ugrian to Finnish, fifteen of the original twentyeight consonants including some comparable to the cerebrals of Dravidian were lost but this has not affected the phonetic structure of Finnish words. Probably no voiced series g, d, b existed in FU, as the existence of a voiced initial in proto-Dravidian has been denied by Burrow. The consonant gradation, which is one of the most characteristic features of Finnish, has been traced back to the proto-Fenno-Ugrian, even to proto-Uralian.
>
> **Both the Uralian and the Dravidian languages operate exclusively with the addition of suffixes in the derivation as well as in the inflexion of words.** The adjectives are in both families inflected like all other nouns. There seems further to have been no original difference between nominal and verbal stems, and finite verbal forms can still be traced back to original nouns.
>
> In the light of Collinder's results of comparing Swedish and Greek we are, in my opinion, entitled to state that the **the Dravido-Fenno-Ugrian hypothesis is worth further consideration.**

Dravidians and the Australians

Referring to the similarity between the Dravidians and the indigenous tribes of Australia, Kondratov writes in his 'The Riddles of the Three Oceans':

> **The first students of Australian were struck by the similarity between the Australian aborigines and the dark skinned Dravidians.** How could the

likeness be explained? Anthropologists and ethnographers are still carrying on a heated debate about the Dravidian and Australian similarities. **As far back as in 1847** the Australian scholar **J. C. Prichard said that there is a kinship between the Australian language and the Tamil language.** About a century ago another Australian Scholar, William Bleak, showed that the Australian and Dravidian languages have a similar structure. **A monograph published in 1963,** "On the History and Structure of the Australian Language" by N. M. Homer of Lund, Sweden, **shows how the grammar and phonetics of the Dravidian and Australian languages coincide.** Every school boy knows that the boomerang is one of the most typical attributes of Australian culture. Yet few people besides ethnographers know that at the end of the last century the boomerang was found among the tribes of Southern India, and that these tribes spoke languages belonging to the Dravidian family.

Indo-European, IndoAfrican and Turanian Languages

In his work "Sanskrit, its Origin, Composition and Diffusion" (1944), Calvin Kephart, the American ethnographer and historian, wrote:

> It may be said, with reasonable certainty, **that the basic language from which all branches of the Aryan language as well as those of the Indafrican and Turanian languages had its origin** in a region adjacent to the Bay of Bengal, if not on the mainland of India, and **probably from a primitive language of the people whose descendents comprise the present Dravidian population of the Deccan.**

Tamil and the World

It would thus appear that, if Tamil has such wide affinities with languages in most parts of the world, and if the hypothesis of Lemuria is correct, it would not be surprising if all the languages of the world can be traced back to Tamil. In this connection H. D. Sankalia states: I WOULD INCLUDE ALL THAT COUNTRY IN SOUTH INDIA WHICH IS GEOLOGICALLY THE OLDEST PART IN INDIA AND IN THE WORLD.

The Tamil Language - Fixity

Bishop Caldwell in his "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages" (1875) refers to the extraordinary fixity of the Tamil Language and states:

> The earliest extant traces of the Dravidian languages which possess reliable authority are those with which we have been furnished by the ancient Greeks, and from an examination of the words which they have recorded, **we seem to be justified in drawing the conclusion, not only that the Dravidian languages have remained almost unaltered for the last two thousand years,**

but probably also that the principal dialects that now prevail had a separate existence at the commencement of the Christian era; **the art of writing had been introduced,** the grammar of the Dravidian languages had been fixed... before the arrival of the Greek merchants. The extraordinary fixity with which these languages appear to have been characterised ever since that period is in accordance with the history of all other Asiatic languages from the date of the commencement of their literary cultivation.

It is true it would now be difficult for Telugu to dispense with its Sanskrit, more so for Canarese and most of all for Malayalam, these languages having borrowed from Sanskrit so largely, and being so habituated to look up to it for help, that it would be scarcely possible for them now to assert their independence. **Tamil, however, the most highly cultivated** ab intra of all the Dravidian idioms can dispense with Sanskrit altogether if need be, **and not only stand alone, but flourish without its aid.**

The ancient classical dialect of the Tamil language, called **shen-Tamil or correct Tamil** in which nearly all the literature has been written, **contains exceedingly little Sanskrit. Tamil can readily dispense with the greater part or the whole of its Sanskrit and by dispensing with it rise to a purer and more refined style, whereas English cannot abandon its Latin** without **abandoning perspicuity.**

In his contribution to Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Calcutta, 1925 (Vol. III, Part 2) Dr. Gilbert Slater wrote:

We have here a languages system structurally entirely alien from the Indo-Germanic languages, one **which belongs to a more ancient type of language;** for the study of **inflections in the Indo-Germanic languages shows that these are the degenerate remains of separable additions to roots or stems,** and **in Tamil such linguistic decay has not taken place. The fact that the present day spoken and literary Tamil perpetuated a much more ancient stage in the evolution of language than that represented by even the most ancient Sanskrit seems to suggest that the Tamil language became fixed in its literary character at an extraordinarily ancient date, and points to an extraordinarily ancient Dravidic Civilisation.** Then again the wonderfully logical and subtle character of the language is such as to arouse the admiration of any student.

Tolkappiyam and Panini

Dr. P. S. S. Sastri, a great Sanskrit Scholar, in his book "History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil and their Relation to the Grammatical Literature in Sanskrit" (1934) wrote:

I may also mention here that **Tolkappiyanar has worked out a beautiful Tamil Grammar** on the models of Sanskrit Pratisakhyas, Yaska's Nirukta,

> Panini's Siksha and **Panini's Grammar or that of his predecessors,** without doing the least violence to the genius of the Tamil language .. From the inscriptional and other evidences it is generally believed that the works of the Sangam period could not have been produced later than the 5th century A.D. and **some of them like Purananuru and Pathittuppattu could be taken to the beginning of the Christian era, and Tolkappiyam is earlier than all of them.** Consistently wiih the widely prevalent belief, it could hardly be held that Tolkappiyanar had for his model the Katantra Grammar whch is said to belong to the first century after Christ.

Remembering that at the time the Sanskritists were very influential, it is not surprising that Dr. Sastri does not give a date for Tolkppiyam but is content with saying that it must be dated much earlier than the 1st century A.D. It will also be observed that **Dr. Sastri** does not say that Tolkappiyam was indebted to Panini; he **says simply that Tolkappiyam is indebted to Panini or his predecessors.** The real truth is that Tamil and Sanskrit are totally different languages in the ordinary sense and Tolkappiyam is not indebted to any Sanskrit work.

Calvin Kephart, the American historian and ethnographer, wrote in his work "Sanskrit Language, Its Origin, Composition and Diffusion":

> **Although definitely a classical language, it was not in even official use during the 2nd century B.C., when the successors of the Graeco-Bactrian King Eucratides struck coin in that country in the native Brahmi alphabet which was the ancient parent of all modern Hindu scripts,** including on the one hand the Nagari or Devanagari and on the other the widely dissimilar forms of the Kanarese, Tamil, Telugu and other southern dialects and whose place of origin is being sought by scholars.

Actually Panini's classical Sanskrit did not come to the South till 4th century A.D. or later. Tolkappiyam must be dated somewhere in the centuries behind the Sangam works, i.e. in any case not later than 5th or 6th century B.C. but it may go back further still. On the ground that he was indebted to Aindiram, a supposed Sanskrit Grammatical work mentioned in Tolkappiyam's preface, some people date it in the 4th century B.C. but there is no warrant for this as Aindiram is not even well known in Sanskrit and besides there is no reason to think that Aindiram refers to this grammar if one such existed and not to five divisions of grammar as it would mean in ordinary Tamil. Even Tamil Scholars are apt to accept such misconceptions.

THE TAMIL ALPHABETIC SYSTEM

The Tamil Alphabetic System consists of the following:

Vowels (உயிர்)

Manner of Articulation	**Short** (குறில்)	**Long** (நெடில்)
I Central – Open	a (அ) (as in luck)	aa (ஆ) (as in father)
II Front – Close	i (இ) (as in sit)	ii (ஈ) (as in see)
		ai (ஐ) (as in my)
Front – midway	e (எ) (as in bet)	ee (ஏ) (as in mate)
III Back – Close	u (உ) (as in full)	uu (ஊ) (as in rule)
		ow (ஔ) (as in cow)
Back-midway	o (ஒ) (as in mobility)	oo (ஓ) (as in noble)

Consonants (மெய்)

	Stops	Nasals	Partial contact	(இடையினம்)
			ya(ய)	
Uvular	(வல்லினம்)	(மெல்லினம்)	as in yard	
Back Palatal	ka (க) as in skill	nga (ங) as in sing		
Middle Palatal	ca (ச) as in chat	nja (ஞ) as in ginger		
Front Palatal	da (ட) as in hard	nha (ண) as in urn		ra (ர) as in room
	Ta (ற) as in tea	Na (ன) as in ant		La (ழ) not in English
Alveolar				la (ல) as in love
do				lha (ள) as in hurl
Dental	tha (த) as in anthem	nha (ந) as in month		
Bilabial	pa (ப) as in paper	ma (ம) as in man	va (வ)	
Labio-Dental			as in love	

(The nearest English equivalents are given.)

The above is the order in which the Tamil Alphabet must have appeared in Tolkappiyam, but, to suit the Sanskritists it has been altered slightly to correspond to the Sanskrit Alphabetic System. This is not the only thing in which the Sanskritists had attempted to make alterations in Tolkappiyam. In the seventh sutra reading:

> *கண்ணிமை நொடியென அவ்வே மாத்திரை*
> *நுண்ணிதின் உணர்ந்தோர் கண்ட வாறே*

the word *மாத்திரை* is used to denote time but except in one or two sutras elsewhere the word *மாத்திரை* is not used but the Tamil word *அளபு* is used, which would indicate that *மாத்திரை* is an interpolation. Also from the sutra 232 of Seyyul Iyal reading:

> *ஞகாரை முதலா ளகாரை யீற்றுப்*
> *புள்ளி இறுதி இயைபெனப் படுமே.*

it is clear that *ள* ends the Tamil alphabet and not *ன* as mentioned in sutra No.1. This corresponds with the order as shown above and is in accordance with sutra No. 78 of Tolkappiyam.

The unnatural additions to the alphabet in the form of ஹ, ஸ, ஷ, க்ஷ, ஜ have fortunately been dropped in the course of the past few years and the Alphabetic System has now regained its original form.

Allophones of stops

At the beginning of words, sounds are pronounced normally, but in the middle of words the **stop** consonants undergo allophonic changes as noted below:

When a stop consonant comes after

a nasal,	it becomes voiced
the same or another stop/consonant	it becomes aspirated
a medium consonant or a vowel	it becomes fricative

In the phrase *கங்கைக் காய்களாக* the four different pronunciations are illustrated.

Bh. Krishnamurthy, Oosmania University, in his article 'Some observations on the Tamil Phonology in the 12th and 13th Centuries, read at the II International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies (1968), said:

> Professor Chatterji wrote a few years back that voicing of intervocalic stops developed only during the Middle Tamil period which according to his classification is 1350-1800 A.D. We see such a stand cannot be maintained any more. **Lenisness of intervocalic single stops as a phonetic feature could be reconstructed even to P S Dr., if not to P Dr**... Professor T. P. Meenakshi-sundaram considers this phonetic tendency to be evident in Tamil only

from the 9th century onwards... If the data should be interpreted historically, **voicing of intervocalic single stops became an accomplished fact at the phonetic level even in P S Dr.** whereas in the postnasal position this was realized only in the early Tamil Period.

The fact of course is that Tamil has been using the positional allophones from earlier times perhaps long before even Tolkappiyam came into existence, not only in regard to voicing of stops in intermediate positions after homorganic nasals but also fricatisation in prevocalic positions and after a medium consonant. Otherwise like Telugu, Kanarese, and Malayalam, Tolkappiyam would have introduced the voiced and fricative forms as regular consonants. This is in accordance with the pattern of Tolkappiyam that all sounds from a single position are natural "allophones" of the consonant in that position based on the preceding consonant or vowel. When Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam borrowed Sanskrit sounds they followed the Sanskritic pattern, although they had to subscribe to the Tamil pattern also when the former did not apply.

Vocalic Consonants (உயிர் மெய்)

In addition to Vowels and Consonants, a third class of speech sound is recognised in Tamil as a separate UNIT, the CV combination. Thanks to the experiments carried out in the Haskin's Laboratories and elsewhere, it is now generally recognised that the CV combination cannot be analysed into separate speech units. It is significant that, in naming the CV unit, the order is reversed and the unit is called by a term which means VOCALIC CONSONANT. It is now established through electronic recording that when CV sound is analysed the vowel cues precede the consonantal ones.

Word Initials (மொழிமுதல்)

All phonemes other than wholly or partly retroflexed sounds may occur as word initial, thus avoiding the need for the speech organs having to shift from their neutral position at the beginning of a word utterance. Similarly the back palatal nasal ng (ங) which is articulated from the extreme back palatal position is avoided as word initial.

The vocalic consonants yi, yii, ye, yee (யி, யீ, யெ, யே) are not permitted as word initials as the articulation of the vowels i, ii, e, ee (இ, ஈ, எ, ஏ) are close to and hence may be confused with the above Vocalic Consonants. This prohibition indicates the early grammarian's meticulous avoidance of sound confusion.

Similarly the Vocalic Consonants vu, vuu, vo, voo (வு, வூ, வொ, வோ) are not permitted as word initials, as they are apt to be confused with the vowels u, uu, o, oo (உ, ஊ, ஒ, ஓ).

Word Finals (மொழியீறு)

Only continuant sounds, oral or nasal, can occur as word final, stops being banned in that position. Its phonetic significance can be readily understood, as in actual utterance a stop cannot materialise unless followed by ever so slight a vocalic sound.

The back palatal nasal sound is also avoided as word final, as in the case of word initial.

Vowel Clusters (உயிர்ப் புணர்ச்சி)

In Tamil, clusters are permitted only where there will be no hiatus. As far as vowels are concerned, there will always be hiatus if two vowels are pronounced successively. Hence if a word with a final vowel is followed by a word with an initial vowel, the junction is effected by interposing the consonant y or v (ய, வ):

e. g. Kaalai edeNTaan	Kaalai EdeN Taan
காலை + எடென்றான்	காலையெடென்றான்
uNNudaiya udal	uNNndaiya VUdal
உன்னுடைய+உடல்	உன்னுடையவுடல்

Consonantal Clusters (மெய்ப் புணர்ச்சி)

Consonantal clusters are not permitted either in initial or final position in words. The two types of clusters freely permitted are:

(i) geminated consonants with the exception of r and L (ர, ழ)

(ii) nasals followed by homorganic stops.

Other clusters permitted are:

The glides y, r and L (ய, ர, ழ) may be followed by all non- retroflexed consonants, which may be further geminated or, in the case of nasals, followed by the homorganic stop. **Three consonant clusters occur only in these cases.**

Wholly or partly retroffexed consonants d, nh, T, N, l, lh (ட ண ற ன ல ள) may be followed by neutral consonants but not vice versa, as it is easier to move to a neutral position than to a retroflexed position without a hiatus.

Phonetic Stability of Standard Tamil

Bishop Caldwell, over a hundred years ago, and Dr. Gilbert Slater, about fifty years ago, have testified to the fixity of Tamil language but some Western linguists still cling to the view that Tamil is changing like all other languages. The reason is not far to seek. They are referring to the colloquial form (கொடுந்தமிழ்), which is naturallly different from the Standard form and is consequently changing. The change is, now, from colloquial to standard, instead of from one colloquial to

another. This is inevitable, as literacy grows in the country; that Standard Tamil is also changing is an illusion.

Till recently it was thought (sometimes even by Tamilians) that the spoken form takes precedence over the written form; over fifty years ago Leonard Bloomfield said:

> If there is any rivalry between speech forms, the chances are weighed in favour of the form that is represented by the written convention; consequently if the written convention deviates from the spoken form, people are likely to infer that there exists a preferable variant that matches the written form. Especially, it would seem, **in the last centuries, with the spread of literacy, and the great influx of dialect speakers and sub-standard speakers into the ranks of Standard speakers, the influence of the written form has grown.**

In the case of Tamil, however, the spoken form never took precedence over the written form. Since the written form had been standardised over 2000 years ago, the Tamils had been speaking the form corresponding to the written convention on all but colloquial occasions. **There is no reason why they should not continue to do so indefinitely.**

Western Linguists had until recently thought that 'Language Planning' was not possible and that languages must be allowed to take their own course. Recently there has been a welcome change and in 1971 a book was published under the title 'Can Language Be Planned' and Joan Rubin, one of its authors, writes under the caption 'A View Towards The Future':

> Language Planning is possible because language is, or can at least fruitfully be considered as, a resource, and as such it does get evaluated. To the extent that language is a resource, it can be subjected to alternative goals and strategies in order to exploit it. It is a known fact that people do evaluate their own and others' language.

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IN MEMORIAM

At the Plenary Session of the Conference that was held at the Madurai Kamaraj University, on the morning of Monday, 5th January 1981, reference was made to the passing away of Rev. Dr. Xavier S. Thaninayagam, one of the Founder-members of the I.A.T.R.

Rev. Dr. XAVIER S. THANINAYAGAM
2–8–1913 — 2–9–1980

Professor Thani Nayagam, who more than anyone else succeeded in creating international interest in Tamil Studies and who travelled abroad extensively in this connection, met during his travels, to quote his own words, "several scholars and persons of general culture who lamented the want of some means of contact with the Tamil world". To meet this want, he started in 1952 the publication of TAMIL CULTURE, a Journal in English. He said editorially:

"Nearly every generation during the last one hundred years has had a few men in South India and Ceylon, who realised the unique features of the Tamil language and literature and endeavoured to have their enthusiasm shared by others. A good number of these men were foreigners whose appreciation of Tamil culture was all the more noteworthy because of their scholarship in Latin and Greek.... So little has been accomplished in the meantime; so vast is the field that is offered for research....

"The neglect of studies and research concerning Tamil India can give room to gross errors and misleading judgements in the writing of Indian history and in exposition of Indian culture.... Tamil is as much a classical language with a classical literature as Greek or Sanskrit, with this difference that while her ancient contemporaries have changed beyond recognition or been long regarded as 'dead', Tamil continues to be one of the most vigorous of modern Indian languages and perhaps offers the only example in history of an ancient classical language which has survived to this day....

"To bring these to light, to make them available to as many people in the world as possible, is a duty that must be done in the interest of truth".

With the high standard of its research contributions, TAMIL CULTURE aroused the interest of many international scholars in Tamil Studies. Western Indologists in particular realised that, in their pursuit of Indology which had hitherto

been restricted to Sanskrit, there were serious gaps in knowledge which could be explained only through a study of Dravidian languages and cultures, but as there was no university or other institution in India which undertook research on Dravidian Studies on modern scientific lines, many of these scholars were keen on establishing an institutional base for such research. The opportunity was provided by the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists held in New Delhi in 1964, when several scholars of repute such as Prof. J. Filliozat (France), T. Burrow (U.K.), M. B. Emeneau (U.S.A.), F. B. J. Kuiper (Holland), Kamil Zvelebil (Czechoslovakia) and Xavier S. Thani Nayagam met and founded the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TAMIL RESEARCH. At the XXVII International Congress of Orientalists held in Ann Arbor (U.S.A.) in 1967, the IATR was unanimously elected as a member of the International Union of Orientalists, an organ of the UNESCO.

With a view to establishing contacts between scholars in different parts of the world who were interested in Tamil Studies, the IATR decided as a first step to convene once in 2 or 3 years an international Tamil conference giving such scholars opportunities for presenting research papers and participating in discussions with other scholars in the same or related fields.

The first Conference was conducted at Kuala Lumpur by Dr. Xavier S. Thaninayagam. He was also instrumental in convening the next Conference at Paris. He took a prominent part in the Madras Conference also and the next Conference in Jaffna owed everything to his indefatigable energy and vision. All the time he was the Professor of Tamil in the University of Malaya and had been responsible for the founding of chairs for the Tamil Language and Literature in many of the Universities in the U.S.A. and the European continent.

He passed away on the 2nd September 1980. This conference expresses its profound grief at his demise and prays that his soul may rest in peace.

SECTION I

LINGUISTICS AND GRAMMAR

THE TAMIL LANGUAGE

A. SUBBIAH

Tamil is the oldest of the living (i.e. spoken) languages in the world. If recent historical developments prove correct, Tamil may be considered the progenitor of all language families in the world including Indo-European. The Dravidians, have become the most serious problem to world scholars, as they are unable to name any country as their original homeland. *From Finland in the northernmost part of Europe to Australia in the south-eastern part of the world, traces of their contact have been discovered.*

In a paper published in the *Indo-Asian Culture*, a semi-government publication, Professor S. K. De, an eminent Sanskritist, said:

> *The Dravidians are a mystery people of the world.* Attempts have been made to affiliate them racially with the Abyssinians and linguistically with the Uralic races; such is the wide range followed in the choice of their affinities. From cultural evidence again it has been supposed that *they were originally a Mediterranean people and were possibly allied to the ancient Cretans and Lycians.* But we cannot yet be definite; and in reality we must confess our ignorance as to when and how they came to India, IF they at all came from outside.
>
> *Although Southern India is now their stronghold, there is ample evidence, linguistic and otherwise, to show that at one time they extended from Baluchistan to Bengal.*. Philologists of Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages have demonstrated how *the Aryan speech has been profoundly influenced since Vedic times by Dravidian languages in phonetics, vocabulary and syntax and in the general modification of grammatical forms.* Dravidian influences on other aspects of culture have also been gradually recognised and are now becoming a matter of such general acceptance among scholars that it is not necessary here to dilate upon it.... *A great deal of the fundamental bases of Hindu thought and Hindu religious notions including myths and legends on the one hand, and rituals on the other, are not Aryan in their origin but probably Dravidian or Dravidian and Kol mixed.*

Tolkappiyam and Panini

Dr. P. S. S. Sastri, a great Sanskrit Scholar, in his book "History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil and Their Relation to the Grammatical Literature in Sanskrit" (1934), wrote:

> I may also mention here that *Tolkappiyanar has worked out a beautiful Tamil Grammar* on the models of Sanskrit Pratisakhyas, Yaska's Nirukta, Panini's Siksha and *Panini's Grammar or that of his predecessors*, without doing the least violence to the genius of the Tamil language.. From the inscriptional and other evidences it is generally believed that the works of the Sangham period could not have been produced later than the 5th century A.D. and *some of them like Purananuru and Patittuppattu could be taken to the beginning of the Christian era, and Tolkappiyam is earlier than all of them.* Consistently with the widely prevalent belief, it could hardly be held that Tolkappiyanar had for his model the *Katantra* Grammar which is said to belong to the first century after Christ.

Remembering that at this time the Sanskritists were very influential, it is not surprising that Dr. Sastri does not give a date for Tolkappiyam but is content with saying that it must be dated much earlier than the 1st century A.D...It will also be observed that Dr. Sastri does not say that Tolkappiyam was indebted to Panini; he says simply that Tolkappiyam is *indebted to Panini or his predecessors.* The real truth is that Tamil and Sanskrit are totally different languages in the ordinary sense and Tolkappiyam is *not* indebted to any Sanskrit work.

Actually Panini's classical Sanskrit did not come to the South, till 4th century A.D. or later. Tolkappiyam must be dated somewhere in the centuries earlier than the Sangham works, i.e. in any case not later than 5th or 6th century B.C. but it may go even earlier still. On the ground that he was indebted to *Aindiram* a supposed Sanskrit grammatical work mentioned in Tolkappiyam's preface, some people date it in the 4th century B.C. but there is no warrant for this, as Aindiram is not even well known in Sanskrit and besides there is no reason to think that Aindiram refers to this grammar if one such existed and not 'five divisions of grammar' as it would mean in ordinary Tamil. Even Tamil Scholars are apt to accept such misconceptions.

In his contribution to Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Calcutta, 1925 (Vol. III, Part 2), Dr. Gilbert Slater wrote:

> *We have here a language system structurally entirely alien to the Indo-Germanic languages, one which belongs to a more ancient type of language;* for the study of inflections in the Indo-Germanic languages shows that these are the degenerate remains of separable additions to roots or

stems, and in Tamil such linguistic decay has not taken place. *The fact that the present day spoken and literary Tamil perpetuated a much more ancient stage in the evolution of language than that represented by even the most ancient Sanskrit seems to suggest that the Tamil language became fixed in its literary character at an extraordinarily ancient date, and point to an extraordinarily ancient Dravidic civilisation.*

Fixity

Bishop Caldwell in his "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages" (1875) refers to the extraordinary fixity of the Tamil Language and states:

> The earlier extant traces of the Dravidian languages which possess reliable authority are those with which we have been furnished by the ancient Greeks; and from an examination of the words which they have recorded, *we seem to be justified in drawing the conclusion, not only that the Dravidian languages have remained almost unaltered for the last* ***two thousand*** *years, but probably also that the principal dialects that now* prevail had a separate existence at the commencement of the Christian era; ***the art*** *of writing had been introduced*, the grammar of the Dravidian languages had been fixed.. before the arrival of the Greek merchants. The extraordinary fixity with which these languages appear to have been characterised ever since that period is in accordance with the history of all other Asiatic languages from the date of the commencement of their literary cultivation.

The Tamil Alphabetic System

The Tamil Alphabetic System consists of the following:*

Vowels (உயிர்)

Manner of Articulation	*Short (குறில்)*	*Long (நெடில்)*
I Central—Open	a—அ (as in luck)	aa—ஆ (as in father)
II Front—Close	i—இ (as in sit)	ii—ஈ (as in see) ai—ஐ (as in my)
Front—midway	e—எ (as in bet)	ee—ஏ (as in mate)

* The nearest English equivalents are given.

III Back—Close	u—உ (as in full)	uu—ஊ (as in rule) ow—ஔ (as in cow)
Back—midway	o—ஒ (as in mobility)	oo—ஓ (as in noble)

Consonants (மெய்)

	Stops *(வல்லினம்)*	*Nasals* *(மெல்லினம்)*		*Partial contact* *(இடையினம்)*
Uvular			ya—ய (as in yard)	
Back Palatal	ka—க (as in skill)	nga—ங (as in sing)		
Middle Palatal	ca—ச (as in chat)	nja—ஞ (as in ginger)		
Front Palatal	da—ட (as in hard) Ta—ற (as in tea)	nha—ண (as in urn) Na—ன (as in ant)		ra—ர (as in room) La—ழ (not in English)
Alveolar				la—ல (as in love)
—do—				lha—ள (as in hurl)
Dental	ta—த (as in anthem)	na—ந (as in month)		
Bilabial	pa—ப (as in paper)	ma—ம (as in man)		
Labio-Dental			va—வ (as in love)	

The above is the order in which the Tamil Alphabet must have appeared in Tolkappiyam, but, to suit the Sanskritists it has been altered slightly to correspond to the Sanskrit Alphabetic System. This is not the only thing in which the Sanskritists have attempted to make alterations in Tolkappiyam. In the seventh sutra reading:

கண்ணிமை நொடியென அவ்வே மாத்திரை
நுண்ணிதின் உணர்ந்தோர் கண்ட வாறே

the word மாத்திரை is used to denote time but except in one or two sutras elsewhere the word மாத்திரை is not used but the Tamil word அளபு is used, which would indicate that மாத்திரை is an interpolation. Also from the sutra 232 of Seyyul iyal reading:

ஞகாரை முதலா ளகாரை யீற்றுப்
புள்ளி இறுதி இயைபெனப் படுமே

It is clear that ள ends the Tamil alphabet and not ன as mentioned in sutra 1. This corresponds with the order as shown above and is in accordance with sutra 78 of Tolkappiyam.

The unnatural additions to the alphabet in the form of ஹ, ஸ, ஷ, க்ஷ, ஜ have fortunately been dropped in the course of the past few years and the Alphabetic System has now regained its original form.

ophones of Stops

At the beginning of words, sounds are pronounced normally, but in the middle of words the *stop* consonants undergo allophonic changes as noted below:

When a stop consonant comes after

a nasal	it becomes voiced;
the same or another/stop consonant	it becomes aspirated;
a medium consonant or a vowel	it becomes fricative.

In the sentence கங்கைக் காய்களாக the four different pronunciations are illustrated.

Bh. Krishnamurthy, Oosmania University, in his article 'Some observations on the Tamil Phonology in the 12th and 13th Centuries' read at the II International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies (1968), said:

> Professor Chatterji wrote a few years back that voicing of intervocalic stops developed only during the Middle Tamil period which according to his classification is 1350-1800 A.D. We see such a stand cannot be maintained any more. *Lenisness of intervocalic single stops as a phonetic feature could be reconstructed even to P. S. Dr., if not to P. Dr. . . . . . .* Professor T. P. Minakshisundaram considers this phonetic tendency to be evident in Tamil only from the 9th century onwards.. If the data should be interpreted historically, *voicing of intervocalic single stops became an accomplished fact at the phonetic level even in P S Dr.* whereas in the post-nasal position this was realised only in the early Tamil Period.

The fact of course is that Tamil has been using the positional allophones from earlier times perhaps long before even Tolkappiyam came into existence, not only in regard to voicing of stops in intermediate positions after homorganic nasals

but also fricatisation in prevocalic positions and after a medium consonant. Otherwise like Telugu, Kanarese, and Malayalam, Tolkappiyam would have introduced the voiced and fricative forms as regular consonants. This is in accordance with the pattern of Tolkappiyam that all sounds from a single position are natural "allophones" of the consonant in that position based on the preceding consonant or vowel. When Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam borrowed Sanskrit sounds they followed the Sanskritic pattern, although they had to subscribe to the Tamil pattern also when the former did not apply.

Vocalic Consonants (உயிர்மெய்)

In addition to Vowels and Consonants, a third class of speech sound is recognised in Tamil as a separate UNIT, the CV combination. Thanks to the experiments carried out in the Haskin's Laboratories and elsewhere, it is now generally recognised that the CV combination cannot be analysed into separate speech units. It is significant that, in naming the CV unit, the order is reversed and the unit is called by a term which means VOCALIC CONSONANT. It is now established through electronic recording that when CV sound is analysed the vowel cues precede the consonantal ones.

Word Initials (மொழி முதல்)

All phonemes other than wholly or partly retroflexed sounds may occur as word initial, thus avoiding the need for the speech organs having to shift from their neutral position at the beginning of a word utterance. Similarly the back palatal nasal ng (ஙு) which is articulated from the extreme back palatal position is avoided as word initial.

The vocalic consonants yi, yii, ye, yee (யி, யீ, யெ, யே) are not permitted as word initials, as the articulations of the vowels i, ii, e, ee (இ, ஈ, எ, ஏ.) are close to and hence may be confused with the above Vocalic Consonants. This prohibition indicates the early grammarian's meticulous avoidance of sound confusion.

Similarly the vocalic consonants vu, vuu, vo, voo (வு, வூ. வொ, வோ) are not permitted as word initials, as they are apt to be confused with the vowels u, uu, o, oo (உ, ஊ, ஒ, ஓ).

Word Finals (மொழியிறு)

Only continuant sounds, oral or basal, can occur as word final, stops being banned in that position. Its phonetic significance can be readily understood, as in actual utterance a stop cannot materialise unless followed by ever so slight a vocalic sound.

The back palatal nasal sound is also avoided as word final, as in the case of word initial.

Vowel Clusters (உயிர்ப்புணர்ச்சி)

In Tamil, clusters are permitted only where there will be no hiatus. As far as vowels are concerned, there will be always hiatus if two vowels are pronounced successively. Hence if a word with a final vowel is followed by a word with an initial vowel, the juncture is affected by interposing the consonant y or v (ய, வ):

e.g.	Kaalai edeNTaan	Kaalai-y-edeNTaan
	காலை+எடென்றன்	காலை யெடென்றன்
	uNNudaiya udal	uNNudaiya-v-udal
	உன்னுடைய+உடல்	உன்னுடைய வுடல்.

Consonantal Clusters (மெய்ப்புணர்ச்சி)

Consonantal clusters are not permitted either in initial or final position in words. The two types of clusters freely permitted are:

(i) geminated consonants with the exception or r and L (ர, ழ),
(ii) nasals followed by homorganic stops.

Other clusters permitted are:

The glides y, r, and L (ய, ர, ழ) may be followed by all non-retroflexed consonants, which may be further geminated or, in the case of nasals, followed by the homorganic stop. *Three consonant clusters occur only in these cases.*

Wholly or partly retroflexed consonants d, nh, T, N, l, lh (ட, ண, ற, ன, ல, ள) may be followed by neutral consonants but not vice versa, as it is easier to move to a neutral position than to a retroflexed position without a hiatus.

Diglossia

Bishop Caldwell, over a hundred years ago, and Dr. Gilbert Slater, about fifty years ago, have testified to the fixity of Tamil language but some Western linguists still cling to the view that Tamil is changing like all other languages. They are used to languages which give precedence to the spoken form in preference to the written language which constitutes hence only a rough approximation to the spoken form in course of time. They apply the same principle to Tamil which has two forms of Spoken Tamil (கொடுந்தமிழ்) and the Written Tamil (செந்தமிழ்). Hence the reason is not far to seek. Hence they are referring to the colloquial form (கொடுந் தமிழ்) which is naturally different from the standard form (செந்தமிழ்) and is consequently changing. This type of diglossia (written vs. spoken) is to be found in all languages. *The change is, now, from colloquial to Standard, instead of from one colloquial to another. This is inevitable, as literacy grows in the country. That Standard Tamil is also changing is an illusion.*

Till recently it was thought (sometimes even by Tamilians) that the spoken form takes precedence over the written form; over fifty years ago Leonard Bloomfield said:

> If there is any rivalry between speech forms, the chances are weighed in favour of the form that is represented by the written convention; consequently if the written convention deviates from the spoken form, people are likely to infer that there exists a preferable variant that matches the written form. Especially, it would seem, *in the last centuries, with the spread of literacy, and the great influx of dialect speakers and sub-standard speakers into the ranks of Standard speakers, the influence of the written form has grown.*

In the case of Tamil, however, the spoken form never took precedence over the written form. Since the written form had been standardised over 2000 years ago, the Tamils had been speaking the form corresponding to the written convention on all but colloquial occasions. *There is no reason why they should not continue to do so indefinitely,* unless misguided linguists interfere.

Western Linguists had until recently thought that 'Language Planning' was not possible and that languages must be allowed to take their own course. Recently there has been a welcome change and in 1971 a book was published under the title 'Can Language Be Planned ?' and Bjorn H. Jonnedd writes in the chapter 'Towards a Theory of Language Planning':

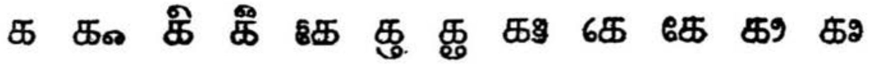
> We may interpret Ferguson's (1958) definition of standardisation, namely the process of acceptance of one variety of a language throughout the speech community as a super-dialectal norm as a special case of standardisation from successive applications of such effort...... Social emphasis on written language makes standardisation relatively easier and may explain the greatest saliency of written language problems such as orthography and vocabulary in 'literate' domains of usage.

Script Reform

Early Tamil inscriptions were made by Jain and Buddhist monks but we do not have any record of the Tamil Script as such, as writing was then known to the Tamils and was used in the palm leaf manuscripts. We have to discover it from the present style of writing. We may take the present type of vowels and consonants as they are and we find that the Vocalic Consonants are derived there-

from by a curved indicator either above or below or on either side of the consonant, thus:

ka, kaa, ki, kii, kai, ku, kuu, kau, ke, kee, ko, koo



It will help our typewriting systems; our printing system will be reduced drastically, as that will need only three types (symbols) to cover the entire ெ ே ை system. As apart from these three types, there is no other type to be introduced, it can be introduced straightway.

THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF HINDUISM—SANSKRIT OR PROTO-DRAVIDIAN?

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Two ingenious inventions of ancient man paved the path to the progress of civilization and to the advancement of knowledge. They are the invention of a sound code of communication or language, and the invention of a visual code of communication, the art of writing. The main purpose of this paper is to present linguistic and etymological evidence in support of the theory that the original sound code or language of Hinduism was an early form of Tamil named by modern scholars Proto-Dravidian. (The popular belief that Sanskrit must have been the original language of the Hindu civilization is based on the fact that the Sacred Hindu Texts—the *Vedas*—are in Sanskrit.) Archaeological findings at Harappa, Mohenjodaro and at other sites have clearly established the fact that the Hindu civilization was in existence in India, centuries before the arrival of the Aryans and before the appearance of Sanskrit literature. (The 5000 year old semi-pictographic script found engraved on the seals recovered from the buried cities of the Indus Valley represents the presently known oldest preserved visual code of the Hindus.) Though several eminent scholars have given good reasons for their belief that this visual code or script of the Indus seals represents a Dravidian language, an accepted decipherment of the Indus script is yet to be published. At present, deciphered lithic or other very ancient records which prove that Proto-Dravidian was the original language of Hinduism are not available. There are no preserved tape-recordings of the sound code or language of the early Hindus. Under these circumstances, the task of proving the statement that the original language of Hinduism was Proto-Dravidian and not Sanskrit might seem formidable if not impossible.

However, there is a basic fallacy in the statement that there are no tape-recordings of the sound code used by the Early Hindus. (The Hindu civilization has continued to flourish uninterruptedly in India and in Sri Lanka for well over five millenia and bits of the sound code used by the early Hindus have been repeatedly recorded in the minds of the inheritors of Hindu culture, and these fragments of the original sound code of Hinduism have got incorporated in the later sound codes or languages that developed not only in India and Sri Lanka but also in the Eastern Mediterranean regions and in Europe. Comparative linguistic and etymological research publications of eminent scholars of the calibre of Rev. Fr. S. Gnana Prakasar of Nallur and Rev. Dr. H. S. David of Jaffna, bear witness to the fact that Proto-Dravidian

roots and words have found their way into the vocabularies of a large number of languages belonging to the Sumero-Dravidian, Indo-European and Semitic groups. Some of these roots and words preserved in foreign languages eloquently proclaim the long forgotten and sometimes deliberately repressed stories of the diffusion of Dravidian knowledge in the fields of trade and commerce, literature and religion, science, mathematics and astronomy, and of the spread of Dravidian culture.*

The scope of this paper is limited to the presentation of evidence in support of the statement that the original language of Hinduism was Proto-Dravidian and not Sanskrit.

The origin of the Sanskrit and Deva-nagari Script

Some of the mysteries of ancient India, such as the reasons for the origin of tree worship, snake worship, animal worship, phallic worship and the worship of various symbols and images of God remain inadequately explained, mainly because the sound and visual codes of communication of the early Hindus, were not properly understood by the later inheritors of Hindu culture, the Aryans. Though small in numbers, the Aryans subdued the highly civilized Proto-Dravidian Hindus, by their military might which was enhanced by their possession of horses and chariots. The Aryan invaders of the Indus Valley did not speak the Sanskrit language. They spoke a language referred to as '*Āryan*' in the inscriptions of the Persian emperor Darius (521 B. C.—485 B. C.) and as '*Āriyam*' in old Tamil literary records.[1] The Aryans did not bring a script to India. They learnt the art of writing from their political enemies, the snake worshippers of the Indus Valley who were known as the *Aravar* or *Nākar*. (aravam = 'snake' Tamil; nākam = 'cobra snake' Tamil). The alphabetic script used by the snake worshippers was known as *Nāka-ari*, literally 'Nāka-letters' (ari = 'to cut, incise, inscribe, scratch' Tamil). The Aryan scribes revised the Naaka script and re-named it *Deva-Nāgari*.

The mixed descendants of the Aryans and the Dravidians of the Indus Valley of 1500 B.C., developed a new, hybrid Aryo-Dravidian language named '*Samskruta*' (Sanskrit). The original meaning of the term *sams-kruta* can be deduced from the meanings of its component roots, '*sam*' and '*kruta*'. The prefixing or interpolation of an 's' in front of or between the component roots of a word or name, is a linguistic peculiarity of Sanskrit, ('*sam*' = 'to add, enlarge, annex, join or mix'; '*kruta*' = 'made)

*Linguistic and etymological evidence in support of the theories that the Proto-Dravidians were the inventors of India's and probably the world's first phonetic alphabet, and that letters which were used as numerals by the ancestors of the Tamils were the source of origin of the modern Indo-Arabic numerals, and etymological evidence which throws light on some of the pioneer Dravidian contributions to the advancement of science and civilization are presented in my book "*The Land of Letters*" (Author and publisher. Dr. J. T. Xavier; Skyline Printers, Trincomalee, 1977).

Samskruta or Sanskrit is therefore the 'jointly-made, or mixed' language of the Aryo-Dravidians of North India. In course of time the term *samskruta* acquired secondary meanings such as 'enlarged, improved, revised or perfected.' The sound skeleton or '*suvaṭi*' of the Proto-Dravidian alphabet had to be revised and enlarged to accomodate the additional sounds of Aryan speech which got incorporated in the new mixed sound code or language named Sanskrit. The Proto-Dravidian alphabet was known as the '*ari-suvaṭi*' in Tamil Nadu (South India), '*Nāka-ari-suvaṭi*' in North India, and as the '*eḷu-suvaṭi*' in ancient Ceylon. Both *ari* and *elu* are synonymous Proto-Dravidian verbs meaning 'to draw, delineate, inscribe or write'. As nouns, they convey the meanings 'picture, pictogram, inscription, or letter'. *suvaṭi* is the most ancient Tamil term for 'the alphabet'. The Proto-Dravidian *ari-suvaṭi* (alphabet) was revised and re-named the *Samskruta akshara mālā,* literally, 'the enlarged, mixed, or revised chain of letters.'

Two questions have to be considered at this stage:

(1) What happened to the semi-pictographic Indus Script?

(2) Who were the inventors of the alphabet which was subsequently revised and appropriately re-named the *Samskruta akshara mālā?*

The semi-pictographic Indus script fell into disuse quite abruptly, towards the end of the third millenium B. C. Violent floods of the river Indus, and the Aryan invasion of the Indus Valley have been blamed for the destruction of the Indus cities and for the total and abrupt cessation of use of the Indus script. Neither floods nor invasions could have destroyed the entire population of literate intellectuals of an advanced civilization. The abrupt abandonment of the Indus script could be attributed to the invention or adoption of the far more advanced purely phonetic or alphabetic script where each pictogram, symbol or letter represents a specified pure sound, and not an entire word or idea.

The inventors of the Proto-Dravidian Alphabet

Suvaṭi and *ari-suvaṭi*, the oldest Tamil terms for a strictly phonetic alphabet, provide linguistic and etymological evidence in support of the fact that the ancestors of the Tamils were the inventors of their own alphabet. The birth of the brilliant idea of analysing the sound components of early Dravidian speech and selecting only the more important '*basic sounds*' for letter representation is clearly reflected in the pure Tamil term *suvaṭi* which is composed of the roots *su* (meaning 'sound'). and *aṭi* (meaning 'base, foot or foundation'). The unknown genius who invented the Tamil alphabet named its sound-skeleton, the *suvaṭi* or the 'Basic Sounds'. Since *ari* and *elu* are synonymous Proto-Dravidian verbs conveying the meanings 'to draw, inscribe, write', the written alphabet was named the *ari-suvaṭi* or *eḷu-suvaṭi*. It is significant to note that the precursor of the modern Sinhala alphabet is known by the name '*Elu-hodiyo*'. The same script was used by the ancestors of

the Tamils and the Sinhalese in the pre-Christian era. *Tamiḷi* the second century B.C. Prākrit name of the Old Tamil script, is probably a corruption of the term *Tem-ili, Tem-ela* or *Tem-eḷu,* meaning 'Southern-Letters' in Proto-Dravidian.[3]

The actual ancient name of the Proto-Dravidian language is not known. From a study of historical and legendary records relating to the migration of people and the origin of the racial or more correctly, the linguistic groups of India and Sri Lanka, and from a study of ancient place names, clan names and language names I have inferred that the Proto-Dravidians had named their language, the Eḷu, Eḷa or Īḷa language, literally, "The Letter Language", at the stage when they were using the semi-pictographic Indus script. The synonymous ethnic roots and language names, Eḷu, Eḷa and Īḷa, are preserved in the 4000 year old Sumerian name of the Indus Valley, *Meluhha,* in the most ancient name of Ceylon, *Īḷam* and in the language names. Tamil or Demela, and in the oldest names of the Sinhala language—Elu, Hela, Siila and Sihela. The Prākritic pronunciation of the Buddhist missionaries introduced 'H' and 'S' sounds as prefixes which changed the names Eḷa and Īḷa into Hela and Siila and eventually into Sihela. The author of the Mahavamsa found a "Lion-slayer" in Sihela, apparently because the artificially created roots "Siha-la" conveyed the meaning "Lion-Slayer" in Prākrit. A Sanskrit translation of 'siha' transformed Siha-la into Sinha-la. Eḷu and Īḷa were the synonymous names of the language spoken by the Nākar or Aravar of ancient Īḷam (Ceylon) in the 6th century B.C. Since these Nākar were tree and snake worshipping Proto-Dravidian Hindus it is reasonable to assume that the name of the language of the *Early Hindu* or *Indus Valley Civilization* was *Eḷu* or *Īḷa.* The most ancient and least changed offspring of the Īḷa or early Hindu 'Letter' language was named *Tem-īḷa* or *Tamiḷ,* literally, "the southern letter-language" to distinguish it from the parental language and the other offsprings of this language. The origin and evolution of the language of the Buddhists of Sri Lanka was determined by the spread of Buddhism and the languages of Buddhist literature, namely, Prākrit, Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit. The descendants of an imaginary 'Lion-slayer' had nothing to do with the origin, development and naming of the beautiful language of the Buddhist civilization of Sri Lanka. Credit for the development of the Sinhala language has to be given to the members of the Buddhist Sangha (clergy). A Prākritic mispronunciation of *Īḷa,* a name of the Proto-Dravidian language, gave rise to the names Sīla, Siha-la and Sinha-la, of the language of the Buddhists of Sri Lanka.

Since the Tamil language has the least number of letters in its alphabet, the Tamil alphabet is likely to be the most ancient direct descendant of the original Proto-Dravidian alphabet. The Brahmi and Deva-Nagari scripts are further developments of the Old Tamil or *Tāmiḷi* script which has been inappropriately named Tamil Brahmi or South Brahmi.

The floodgates of literary activity were opened by the invention of the Proto-Dravidian alphabet. The use of perishable writing material explains the non-availability of records of the earliest writings in the alphabetic script that replaced the semi-pictographic Indus script around 2000 B.C. or earlier. The oldest of the hitherto discovered lithic records in the Brahmi and Tāmiḷi (South Brahmi) scripts belong to the third century B.C. In contrast, the preserved records in the North Semitic Phoenician script, which resembles Brahmi in structure and general appearance, have been dated 2000 B.C. The Greek, Roman and modern European scripts stem from the Phoenician script. These observations have led scholars to infer that the Phoenician and Brahmi scripts are related in origin. Mainly on epigraphic grounds, Professor Monier Williams (1899) has expressed the following opinion: "...Existing epigraphic evidence is in favour of regarding Phoenicia as practically the inventor of that most important factor in the world's progress—a purely phonographic alphabet".[3]

If the Phoenicians were the inventors of their own phonetic alphabet they would have adopted a uniform system of naming their letters. The letters of the Tamil alphabet were named by adding a suffix meaning 'letter' to the basic-sound represented by the letter concerned. The suffixes used in the naming of the letters of the Phoenician alphabet are clearly recognisable as distorted derivatives of Proto-Dravidian and Tamil words and roots signifying "letter or counting-letter (numeral)". The table given below, illustrates the probable mode of derivation of the suffixes used in the naming of Phoenician letters.

Dravidian Origin of Phoenician Letter-names

Dravidian suffixes 'letter or numeral'	Phoenician letter-names	Mode of derivation
eḻuththu	D–aleth B–eth Kh–eth	eḻuththu —aleth eththu — eth
lipi	A–leph K–aph K–oph	lipi —leph —aph —oph (vowel alternance and elision of 'l')
en — anna vanna yanna	M–em N–un A–yin Sh–in Z–ayin	en — em en — in — un yanna — ayin (vowel and n/m alternance)

eḻu	L–am–ed	en — em — im — am &
edu	G–im-el	elu — el
en	S–am–ech	edu — ed — od
	Y–od	eḻuththu — eth — ech
		(n/m, l/d and vowel alternance)

Linguistic and etymological evidence supports the statement that the Semitic people obtained their notions of a letter, and even the names of letters from the Proto-Dravidian inventors of the world's first phonetic alphabet.

Mother Goddess Worship

The early Hindu philosophers traced the ultimate source of life on earth from mother to the original mother or Mother-Creator whom they named "The Origin" or "Original Mother". *Āti-ti,* the Sanskrit name of the mother of all gods, is of Proto-Dravidian origin. The term *Āti-ti* describes the Mother Goddess as "The Original - Mother". The Tamil word *āti* 'the origin, original, ancient' and the Proto-Dravidian term *ti* are derivatives of the Proto-Dravidian and Tamil verb *uti* 'to arise, be born, originate'. The Mother Goddess was also known as *Āti amma* or *Uma.* The Biblical Adam from whose rib Eve, the mother of the human race, was made, was in all probability the Proto-Dravidian Mother Goddess —*Āti-ti* or *Āti-amma.*

The biblical story of the creation of Adam and Eve has been traced to Sumerian sources. Asko Parpola has explained that the story of the creation of Eve from Adam's rib arose probably as a result of a mistranslation of the Sumerian word *ti* 'to make live, beget'. *ti* is also the Sumerian word for 'rib'. A false translation of the Sumerian word *ti* into *sela,* the Hebrew word for 'rib' explains the origin of the Hebrew version of the story which got recorded in the Bible.[4]

The ancient Dravidians were Mother Goddess worshippers. They believed that their Mother Goddess *Ti, Āti-ti* or *Āti-amma* gave birth to (=ti, in Sumerian) the first human-mother, *manu-ti.* (*manu*= 'human' P. Dr.; *ti* = 'mother, female'; P. Dr.=Proto-Dravidian).[5]

Adam and Eve were expelled from the garden of Eden, the earthly Paradise, for violating a commandment of God. The following quotations from Genesis, the First Book of the Holy Bible (King James version) which describe the fall of Adam and Eve, are of special relevance in the study of the relationship between the cults of Mother Goddess worship and Tree worship.

> 8 And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had formed.

9 And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

16 And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat:

17 But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.

(Genesis, Chapter 2, verses 8,9,16,17)

4 And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die:

5 For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.

6 And when the woman saw that the tree *was* good for food, and that it *was* pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make *one* wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat.

22 And the Lord God said, Behold the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil; and now, lest he put his hand and take also of the tree of life, and eat and live for ever:

23 Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken.

24 So he drove out the man; and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden Cher-u-bims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.

(Genesis, Chapter 3., verses 4,5,6,22,23,24)

The Origin of Tree Worship

The tree most frequently depicted on the Indus seals is the *Ficus religiosa,* the sacred fig tree.[6] The Sanskrit names of this tree are *pippala* and *asvattha.* It is the *Bodhi* tree or the tree of knowledge of the Buddhists, Though the modern Tamil name of this tree is *aracu,* it is also known as *atti* in the Dravidian languages, Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu and Kannadam. The Proto-Dravidians named this tree *atti* or *ti,* literally "the mother tree", probably because it yields a milky latex, when injured. Since the Proto-Dravidian name of the *Ficus religiosa* was the same as that of the Mother Goddess *Ti* or *Atti,* the *atti* tree was chosen as the symbol or pictogram of the Mother Goddess. The *atti* tree (pictogram of the Female Creator of Life) earned the epithet 'Tree of Life'. *The atti* tree pictogram represented the name

of the Mother Goddess in the pictographic script devised by the Proto-Dravidians. The origin of tree worship, snake worship and animal worship should be traced to the worship of objects whose pictograms represent the names of goddesses, gods or deified ancestors of clans.

Since *ara* is the Proto-Dravidian word for 'snake', the snake on the tree of knowledge (bodhi, atti) which tempted Eve was *ara-atti* or Rathi, the Hindu goddess of desire. Sin, according to the Proto-Dravidian definition, is the placation of one's own desire, or the worship of the goddess of desire, at the expense of violating the commandments of the Mother Goddess or the Tree of Life whose fruit alone could confer immortality (a-mirtam). It is by conquering desire that one can reach the tree of life whose fruit could end the painful cycle of births and deaths initiated by the worship of the goddess of desire. It is evident that the Hindu religious teachings recorded in the Proto-Dravidian pictorial script had reached the Sumerians and the Hebrews several centuries before the Aryan Brahmans re-recorded them in the Vedas.

The Earth Goddess, the tree of the universe

The identification of the earth (= *pār*, in Tamil) as the mother creator (= *atti,ti*) of life, who sustains life through the rivers that spring from her mountains, and into whose bosom all forms of life return after death, led to her being named *Pār-atti.* The phonetic values of the Proto-Dravidian and Tamil words *para* 'to fly', and *parava* 'a bird' was best represented by the bird pictogram. The combined pictograms, bird and *atti* tree, represented the names *Pārati* (Bharathi) and *Parava-ti* (Pārvati) of the Earth Goddess. The pictorial emblem or totem of the Earth Goddess worshippers who were known as *Pār-ar, Paravar* and also as *Pārati-ar or Pāratar*, was the *bird.*

The Tamil verb *para* conveys the meanings 'to fly, spread, scatter, pervade'. The combined bird-tree pictogram conveyed the idea of an all pervading, omnipresent creator goddess. The *atti* tree thus earned the epithet of the all-pervading *tree of the universe,* (the later abode of the gods of the Hindu Trinity.)

Ancient India was named *Pārar-ta* (Bharata) or *Pārar-tēsa* (Biblical *Paradise*) by the Proto-Dravidian Earth Goddess worshippers. (*ta* = *tēsa* = 'station, residence, land or country' P. Dr.)[6]. It is not surprising therefore, that the *tree of life* was in the centre of the garden of Paradise, which was the home of the Dravidian Earth Goddess worshippers.

The River Goddess and the Tree of Desire

The Proto-Dravidians who lived on the banks of the river Indus called themselves the *Sindhavar* or *Aravar,* literally 'the river people'. (*sintu* = 'river'; *ar* = *avar* =

suffix denoting 'people', Tamil; *ara* = 'river, or snake' P. Dr.) They named their goddess the river-goddess or *Ara-ti* and her pictorial emblem comprised the snake and the *atti* tree. The river goddess was responsible for the fertility of the soil, rich harvests of grain and for the general prosperity of the people. People invoked her blessings for the fulfilment of their desires. The river goddess earned the epithet 'goddess of desire' (*ara-ti, rathi*) and her name was represented by the combined snake and tree pictogram. The Sanskrit name *Sarasvati,* is a derivative of the Proto-Dravidian name *Ara-avar-ti* meaning 'river-peoples' goddess'. The prefixing of the sound 's' or 'sh' and the interpolation of these sounds between the component syllables of a word or name are linguistic peculiarities or tendencies in Sanskrit. On etymological grounds, the name of the Proto-Dravidian goddess of letter appears to have been *Ilak-umi.* (*elu* = *ila* = *ilak*'= letter' P. Dr.) This name gets changed into Lak-sh-umi or Lakshmi through a process of 'sanskritisation' of the earlier Proto-Dravidian pronunciation. Sanskritised or phonologically 'Aryanised' words and names of Dravidian origin can be restored to their probable near original form, by applying the following *rules of de-sanskritisation.*[7]

(1) Remove the prefixed and interpolated sounds 's' or 'sh'

(2) Restore the initial vowel dropped out in Sanskrit.

(3) Remove the sound 'r' (trill) which follows a consonant.

(4) Interchange and replace the appropriate vowel 'a,i,u,e,o'.

(5) Interchange the letters in the following pairs of consonants:- l/n, l/r; l/d and m/v; m/n.

(6) Replace

- (a) kha, ga, gha with ka
- (b) ja with cha or ya
- (c) pha, ba, bha with pa
- (d) da, dha with ta
- (e) ka with cha

Through the application of these rules a meaningless Sanskrit name can be transformed into its meaningful Dravidian precursor. For instance, the Sanskrit name Deva-s-ena (wife of Murukaṉ) gets restored to Tēva-aṉṉai (= divine-mother), the Tamil name of Murukaṉ's wife.

The entwined double snake emblem or pictogram represented the name *Aravar* (river-people; snake-people). Since the cobra snake was depicted on the banners or totems of the Aravar, they were also named the *Nākar* (Nāgās). The combined pictograms of the entwined snakes and the *pippala* or *atti* represents the name Aravar-ti (Sarasvati) of the river-goddess.

I. Mahadevan (1970) has suggested that the origin of the name *aravar* for the Tamils, literally, the people of the serpent (clan), is related to the worship of the eclipse causing snake planets *rahu* and *ketu* in the Indus cities. He has expressed the following opinion on the origin of snake worship:

"The ancient Dravidian custom of serpent worship was in origin probably the worship of the serpent planets. The entwined serpents carved on stones found under the pipal trees in almost every South Indian village probably represent the twin serpent planets. The association of Siva, Visnu and Krsna with serpents may also have the same origin. The legends of the five headed and seven headed serpents are probably connected with the well-known five or seven clans of the Vēḷir."[8]

The discovery of the contributory role played by the male in procreation initiated the cults of phallic worship and male god worship. The tree, snake and bird pictograms, the iconographic devices or *vāhanās* which convey the names of the mother goddess and her manifestations, the river goddess, the goddess of desire and the earth goddess, were utilised in a similar capacity as iconographic devices or identification pictograms of the male gods. The seven and five headed cobra snake totems or pictograms represented the *aravar* living on the banks of the seven tributaries of the river Indus and on the banks of the five rivers of Punjab. The phonetic value of these two emblems was the same as that of the entwined double-snake pictogram, namely *aravar* or *nākar*. The cobra snake which coils round the neck or head gear of Siva, represents him as Nāka-īsvara, the god of the river people. The snake *vāhanā* of the goddess of desire, Rathi (*ara-ti*) could have represented *Rahu*, the snake planet and god of desire and the husband of Rathi. Since mother goddess worship preceded the worship of male gods and planetary gods, the entwined snakes depicted on stones placed under the *atti* (pippala, pipal) tree were probably intended to convey the sacred name of Aravar-ti, the goddess (*ti*) of the river people (*aravar*).

In the Indus seals, the mother goddess is depicted as a 'buffalo-horned' female deity placed in the trunk, or between the bifurcated main stem or under the arch of the sacred fig tree. Since *ma* is the Dravidian name of the bull and the buffalo, the combined pictograms of buffalo-horns and *atti* tree could convey the name *uma-ti* or *mati*. (Sanskrit *matri*). *Sindhu-mati* is one of the names of the river goddess. In one of the seals, the horned goddess within the *atti* tree is accompanied by seven females who probably represent the tributaries of the river Indus.

The double fish emblem of the Pandyan Tamils

The totemic clans of the Proto-Dravidians were formed mainly on the basis of religion or region of residence, and not on the basis of occupation or caste. The double fish emblem of the Pandyan Tamils represents the name *minavar* or

mīnavar. Though this term has acquired the meaning 'fisherman' in modern Tamil, the ancient *minavar* were not fishermen, they were probably planetary god worshippers. Their god was *minavan* and their mother goddess was *mīn-att* (Prakrit *mīn-āchchi* ; Sanskrit *mīn-akshi*).

Minavan is a Tamil name of *Rahu,* the god of love and husband of *Rathi.* Referring to iconographic devices depicted on the Indus seals, Asko Parpola has expressed he following views:

"A *Crocodile* with a fish in its jaws represents Rahu, the demoniac planet causing the eclipses, and identical with the Hindu god, Kama, who rides on a crocodile. In the Indus script the signs depicting "fish" stand for the word "star", these two being identical in Dravidian and the stars being thought of as fish swimming in the ocean of heaven. In the Indus script, as later in Tamil, Kama is called *Minavan*; he is fishing the stars."[9]

If Miṉavaṉ is Rahu, *Mīn-atti* the goddess of the miṉavar should be *Rathi,* the Proto-Dravidian goddess of desire and the river goddess *ara-ti* or *aravar-ti* (Sanskrit—Sarasvati). The Proto-Dravidian suffix *—ti* or *atti* meaning 'mother, goddess or female creator' changes into—*chchi* or *āchchi,* in Prakrit, and has got corrupted into *-akshi,* in the sanskritised name *mīn-akshi.* She is not a 'fish-eyed' goddess, she is the mother goddess of the minavar or the Pandiyan Tamils.

The original Dravidian names of planets refer to their colours.[10] For example, the red planet Mars is *che-vvāi,* the green planet Mercury is *pachchai,* the golden planet Jupiter is *pon* and the bright white planet venus is *veḷḷi,* in Tamil. The same principle is followed in the Dravidian naming of the eclipse causing 'shadow' planets, *rahu* and *ketu.*

The black and red colour changes noticed on the face of the moon as it passes into the umbral or dark shadow of the earth and the penumbral or light shadow of the earth during a lunar eclipse, influenced the naming of the eclipse causing snake or dragon planets, rahu (caput draconis) and ketu (cauda draconis). On the principle that the observed colour of the planet determined the original Dravidian names of planets, the de-sanskritised derivatives of *rahu* and *ketu* should indicate the colours black and red, if the original names were in Tamil or Proto-Dravidian. The de-sanskritised names are *irā-āku* or irā-ākku and che-tu. The derived Proto-Dravidian names *irā-āku* (rahu) and *che-tu* (ketu) describe the twin serpent planets as 'night-maker' and 'red-maker' respectively (in Tamil, *irā* = night; darkness; *āku* = to become; *ākku* = cause to become, make; *che* = red. In P. Dr., tu = to do or make). The Tiruketisvaram temple of modern Mannar (Ceylon) preserves the name of the now buried temple erected in honour of the '*Holy* God Ketu' (*Tiru-ketu-īsvarā*) who was worshipped by the Nākar of

ancient Ceylon. It is relevant to note that the sea that separates Tiru-ketu-īsvaram from Ramesvaram (S.India) is still known as (*Che-tu samuttiram*. (Che-tu = Ketu).

Since *rudra* is the Sanskrit word for 'red,' it is reasonable to infer that the eclipses causing snake planets were originally named and worshipped by the Proto-Dravidian planetary god worshippers, the minavar, and also by the nākar. According to a Sumerian legend, a fish-man (? mīnavaṉ) brought advanced knowledge into Sumeria.[11]

The pioneer astronomers of India recognised two distinct categories of shiny objects in the sky, the stationary or fixed stars, which they named *min*, and the planets which kept on changing their positions relative to the stars, in regular repeated cycles following fixed pathways or orbits. They named the planets *kōl-min* or *kōn-min*, literally, "the ruling, reigning or governing stars" apparently because their positions were observed to govern or influence the seasons of the year (*kaalam*), the winds, rains, floods and the destiny of man. (In Tamil, *kōl* = sceptre, the emblem of a king; *kōn* = king; *kōl-minn* = *kōnn minn* = *kōl* = planet, ruling star). The Hindu astronomers maintained records of the heavenly journeys of the planets including the moon, on circular maps of the sky known as *chakkaram*.

The invention of the lunar month of 28 days resulted from the observation that the moon too changed its relative position in the sky daily, and came into apparent contact or conjunction with different constellations or identifiable collection of stars on each day. The constellations in the pathway of the lunar orbit were named the *nāḷ-minn*, literally 'the day-stars, or day determining stars. (In Tamil, *nāḷ* = day; *nāḷ-minn* = *nānn-minn* = lunar constellation. or day determining stars). Each one of the lunar constellations was named. The seven days of the quarter-month (*kāl-ma* = 'week' P. Dr.; *kiḷa-mai* = 'week' Tamil) were named after the then known visible planets (sun, moon, mars, mercury, jupiter, venus, saturn). The days of the lunar month were named after the constellations in the path of the lunar orbit.

The Proto-Dravidian Lunar day calendar was known as the *nāḷ-minn-chittira-chakkaram* (=day-star-picture-circle) and as the *naal-chittira-chakkaram*. The lunar day calendar was a circular map of the sky divided into 28 equal segments representing the 28 stations or houses in the pathway of the moon. Each segment was named *kīru-aham*, literally 'a drawn or demarcated house' (lunar mansion). A picture or diagram (=*chittiram*) of the constellation occupying the demarcated segment of the sky or *kīru-aham* was named the *nāḷ-minn-chittiram* or *nāḷ-chittiram* (=day - picture). The Sanskrit word *natchetra* or *nakshetra* (meaning (1) star (2) lunar constellation (3) the period during which the moon passes through a lunar constellation) is a derivative of the Proto-Dravidian term *nāḷ-chittiram*. One of the 28

lunar houses or stations was not named because there was no constellation within it. The rest of the houses were named after the constellations occupying the respective houses. The *nāḷ-chittira chakkaram* was a guide to the identification of the named house occupied by the moon on a particular day.

The Dravidian astronomical terms *kōl-minn kīru-aha mattram* (= planetary-house-change) and *kīru-aha mattram* (=house - change) conveyed practically the same meaning—'planetary—change' of position. Consequently, *graha*, the Sanskrit derivative of *Kīru-aha*, acquired the meaning "planet". The Sanskrit word *gruha* meaning "house" is also a derivative of the Proto-Dravidian astronomical term *kīru-aha* "a demarcated house or station" in the pathway of a planet. The Greek and Latin words for "star" namely, *aster* and *stella*, are derivatives of the Sanskrit words *sta* and *stall* (meaning 'station'). These Sanskrit words are derivatives of the Proto-Dravidian word *ta* meaning "station, place, residence, home, country, land". For example, *Pārar-ta* is the land of the Pārar or earth-goddess worshippers.

This linguistic and etymological study of basic astronomical terms used in ancient India, provides conclusive evidence in support of the statement that the original language of Hindu astronomy, astrology and planetary god worship was a very old form of Tamil which is more popularly known as Proto-Dravidian. It is significant to note that the Tamil word for science is *viṇ-gnānam*, literally, "sky-knowledge or astronomy."

The Hindu God of Science—Kanapati (Elipati)

The strangest combination of animals depicts the Hindu God of science, Kaṇapati or Ganesa. Ganesa is the elephant god whose *vāhanā* (mode of conveyance) is the rat. Only a Proto-Dravidian pictorial letter explanation is possible for this apparently incongruous iconographic depiction of the Hindu god of science, Kanapati or *Eli-pati*. (eli = 'rat', Tamil).

Kaṇ is the Tamil word for the 'eye', the sense organ most directly involved in the acquisition of knowledge. Two Tamil verbs derived from *kaṇ* are *kāṇu* "to see, find, discover, invent, know, perceive, gain the knowledge of" and *kaṇi* "to count, measure, assess, calculate, to foretell by astronomical or astrological calculations." The Tamil term *kaṇitar* describes "astrologers, astronomers, mathematicians, accountants and writers." *kaṇ, kaṇi, kāṇu* and *kāṇ* may be termed the Dravidian "knowledge or science" roots. For reasons stated elsewhere.[13], *elu, ela, eli, el, ili, ali, li* and *le* may be termed the Dravidian "letter" roots. In combination with a suffix conveying the meaning "goddess or god" the knowledge and letter roots could have given rise to the Dravidian names of the goddess or god of science and letters.

Kaṇi-īsā is evidently a name of the Proto-Dravidian god of science. *Kaṇita-sāmy* or *Kanta-sāmy* and *kaṇitan* or *kantan* convey the same meaning. The god of science was also the god of letters and was entitled to the epithets, ila or ilavan, el, eli, or eli-īsā, ali, aliyan or ali-īsā. These titles of the Dravidian god of letters closely resemble the names of some of the Hebrew priests and prophets, and also the name of the Semitic god of the Holy Books (Bible, and Koran). God Murukaṉ has many names. His most ancient names *ila* or *ilavan* and *kaṇitan* or *kantan* entitle him to be considered the Proto-Dravidian god of letters and science.

Ethnological research publications of I. Mahadevan and R. Raghava Aiyangar support the view that the *Ailava*, the common ancestors of the Kuru-avar and the Pandavar, and the *Vēḷir* and the *Ila(i)yar* (Ilaṅkocar) of ancient Tamil society were members of the same tribe, the *Ila* tribe. The god of the *ila* tribe was Murukaṉ, who (according to I. Mahadevan) was probably the apotheosis of *ila*, the chief of the tribe. Since *ila* is the Tamil word for 'young' the name *ilavan* was translated into *Kumāran* (= young god) in Sanskrit, and into *Murukann*, in Tamil.[13]

The people of ancient Lanka were known as *Īlavar*. Their ancestral Indian home was *ila-āla* (Iāla of the Mahavamsa). They named their new home *Īla-aham* or *Īḷam*. Their language was known as the *Īla*, *Ela* or *Elu*. They worshipped the gods of the Hindu Pantheon including *Ilavan* (Kanta-sāmy, Murukaṉ, Katara-gama deviyo). Murukan's second wife, Vaḷḷi, was a girl from ancient Īḷam (Ceylon). It would be reasonable to suggest that the people of ancient Ceylon spoke the same language as that spoken by the other members of the Ila tribe, namely, the Velir and the Ila(i)yar of ancient Tamil-akam, and by the Ailava, who were the ancestors of the Kuru-avar and the Pandavas. If this is so, the name of the Proto-Dravidian language of the Indus people could very well have been Īla, Ela or Elu.

The anthromorphic (human-form) iconographic representations of God Murukaṉ can be explained on the basis of the justifiable assumption that Murukaṉ was the buffalo-horned (= ma) scribe (= ila), priest-king and the inventor of letters (= *ila*) and numbers (= *kaṇi*) who earned the titles *Ma-ila* (Mayila, Mavila, Mavela) meaning 'chief-scribe' and *Kanitan* or *Kaṇi-īsā*, meaning 'chief astronomer, astrologer, mathematician and scientist'. His synonymous titles *Ila-isā*, *El-īsā*, and *Eli-īsā* meaning "God of Letters" or "God of the Holy Writings" are reflected in the names of the Hebrew God, *El* or *Eli*, the 'God of the Holy Book' of the Semetic people, and in the names of Biblical personalities like Eliijah, Eli-ezer, Elias, and Elizabeth (? Eli-īsā-pati). Murukaṉ is reputed to be the son of God Siva and the Father of the Tamil Language. According to the Kanta-purānam, he earned the title *Siva-guru* (Teacher of Siva) by teaching Siva, the significance of the mystic incantation OUM. Iconographically, Murukan is depicted as a 'young and beautiful god' (= Ilavan) seated on his vāhanā, the peacock (= mayil, in Tamil), and

holding a large spear (= *mā-vēl,* in Tamil). Objects which conveyed the name of Murukan's ancient title Ma-ila, Mayila or Mavela in the Tamil language, for example, the mango leaf *(maa-ila)*, the peacock *(mayil)* and the great spear (mā-vēl) were considered to be sacred objects. The Aryan scribes transformed Murukaṉ into the youthful Dravidian god of war.

A non-anthromorphic representation of the same god of letters (= *ila, eli, el*) and numbers (= *kaṇi*) appears to be *Eli-Kaṇi-Isā* or *Eli-kaṇa-pati*, the Elephant god who rides on a rat. The elephant represents the name Kaṇa-pati, since the elephant is considered to be the 'chief' (= *īsā, pati*) of the forest (= *kāna,* Tamil, Sanskrit).

The Gods of the Hindu Trinity

God, according to the Dravidian definition, is the Creator of Life. Siva-perumān is the 'Life-begetting-male or male god'. (*siv* = 'life'; *perum* = 'creating or begetting'; *ān* = 'male or male god' Tamil). Brahman is *Perm-ān*, the 'begetting male' or the 'male creator'. The de-sanskritised name of Vishnu is Vi-an, a name synonymous with Siv-an, since *vi* and *siv* are Dravidian roots signifying 'life'.[14] Brahman, Vishnu and Sivan are three different names of the same 'Male Creator of Life".

The mystic incantation OUM

Three different terms, *Piranava-mantiram*, *Ekātcharam* and *Atti-aksharam* describe the mystic incantation OUM. (Miron Winslow, Tamil-English Dictionary, 1862). The following meanings are conveyed by the Sanskrit and modern Tamil term *mantiram*:- (1) a mystical or magical verse, as a prayer or form of exorcism (2) a section of the Vedas including prayers and hymns (3) a formula sacred to some deity, as *OUM Sivāyanama* (4) opinion.

The original Dravidian meaning of this term, *mantiram*, is clearly indicated in the component roots *manatu* (= mental) and *iram* (= picture). The letters O, U, and M represent the three persons of the Hindu Trinity. The *Ekātcharam* is literally the combined or unified letter OUM which represents the Hindu concept of the three persons of One God who performs the three functions of creation, protection and destruction.

The *Piraṇava-mantiram* is literally the "mental-picture" or "visualisation" of God (piraṇava, siva) as an inseperable union of three persons represented by the letters O, U and M, which are also termed the *Atti-aksharam*. *Atti.* is the Proto-Dravidian word for "origin, Mother Goddess, God", *Atti.-aksharam* is therefore the "God-Letter", These three letters were probably the *original letters* or the first three letters of the Proto-Dravidian alphabet.

The letters of the alphabet were used as numerals. The Tamil names of numerals were derived by adding a suffix "*en, ttu, elu,* or *ari*" meaning "letter, counting letter, numeral" to the sound represented by the letter chosen as numeral. The Tamil numeral I (one) was named O-en, and the numeral 3 (three) was named M-en. The Tamil letter "U" represents the numeral 2 (two).

The mystic incantation OUM is evidently the representation of the name of the Hindu Trinity through the first three basic-sounds of the Proto-Dravidian suvaṭi (sound skeleton of the alphabet), and the *Ekātcharam OUM* is the portrayal of the one and only God OUM, through the first three letters of the Proto-Dravidian *ari-suvaṭi* (written alphabet.)

The mystic incantation OUM commenced the era of utilisation of the new and most powerful vāhanā of god, namely, the Proto-Dravidian Alphabet.

Finally, I wish to conclude this paper, summarising the stages of development of the visual and sound codes of Hindu Theological Instruction in the chart given below :

Hindu Theological Instruction

Stages	Visual Code	Sound Code
1	*Images* — Mother Goddess Lingam—Yoni Male Gods	Proto-Dravidian
2	*Pictorial Letters* Origin of tree, snake and animal worship and vāhanās of god	Proto-Dravidian (3000 B.C.)
3	*Proto-Dravidian Alphabet* Mystic Incantation OUM (lost) Dravidian Scriptures	Proto-Dravidian (2000 B.C.)
4	*Sanskrit Alphabet* The Vedas	Sanskrit (1500 B.C.)

In the light of the evidence presented so far, it is reasonable to conclude that the original language of Hinduism was Proto-Dravidian.

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HANDLING VARIATION IN SOUTH ASIAN LANGUAGES: IS THERE A FOREST AMONG THE TREES?

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As is well known, South Asia is an area of extreme linguistic diversity. Estimates of the number of distinct linguistic codes ("languages") spoken in India alone range as high as 1652 (1961 census) and this ignores completely the question of how many different dialects of these languages can be distinguished. In fact the estimates of numbers of languages never really come to grips with the question of what is a language and what is a dialect, since the language classifiers, census takers, and dialectologists are unable to make clear and accurate distinctions in this area by their own admission. Since the time of Bloch (1910) and Grierson and his LSI (1903-1928), attempts have been made to distinguish one major language from another, and then to delineate various dialects of these "languages" but always with provisos, disclaimers and caveats that so weaken the claims as to almost discredit the whole enterprise. Diglossia (Ferguson 1959), differing scripts, religion and indigenous grammatical traditions complicate the picture, as does the question of caste and dialect (Bean 1974). The reliance of the indigenous tradition on the prestige of literary languages often leads South Asian linguists themselves to ignore spoken varieties of various sorts, unless spoken by tribals or other clearly distinct groups. Speakers of low-prestige dialects feel the lack of prestige of their dialects so strongly that they are ashamed to even divulge information about their speech behaviour in the form of useful data (Labov 1972).

Furthermore, there are no comprehensive treatments of the subject of sociolinguistics in South Asia, especially not in the sense in which Labov and other variationists have developed this subdiscipline in the last decade. The complexity of the situation in South Asia, particularly with regard to the question not only of language and dialect but of language *use*, has been outlined in a forthcoming book by Shapiro and Schiffman. It is worth quoting from the introduction to the chapter on language classification.

> "In probably few areas of the world is the characterization of the distribution of language varieties as confusing as it is in South Asia. While numerous terms exist which are commonly said to refer to South Asian Languages (e. g. Marathi, Hindi, Sanskrit, etc.) there is little agreement as to exactly what these terms refer to. It is virtually impossible to establish a clear vertical hierarchy of superordinate "languages" and

subordinate "dialects" anywhere within the region. The speech forms within the region differ markedly from one another in their degree of standardization, length and substance of literary traditions, and the degree of psychological allegiance which they command from their speakers. The linguistic competence of many individuals encompasses elements from what is, in fact, more than one of these speech varieties, and the conditions under which they switch back and forth among these diverse components is not clearly understood. Many South Asian speech varieties are referred to by several names, and the names of many of South Asian speech forms—Hindi, Hindustani, Urdu notable among them—are used by writers to refer to a wide variety of linguistic entities and for a myriad of purposes. It is clearly impossible to sort out here all of the ambiguity inherent in referring to South Asian speech forms, and going one step further, we believe that it may even be theoretically impossible to do so."

(Shapiro and Schiffman 1975:98)

What is said here is that the task of analyzing variation in South Asian languages is virtually hopeless. As an overall statement about South Asian languages, that may be in some sense true—it may be 'theoretically impossible' to sort out all the ambiguity, but I think that that does not mean that an attempt should not be made. The situation is particularly difficult in the Indo-Aryan family (to say nothing of Tibeto-Burman and Munda, about which we simply know very little) but in the Dravidian family things are not quite so hopeless. For reasons that are not yet clear to me, the Dravidian languages are generally recognized as separate entities rather than as an amorphous mass of inter-connected dialects (the famous 'chain of mutually intelligible dialects') and although there are speech forms in South and Central India that have not as yet been classified, it seems clear that it is not because they defy classification, but because the task has not yet been carefully addressed (although progress has been made, e.g. Diffloth 1968, Tyler 1969, Burrow and Bhattacharya 1970, etc.)

If I may take the Dravidian languages as an example of what has and has not been done in the area of language variation, I may be able to show how a change in methodology could lead to some progress in our understanding of at least one language family in South Asia, and perhaps this may be applied to the rest of the subcontinent so that some new direction for what we may losely call 'dialectology' in the area might be taken.

Many of the difficulties facing dialectologists in South Asia can be traced to methodological problems arising out of the kinds of linguistic theories that are prevalent in the area. These theories are both indigenous and imported—it is sometimes fashionable to blame linguistic problems in newly-developing countries

on a kind of 'linguistic colonialism' imported from some western country that has supposedly crippled the 'colony' and which it is only now recovering from. Certainly linguistic policies and theories brought from the west have sometimes had disastrous results or been wrongly applied in South Asia, but it seems clear to me that one of the greatest obstacles to the task of dealing with language variation in South Asia stems from the indigenous linguistic tradition itself, i. e., the tradition wrought by Paṇini, Tolkāppiyar and Kēsiraja and all the other great grammarians who codified the South Asian languages and laid down laws. The tradition of memorizing verbatim what the great grammarians have said, and allowing no deviation from their paths has led to a slavish devotion to older forms of the language, which have become so outmoded and in fact dead, that serious problems of diglossia have arisen in many of the languages. The spoken forms of language have in many cases diverged widely from the written, but people go on acting as if the spoken language either doesn't exist, or at best is not a worthy object of study. Thus a wealth of local and social dialects of all sorts are ignored or studied only by foreigners. This is beginning to change in some areas as some indigenous scholars have begun to address the question of serious dialect study (D. N. S. Bhat 1967-8, Upadhyaya 1976).

The tyranny of the standard (ized) languages also leads many writers to ignore the fact that when they do study non-standardized languages, they are going to encounter *variation* within the speech form itself, and that they cannot rely on the speech of one individual for their complete statement of what that dialect is like. Thus for example a recent study of four Kannada dialects (Kumta, Nanjangud, Bellary, Gulbarga) was based on the speech of only four speakers, who may have indeed been quite typical of Kumta, Nanjangud, Bellary and Gulbarga speech respectively, but we have no way of knowing by comparing their speech with that of others. Neither do we ever find out if any of these speakers ever uses any other forms than the ones reported—i. e., there is no indication that any of these speakers ever uses a form typical of one of the other dialects.

Of course this tendency to ignore variation, both within the speech community and within the speech of one individual, is not only a fault inherent in the indigenous 'standard' language tradition in South Asia, it is also reinforced by western (particularly American) linguistic theory, whether Bloomfieldian or transformational, since all of us trained in those traditions have a tendency to make the same mistake—to assume that there was either 'free variation' (in which case it was insignificant), or that there was 'dialect mixture', (in which case the 'informant' couldn't be trusted) and therefore we should only study the speech of the 'ideal speaker-hearer" namely, ourselves.

This brings us to another problem that is probably imported from western linguistic tradition as well, that is, the predilection to study only one dialect at a time.

The above four-dialect study of Kannada is exceptional, because the general pattern is to concentrate only on one speech form, and if anything else is mentioned, it is the standard language and how the dialect differs from it. This raises another dangerous assumption—namely, that all non-standard speech forms are historically descended from the standard language. Since the standard language is historically an older form than the spoken dialects, one assumes that it is the parent language. This ignores the possibility that a medieval form of Kannada, for example, that some grammarian chose to codify as a standard language, or was standard because it had a body of literature written in it, might have been a social or regional dialect in the medieval period as well, and that modern social and regional dialects, while influenced by the standard language for centuries, may still exhibit many features of their medieval antecedents that were never found in the medieval sister dialect that the modern standard language is based on.

The problem of how to deal with *overall pattern* has of course plagued dialectologists for some time, and solutions to it have not been particularly numerous. The dilemma seems to stem from the notion that one cannot get an idea of the overall pattern of the dialects of a particular language until we have good studies of individual dialects. But the studies of individual dialects all turn out to produce data that cannot be compared, since the systems are different enough that they do not neatly parallel each other. Transformationalists in particular have demanded that in order for grammars to be comparable, they must be alike in all but one feature; this of course is asking for dialects that differ so minimally as to be exceedingly trivial and uninteresting. (I am almost ready to accuse transformationalists of developing this excessively "strong" demand in order to have an excuse for not studying dialects' as well as to have an *a priori* reason for not studying variability, since variability is ruled out by this demand.)

The work of William Labov has of course changed all our ideas about what happens when people use language in natural contexts. It has also made us aware of the problem of the "observer's paradox", namely, that the presence of the observer has an effect on the (linguistic) behaviour of the people being studied, namely, with the effect of skewing their responses toward what they think we want to hear, rather than what they actually say. Most of our studies in the past failed to account for this difficulty, so that most of our data on what people say in 'natural contexts', especially members of lower castes and tribes, is highly suspect.

When we have been able to get good samples of unmonitored speech (and there are various techniques that can be learned and applied in order to get such speech) we notice something that has been ignored by previous theoreticians, namely that language is *inherently variable* (Labov 1972) and that any samples of language without variation are artifacts either of the interview situation or of the analysis itself. As Labov has also shown, the best way to characterize variability is to handle it with

variable *rules* (although there will also be variation in input to the rules as well). This implies that we must have a dialectology based on *rules* (and this includes syntactic rules, pragmatic rules, code-switching rules etc. as well as phonological rules) rather than on isoglosses or Weinreichian diasystems or whatever has been the system in the past. It is this approach that has probably the most to offer in helping us to separate the forest from the trees, if only we could set about the task of applying this model.

There are immediately a number of problems that present themselves when this claim is made. One is that of the comparability of the data—generative grammarians have demanded, as I discussed earlier, that the data be comparable, but when field workers return from their efforts in the field, their grammars and data etc. are rarely comparable. I think the reason for this lies in the lack of an *overall framework* or at least an overall plan for the task of surveying the dialects of a given South Asian language. If we do not go forth into the field with a mutual agreement as to what theory of linguistics we will use in our analysis, then our data and grammars will not be comparable. It seems clear that if variation is best handled by being characterized as variable *rules,* then our grammars must contain rules, *and* must be *general* grammars, not written to be the most economical grammar ever produced, but must be flexible enough to be able to be changed if it turns out that another dialect of the same language can be better compared to it if a given rule has the form X rather than the form Y.

For example, Standard Spoken Kannada has a phonological rule that converts sequences of *-u+va* to *oo* (by lowering *u* and raising *a* to midvowels), another rule that shortens final long vowels, and a third rule that deletes most short vowels after the first syllable (except when certain consonant clusters occur). The net result of all these rules is zero, i. e., even after the lowering and raising and shortening, the vowel tends to be deleted. Why not simply write a grammar that ignores the whole business and not worry about the other processes? Well, because another dialect may share some of these rules, but lack, e. g., the deletion rule. If we characterize both dialects by the same rules, we can then show that they differ by this rule (and some others), but of course that deletion tends to wipe out many salient differences, as it always does. If we choose economy over comparability, we will not capture any significant generalizations about how Kannada dialects differ. Furthermore, since these rules tend to be variable (especially the deletion rules), we will also be making false claims about the language, since sometimes there will be undeleted forms that we will not be able to handle. Also, some rules may be socially weighted —speakers of some groups may use them more than others (e.g. 80% of the time rather than 25%) but neither group *always* applies them. Without variable *application* of a variable rule we will not be able to make significant statements about social differences in language use. For another example, sequences of nasal plus

consonant may occasionally be converted into a nasal vowel by speakers of, e.g., the Gulbarga dialect. But speakers of other dialects may stigmatize this process (even though they may also nasalize vowels themselves, only less frequently). Still other dialects may simply delete nasal segments in final position, although they are present in the underlying forms. The two processes, nasalization and deletion, need to be kept comparable or the generality of the treatment of nasal segments, itself an important aspect of Kannada historical phonology, may again be lost.

A few years back a colleague and I edited a volume of studies on Dravidian phonology. In the introduction to that volume and throughout we claimed that a dialectology based on shared rules was the only basis on which dialectology could be carried out in South Asia, because it was the only system that would allow one to capture generalizations about diglossic languages, typological characteristics of the languages of the Indian linguistic area, and social and regional dialects themselves. In the meantime it has become clear to me that the broadening of our theoretical task leads paradoxically to narrower and narrower descriptions, since recognition of the complexity of the task requires us to account for more and more variation, not only within, for example, a set of phonological rules, but within the whole system of language use—such things as code—switching. (e.g., between English and Tamil), switching of levels (between formal and colloquial, dialect switching (e. g. between a regional dialect and a colloquial standard) to say nothing of changes over longer periods of time, resulting in not only changes in the codes but changes in the *attitudes* people have about the codes, and in their use and non-use of partial or whole systems. This becomes clearer if, for example, we try to characterize the whole body of knowledge that speakers of a language like Tamil have about their language and how to use it in their daily life. What is (or are) the basic code(s) that a speaker controls actively or passively, and how does it fit into the whole linguistic repertoire that someone may use (or at least confront,) on a daily basis? How do speakers use these codes both to mark themselves as members of a group, and thus perhaps to use the language/dialect to exclude some member of some other group (the net result of which may be *lack* of communication between groups) *and* to communicate with other members of the larger society? We are increasingly aware that speakers may incompletely control some portion of a linguistic code, yet use some rules or marked forms of a sub-code to manipulate social differences, and either include or exclude themselves in the process. Any one who has ever tried to learn a South Asian language will probably have found that speakers of that language, while praising him/her to the skies for attempting to learn that code will nevertheless often refuse to speak it with him/her. This can be a frustrating experience, but it also tells us something about who ultimately belongs and who does not in South Asian society. This use of language as a barrier to communication may be incomprehensible to those of us who come from basically monolingual middle-class assimila-

tive culture, but the fact of its existence needs to be studied as a part of linguistic behaviour in South Asia, rather than attempting to 'overcome' it.

In studying level-switching in the Tamil mass media, especially in films, I have had to conclude that some aspects of it are systematic and other aspects are in fact quite random. At first the conclusion that there was random behaviour stumped and almost made me abandon the task. Now I am led to wonder what the meaning of this randomness is, i.e., to discover what kinds of ambiguity in social relationships are being communicated by this apparently 'meaningless' switching. Often in my data random switching seems to indicate intense emotional states, or even emotional ambiguity (mother torn between love of her son and duty to her husband, etc.)

I could continue in this vein but this would probably raise more questions than I have answers for. Instead I would like to attempt to draw some conclusions about the task (or what ought to be the task) of dialectology cum sociolinguistics in the South Asian area. First of all I think we need not only to recognize that the task is more complex than we had thought, including all kinds of things we previously thought to be unsystematic ('pragmatic' things like choice of code(s), deliberate ambiguity, irony, polite language, even sarcasm) but we also need to have an overall plan or agenda or program for how to address the task, and this includes, I believe, a unified methodology. I think we cannot continue to do random, uncoordinated studies of bits and pieces of linguistic behaviour and then expect it all to fit together. Language is rule-governed behaviour, and what has been lacking in our approach is the recognition that much more of the behaviour is rule-governed than we had thought. Much of what orthodox transformationalists relegate to mere 'performance' can be and has been shown to be rule-governed, and even (as I have tried to show above) manipulation of rules in an apparently ungoverned way is, on another level, rule-governed.

I hesitate to appear to be attempting to foist my own theoretical convictions upon others, but it is clear to me that progress in this field will require us to agree on some broad overall framework. I think it is clear from what I have said what some of the minimal requirements of the framework are. I believe it can be broad and open-ended enough to include many other desiderata, including many things I haven't thought of. I am not so committed to any particular theory that I could not be convinced of the merits of a more insightful one than the one we now have. But I hark back to the criterion of *comparability;* let our framework be broad enough to include all legitimate concerns, but let it have common enough characteristics that our net result is increased knowledge rather than increased confusion.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF THE INFINITIVE IN TAMIL

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The teachers teaching Tamil in various Universities face some problems while teaching Tamil to non-Tamils even if they have a sound knowledge of the Tamil language. One of the problems is the formation of various words in Tamil from a given base and also the simplification of the method of formation of words. This paper will try to throw some light upon problems of formation of words with the infinitive as a base and other aspects of the infinitive in Tamil.

Infinitive is one of the most productive forms of words in teaching Tamil to non-Tamils through the English language. We usually take the imperative as the basis for teaching a language to non-native speakers and verbal noun (toLiT peyar) for teaching Tamil to Tamil students. But the infinitive can be taken as another basis besides the imperative for teaching Tamil to non-Tamils. We have the imperative (ceyyeN-Neeval or eeval) in Tamil.[1] We are uncertain about the derivation of infinitive in Tamil from the imperative or verbal noun, and rather there is not a simple general rule to derive infinitive from the other two forms or vice versa. Moreover there is no classification of infinitive in Tamil as it is found in English. The infinitive is a kind of verbal participle (viNaiyeccam) in Tamil, whereas it is a verbal noun in English.[2]

A verbal participle in Tamil has the suffix *a* or *i* or *u* or *y*. The verbal participle with *a* suffix corresponds to infinitive in English. But the *toLiT peyar* or verbal noun in Tamil is not the same as infinitive in English.

In English 'to' is placed before an imperative or unaltered verb root to make it an infinitive; this preposition 'to' is also omitted in certain places in sentences. In English, imperative or unaltered verb root is the basis for formation of other words and in French, infinitive is the basis for derivatives. If imperative and infinitive are taken as the basis for teaching Tamil to non-Tamils through English, it would make teaching Tamil easy.

1- Nannuul suuttiram 137 and 335.

2. Encylopaedia Brittannica, vol–12 page 340, 1959.
A High School English Grammar by J. A. Yates and V. Mahadevan, 91, 1945. and
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Generally, inferior imperative is taken as the basis for teaching Tamil and some other Languages to non-native speakers. But, particularly in Tamil, after an initial stage, if we take infinitive as the basis, it will help us derive other forms of words. But it is difficult to derive infinitive from imperative in Tamil. An inferior imperative ending in shortened *u* (kuTTiyalukaram) takes *a* after dropping *u* at the end of the imperative to form an infinitive like "eluta" (to write). This is the only way to derive infinitive from imperative. There is no other standard rule to derive all the infinitives. So, it is better to teach imperative and infinitive, side by side, in the initial stage. Infinitive should be taught along with its corresponding imperative.

But teaching non-tense showing verbal nouns (toLiT peyar) is not useful in the initial stages. It leads us to difficulty and moreover it will not save time in teaching Tamil.

The suffix *a* is added to all the consonant endings of verbal bases to form the infinitive of a verb, but the vowel alone is not the ending of an infinitive. So a consonantal vowel is the ending of an infinitive. Even though we define *a* as the suffix of an infinitive, we have to divide this into two categories, namely *a* suffix with any consonant except *k* and *ka* suffix with or without doubling of the consonant *k* like *kaanh* – *kaanha* (to see) *poor-poorka* (to go) and *paar-paarkka* (to see). These two categories (one with *a* suffix and another with *ka* suffix) are going to be treated separately as they behave differently. The exceptions to these rules are (*vaa-vara* (to come) and *taa* - *tara* (to give).

There are two infinitives for an imperative verb; i.e. for an imperative verb there are different transitive and intransitive like valhar (grow) – valhara (to grow, intransitive) and *valharkka* (to grow, transitive); *aviL* (untie) – aviLa (to untie, intransitive) and *aviLkka* (to untie, transitive).

There are different infinitives with different meanings for an imperative having two distinct meanings like *adai* (reach, close) *adaiya* (to reach) and *adaikka* (to close).

There are different imperatives for intransitive and transitive verbs like *nada* (walk or conduct) *nadakka* (to walk or to conduct, intransitive) and *nadattu* (walk or conduct) – nadatta (to walk or to conduct, transitive): *kulhi* (bathe) – *kulhikka* (intransitive) and *kulhippaaddu* (bathe another) - kulhippaadda (transitive).

In the formation of other words, infinitive behaves in a different way from the usual Tamil rules of combination. When we add a derivative suffix beginning with a vowel to an infinitive, the last vowel *a* is dropped from the infinitive and the combination is a natural one; for eg; pooda (to throw) + aatee = pood + aatee = poodaatee (do not throw); peTa (to receive) + aatu = peT + aatu — peTaatu

(without receiving) etc. But when an infinitive combines with a separate word, it follows the Tamil grammatical rules; e.g. udkaara +illai = udkaaravillai (did not sit); vara +pookiTaaN = varappookiTaaN (he is going to come).

It is interesting to note that infinitive is the basis for negative forms of words. We can derive negative forms of words from infinitives by adding respective suffixes. We can derive negative forms of imperative, past participle, conditional, suppositional or concessional, relative participle, participial noun, present, past and future indicatives, possibility and also prohibitive forms from infinitive as base. This is not restricted to the negative formation alone; but some other forms like potential mood, possibility and future affirmative third person non-human gender indicative (like *varum*, it will come) are also formed from the infinitive. Some words in the meaning of affirmative and negative forms of obligation or command, enough, ability etc. also take infinitive, e.g. *vara veenhdum* (you must come), *vara veenhdaam* (you need not come), *caappidappootum* (it is enough to eat), *caappidap pootaatu* (it is not enough to eat), *padikka mudiyum* (one can read), padikka mudiyaatu, (one cannot read) etc.

Another interesting point is that infinitive is a basic necessity for conjugation. If a verb is to be conjugated in the present or future tense, first of all, the base of the verb is to be found out for its conjugation. For that purpose, the infinitive of the verb is to be found out to form the verbal base for conjugation. Suppose the verb ends in *ka*, this *ka* is dropped to form the base of the verb like *pooka* (to go) - poo; *padikka* (to read) - *padik; niTka* - (to stand) - niT etc. For other infinitives which do not end in *ka* their respective imperative forms are the verbal bases for conjugation; like *eLuta* - eLutu (write), *ceyya* - *cey* (do), *cella* - *cel* (go) etc.

If the infinite ends in *ka*, the base of the verb takes *p* as the tense showing suffix for conjugation in the future tense—e.g. *padikka* - *padik;* then, *padik* +*p* +*eeN* - *Padip* +*p* +*een* = *padippeeN* (I shall read).

It may be pointed out here, that conjugation in the past tense in Tamil, is a little complicated as in some other languages like English, French, Hindi etc. and the infinitive will not be useful in that conjugation.

Infinitive is also the basis for some forms of passive voice of a verb like *adikkappadu* or *adikkap-peTu* (be beaten). This kind of passive voice is a kind of imperative form of that voice and it is also conjugated in all the three tenses like *naaN adikkappadukiTeeN* (I am beaten), *adikkapaddeeN* (I was beaten) and *adikkappaduveeN* (I shall be beaten).

The derivation of non-tense showing verbal noun from infinitive is as difficult as derivation of infinitive from the non-tense showing verbal noun.

We have seen that infinitive is an important word in teaching Tamil. Its use helps in economy, clarity and standardisation of rules and it will be very useful in modern methods of teaching Tamil to non-Tamils. So, the infinitive should be taken as a basis along with imperative in the formation of words.

THE CONCEPT OF *ALVALI* IN SANDHI SYSTEM OF TAMIL

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0.1. All kinds of changes when two or more morphemes or words occur together is called *Sandhi*. *Pa:nini*, the Sanskrit grammarian uses the term *samhita* "close contact" to denote the same. (Asta:dhya:yi I. 4. 109). *Tolka:ppiyar*, the author of the earliest extant Tamil grammar *Tolka;ppiyam* uses the term *punarnilai* or *punar molinilai* (*Tol.* s. 111 and 113) which means junction or coming together of two morphemes or words. *Pavanandi*, the author of *Nannu:l* a Tamil grammar of the twelfth century A.D. uses the term *punarppu* and *punarcci* to indicate sandhi (*Nannu:l* s. 151 and s. 242).

0.2. *Sandhi* may be broadly classified into two kinds: Internal *sandhi* and External *sandhi*. The *sandhi* between two parts of a word is called internal *sandhi* and that between two words is called external *sandhi*. Even though *sandhi* and morphophonemics are considered in some sense to mean the same thing, it has to be noted that *sandhi* includes more than morphophonemics (Kothandaraman, p. 1972:56).

0.3. The first part of *Tolka:ppiyam*, called *Eluttatika:ram* deals elaborately with the *sandhi* system of the Tamil language. Three hundred and eighty sutras (from 104 to 483) out of the total four hundred and eighty three sutras of *Eluttatika:ram* explain the *sandhi* system and its rules. The names of those chapters containing the above sutras are *punariyal, tokaimarapu urupiyal, uyirmayankiyal, pullimayankiyal* and *kurriyalukarappunariyal*. The chapter on *punariyal* deals only with the classification and the general principles of *sandhi*. The *next* chapter *tokaimarapu* deals with the rules which involve more than one item or a class in the process. The chapter on *urupiyal* explains the developments of sandhi when the case suffix (*urupu*) is added to the noun. The remaining three chapters *uyirmayankiyal, pullimayankiyal* and *kurriyalukarappunariyal* explain the sandhi changes wherein the preceding word ends in a vowel, a consonant, a shorter *u* respectively. In short the internal sandhi is explained in the chapter *urupiyal* and the external *sandhi* is dealt with only in the remaining chapters.

0.4. The area of *sandhi* is surrounded and covered by the parts of the aspects of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. Only in *sandhi*, all these structural aspects of a language come together and meet. If anyone carefully goes

through the chapters on sandhi in *Tolka:ppiyam* he can easily find the various classifications of *sandhi* based on phonetic, syllabic, morphological, syntactic and semantic aspects. *Nannu:l* also follows more or less the same model as in *Tolka:ppiyam.*

1.0. The external sandhi is classified into *ve:rrumai* "case relation *sandhi*" and *alvali* "non-case relation *sandhi*" based on the relationship existing between the preceding and the succeeding words (*Tol. s.* 113). If the former of the two words stands in case relation to the latter, the sandhi is called case relation *sandhi.* Here the case marker may occur covertly or overtly, e.g. *ma:tu* "cow" + *kanru* "calf" *ma:ttukkanru* "calf of a cow" *Ma:ttinatu* "of the cow" + *kanru* "calf" =*ma:ttinatu kanru* "calf of the cow". If it is not so, it is called the non-case elation *sandhi ma:tu* "cow" + *kanru* "calf" = *ma:tu kanru* "cow and the calf".

2.0. This classification is considered an important one to understand *sandhi* in Tamil. *Tolka:ppiyam* always distinguishes between case relation *sandhi* and non-case relation *sandhi* for each alphabetic ending. Hence before one determines the *sandhi* change in Tamil one should naturally know beforehand the meaning of the words to decide whether the sandhi comes under the case relation *sandhi* or the other. The examples given above show the different behaviours in *sandhi* on the basis of their relationship, casal and non-casal.

3.0. Let us first discuss the technical terms for these two kinds of sandhi used in Tamil grammar. In *Tolka:ppiyam,* the case relation sandhi is denoted by the terms *ve:rrumai kuritta punarmoli nilai* 'the status of sandhi to denote case' (s. 113) and *ve:rrumai* "case" (s. 148) while the non-case relation sandhi is by the terms *ve:rrumaiyalvalippunarmoli nilai* 'the status of Sandhi of non-case" (s. 113), *ve:rrumai alvali* 'non-case" (s. 148), *alvali* "non case" (s. 149) and *allatu* "the other one" (s. 297). The later grammar books like *Nannu:l* use the short terms *ve:rrumai* "case" and *alvali* "non-case" for these two kinds of *sandhi* respectively (s. 151). Beschi, the author of the grammar *Tonnul Vilakkam* of the eighteenth century uses the terms *ve:rrumai vali* "The casal way" and *alvali* "the non-casal way" employing the suffix *vali* in both cases for the sake of *similarity.*

4.0. The classification of *sandhi* into two kinds, namely, case-relation *sandhi* and non-case relation *sandhi* is followed by all the later grammarians except the authors of *Vi:raco:liyam,* (eleventh century A.D.) and *Ne:mina:tam* (twelfth century A.D.). *Vi:raco:liyam* follows the Sanskrit model. The omission of this classification in this work is perhaps due to the fact that such a division is not found in the Sanskrit grammar. But considering the points of difference in the two occasions of *sandhi,* we find it difficult to understand why the author of

Vi:racoliyam omitted it. We could not find the reason why the author of *Nemi-natam* which is considered as "the boat sailing across the ocean of *Tolka:ppiyam* which surrounds the island of *col*" (*Ne:minatam*, Introductory verse 2) had omitted this important classification.

4.1. This classification is not found, not only in Sanskrit grammar but also in the grammar of the other Dravidian languages viz. Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. Therefore we can consider that this phenomenon is peculiar to Tamil.

4.2. Kothandaraman (1972 : 65) explains this classification as based on syntactic relation of the preceding and the following words. A large number of pairs are found in Tamil to show that the words are having different *sandhi* rule based on these two divisions (Thinnappan S. P. 1976:416-18).

5.0. According to the Tamil grammarians, it is peculiar to note that "case relation *sandhi*" includes constructions having only the six cases (i.e. from the second to the seventh which are having separate case markers such as *ai, oṭu, ku, in, atu*, and *kaṉ*). The constituents in which these case signs, whether present or suffering an ellipsis, will be called *ve:rrumai* "case relations *sandhi*". The nominative and the vocative cases which are not having case markers, are grouped not in *ve:rrumai*, but in *alvali*. But the same grammarians deal with all these eight cases (i.e. from nominative to vocative) under the heading "case" when they are explaining morphology and syntax.

5.1. Therefore where there is neither the case sign nor its significance present, the phrase will have to be taken as *alvali* "non-case relation *sandhi* (Vijayavenugopal 1968:185).

6.0. The Tamil grammarians differ in listing the constructions which will come under *alvali*. (See Appendix).

6.1. Tolka:ppiyar did not specifically mention the constructions which will come under *alvali* as the author of Nannu:l did (s. 152). According to him all the constructions, other than the above mentioned six case relationships are taken under *alvali*.

6.2. Ilampu:ranar, the earliest commentator of *Tolka:ppiyam* (11th century A.D.) first mentions that *alvali* "non-case relation *sandhi*" generally includes *eluva:yttotar* "subject predicate" (nominative) "construction" e.g. *puli vantatu* "the tiger came" under the commentary of the sutra 113. He adds the following constructions along with *eluva:yttotar* "subject predicate construction" under the commentary of the next sutra s. 114.

(i) *vili* "vocative construction" e.g. *Kanna:va:* "Kannan! Come."

(ii) *uvamattokai* "simile compound" in which the first member is compared to the second—e.g. *pon-me:ni* "golden - appearance";

(iii) *ummaittokai* "conjunctive compound" which has two or more members, the members being connected with one another by 'and' and denoting persons, measures, numbers, weights etc. e.g. *Ce:ra Co:la Pantiyar*—Cheras, Cholas and Pandiyas;

(iv) *panputtokai* "quality compound" in which the first member is generally a quality denoting colour, shape, extent, taste etc. and the second noun which has that quality e.g. karunkutirai-black horse;

(v) *irupeyarottuppanputtokai* "two noun quality compound" is one where both the members are nouns which denote the genus and species of the same object e.g. *panaimaram*—palmyra tree;

(vi) *murruttotar* "finite verb (first member) construction" e.g. *po:na:n Kannan* "Kannan went". Since this term denotes *murru* generally, we can include the construction of Implied Finite Verb such as *periyan Raman*—Raman is great;

(vii) *Iruvakai eccam* "two kinds of participles" i.e. *vinai eccam*, verbal participle construction e.g. *vantu-patittan*, having come he read, and relative participle construction ie. *vanta-paiyan*—the boy who came;

(viii) *itaittotar* "particle construction" in which the first member is a particle e.g. *marronru*—the other one;

(ix) *uriccorrotar* "uriccol construction" in which the first member is *uriccol* e.g. *nanipe:tai*—the most ignorant.

6.3. Ilampu:ranar did not include *vinaittokai* verbal compound, in which the first member is a verbal root functioning as an attribute to the second one e.g. *kolya:nai*, the elephant that kills, killed or will kill, and *anmolittokai* "elliptical compound used figuratively" *te:moli*; the lady who has sweet words. But Nacci na:rkkiniyar, another commentator of *eluttatika:ram* of Tolka;ppiyam (fourteenth century A.D.) includes these two compounds along with other constructions mentioned by Ilampu:ranar under *alvali*, non-case relation sandhi.

It may be argued that *vinaittokai* has been considered to be one word on the basis of *Tolka:ppiyam* s. 482 and that is why Ilampu;ranar has not included this in his enumeration. This cannot be accepted as a conclusive argument because Ilampu:ranar mentions also *panputtokai* which also according to *Tolka:ppiyam* cannot be split into two and explained. Therefore one has to conclude that the

omission of *vinaittokai* and *anmolittokai* is due to the copyist omitting them (G. Vijayavenugopal, 1968: XX).

6.4. The author of *Nannu:l* clearly states that there are fourteen constructions in *Alvali* in one of his sutras (s. N3 152). In addition to the constructions mentioned by the above commentators, he adds *atukkuttotar* "repetation of words" e.g. *pa:mpupa:mpu*, snake snake. According to him the names of fourteen constructions are as follows: 1. *vinaittokai* 2. *panputtokai, irupeyarottup-panputtokai* 3. *uvamaittokai* 4. *ummaittokai* 5. *anmolittokai* 6. *eluva:yttotar*, 7. *vilittotar* 8. *peyareccattotar*, 9. *vinaiyeccattotar* 10. *terinilaivinaimurruttotar*, finite verb construction which shows tense explicitly, 11. *kurippuvinaimurruttotar*, implied finite verb construction, 12. *itaiccorrotar*, 13. *uriccorrotar* and 14. *atukkuttotar*.

This extended meaning of *alvali* upsets the whole scheme of *sandhi* rules as contemplated by *Tolka:ppiyam*. Therefore the commentators have to mention exceptions at every stage to the rules given in *Tolka:ppiyam*. As a result of it, the study of *sandhi* rules has become perplexing and confusing. For instance, ordinarily the rule of doubling of the plosives does not apply to *alvali* as understood by Tolka:ppiyam, but when *alvali* is used in an extended sense by Ilampu:ranar and others this rule of no change for *alvali* will no longer hold good, for in the case of compounds of two nouns, generally there is the doubling of the plosive (Vijayavenugopal G. 1968: XXI).

6.5. The author of *Muttuvi:riyam*, a grammar of the nineteenth century simply follows *Nannu:l* in listing the constructions of *Alvali*.

6.6 But the author of *ilakkana vilakkam*, (a grammar of the end of the seventeenth century A.D.) includes all the constructions mentioned in *Nannu:l* except *vinaittokai, panputtokai* and *anmolittokai*. *Ilakkana vilakkam* is usually called *kuttittolka:ppiyam*, shorter *Tolka:ppiyam*. *Tolka:ppiyar* finds it difficult to divide *vinaittokai* and *panputtakai* in *sandhi* (s. 482). He treats them as single words. So the author of *Ilakkana vilakkam* might have omitted these two compounds under *alvali*.

6.7. Beschi, the author of *Tonnu:l vilakkam*, a grammar of the eighteenth century applies the two terms *ve:rrumaivali* and *alvali* only to nouns viz. *verrumaip-porutpeyar* and *alvalipporutpeyar* where, when no case sign can occur, it is taken as *alvali* and when there is a case sign it is considered to be *ve:rrumai* (Tonnulvilakkam 22).

6.8. The opinions of the different grammarians cited above show that there is no agreement between them in listing the constructions which will come under *alvali*.

7.0. In sutra 482, Tolka:ppiyar clearly states that *uriccorrotar*, *panputtokai* and *vinaittokai* constructions cannot be explained in *sandhi* either in terms of preceding or succeeding words. Therefore these constructions should not come under *alvali*.

8.0. As far as *anmolittokai* is concerned, it is not different from other *tokais* in its formation, but its meaning is different from similar forms when not occuring as *anmolittokai*. When *anmolittokai* has the structure of *ve:rrumaittokai*, it will be considered under *ve:rrumaippunarcci*. When *anmolittokai* has the structure of other *tokais*, it will be considered under *alvali*. How is it possible to take the same *anmolittokai* in both the divisions of *sandhi?* According to the opinions cited, *anmolittokai* comes under *alvali* construction. Shall we take all the *anmolittokais* under *alvali* without considering their formation? This kind of questions will arise here.

9.0. Shall we include all the constructions of Tamil which are considered as non-casal under the items of *alvali* mentioned by the grammarians? For example Tolka:ppiyar explains sandhi rules for the construction such as *akkorran*, 'that korran', *ikkorran*, 'this korran', and *ekkorran* 'which korran' in sutras 205-209, 237, 256. We cannot include these constructions under any item of *alvali*. Further Tolka:ppiyar states sandhi rules for the construction such as *pala kutiraikal*, many horses (s. 211, 214, 216). According to him *pala*, many, is a noun. This type of constructions also could not come under any item of *alvali* mentioned by the grammarians. *Sandhi* rules for these constructions are given not only by Tolka:ppiyar but also by later grammarians.

10.0. Tolka:ppiyar follows a scheme in explaining *sandhi* rules. He first deals with *alvali* and finally with *ve:rrumai*. If he thinks *vinaiyeccattotar* as an *alvali* construction he should explain this under *alvali*. But he has explained *sandhi* rules for *i* ending verbal participle constructions only after the explanation of *sandhi* rules of *ve:rrumai* (s. 237, 238). This shows that he does not want to include this type of constructions under *alvali*.

11.0. Tolkappiyar explains *sandhi* rules for the above mentioned constructions of *alvali* not under the common name of *alvali* but specifically mentioning their names e.g. for verbal participle construction see sutras 205, 210, 211, 237, 334; for relative participle construction see sutra 211; for finite verb construction see sutras 211, 266; for vocative construction see sutras 211, 225; for particle construction see sutras 205, 211, 213, 237, 273, 334; for simile construction see sutras 205, 211; for conjunctive compound see sutras 224, 240. These rules are given under different endings. The names of the constructions are clearly mentioned in these sutras. Therefore this also shows that these constructions are not considered as *alvali* by Tolka:ppiyar. But it is to be noted here that Tolka:ppiyar did not

specifically mention *eluvay:ttotar* "subject predicate construction" when he was explaining the rules for this *eluva:yttotar* construction.

12.0. When Tolka:ppiyar explains the *sandhi* rules for *y* ending words he states that there is no change in non-case relation *sandhi* (*alvaliyellam iyalpena molipa* – s. 362). Whether this rule can be applicable to all the constructions of *alvali*? Verbal participle constructions such as *po:yppartta:n,* he went and saw. Quality compounds such as *poyccol* untrue words and *meyccol,* true words and simile compounds such as *na:ykkunam* "Quality like dog" and *pe:ykkunam,* quality like ghost, will not agree for the above mentioned sandhi rule.

13.0. Similarly it is also doubtful whether any *sandhi* rule which is stated for *ve:rrumai,* case *sandhi* can be applicable to all the six case constructions of both explicit and implicit types.

14.0. That is why the commentators give the example of *eluva:yttotar* construction generally for the rules of *alvali sandhi* and genetive type construction for the rules of *ve:rrumai sandhi.*

15.0. Vijayavenugopal suggested that *verrumai* and *alvali* are restricted to constituents where the first constituent is a noun (1968:184, 220). By this suggestion we can omit *vinaittokai* verbal compound, *panputtokai* quality compound, *peyareccattotar* relative participle construction, *vinaiyeccattotar* verbal participle construction, *iru vinaimurruttotar* two kinds of finite verb construction, *itaiccorrotar* particle construction and *uriccorrotar* uriccol construction from the list of *alvali* constructions mentioned by *Nannu:l.* But we have to include *uvamaittokai* simile compound, *ummaittokai* conjunctive compound, *anmolittokai* compound of figurative *eluva:yttotar* subject predicate construction, *vilittotar* vocative construction, and *irupeyarottup panputtokai* two noun quality compound. But Tolkappiyar gives the rules for the constructions of vocative (s. 211, 225) and conjunctive compound (s. 224, 240) not under the name of *alvali* but by specifically mentioning their names. *Uvamaittokai* can be taken as second case relationship *sandhi* (Minakshisundaram, T. P. 1965: 96). As far as *anmolittokai* is concerned, we have already seen that it is not different from other tokais in its formation. *Ve:rrumaittokai* and *ummaittokai* etc. are also *irupeyarottu* "two nouns". Only in a later age *ca:raippa:mpu* "a kind of snake" also came to be looked upon as *irupeyarottuppanputtokai* (Vijayavenugopal: 1968: 352). Even though the language of Tolka:ppiyam considers this type of constructions e.g. *ya:marakkilavi* ya:tree (s. 230) *ma:marakkilavi* mango tree (s. 232) *utimarakkilavi* uti tree (s. 244), *pulimarakkilavi* tamarind tree (s. 245), Tolka:ppiyar did not call this *irupeyarottup panputtokai.*

16.0. Therefore it is better to take that *alvali* non-case relation *sandhi* refers chiefly to the *eluva:yttotar* Subject predicate construction or nominative construction

in which the first unit is always noun, as stated by *Ilampu:ranar* under sutra 113. Therefore the mentioning of the names of other constructions as *alvali* under sutra 114 of *Ilampu:ranar's* commentary may be a later addition.

There was once a concept that there were only seven cases. Tolkappiyar himself adds vocative case to make cases eight in number. This fact is known from the sutras 62 and 63 of *collatika:ram*, the second part of *Tolka:ppiyam*, which deals with syntax and morphology. Among the seven cases, the constructions belonging to the six cases which have case signs i.e. from second to seventh may be taken under *ve:rrumai* case relation sandhi, and the construction of the nominative case which has no case sign i.e. *eluva:yttotar* under *alvali* non-case relation *sandhi*.

17.0. Teyvaccilaiya:r one of the commentators of *collatika:ram* (14th century A.D.) extends these two kinds of classification of *sandhi* even to syntax. When he explains the structure of *collatika:ram* he says that the constructions of *alvali* are explained in the first chapter called *kilaviya:kkam* while those of *ve:rrumai* in the following three chapters. But the first chapter of *collatika:ram kilaviya:kkam* does not speak only *alvali* constructions as Teyvaccilaiya:r holds. It also explains *ve:rrumai* constructions in sutras 504, 511, 515, 531. This fact was already explained by Subramaniyan S. (1972: 156-57). Further the vocative constructions are explained separately in the fourth chapter called *vilimarapu* in *collatika:ram* of *Tolka:ppiyam* It is to be noted here that even the term *alvali* is not found in *collatika:ram*. Therefore we can say that this classification is meant only for *sandhi*.

18.0 It may be more precise and accurate if we explain the *sandhi* differences or rules by mentioning the names of the constructions themselves specifically i.e. without using the common terms *ve:rrumai* and *alvali*.

a. *talaivan kantan* – The hero saw.
b. *talaivarkanta:n* – Somebody (he) saw the hero.
c. *makal kotutta:l* – The daughter gave.
d. *makatkotutta:l* – Somebody (she) gave the daughter.

The difference in *sandhi* between the constructions may be explained that this is due to the syntactical relationship of their constituents; (a) and (c) are nominative while (b) and (d) are accusative.

e. *na:ykkutti* – pup.
f. *ka:ykani* – vegetables and fruits.
g. *vi:ttuva:cal* – courtyard.
h. *vi:tuva:cal* – home and land.

Here also the difference is due to the genitive relationship (e) and (g) and the conjunctive relationship (f) and (h) of the constituents of the constructions.

APPENDIX

CONSTRUCTIONS OF ALVALI

(Views of different grammarians)

<table>
<tr><th>S. No.</th><th>Constructions</th><th>Ilam</th><th>Nacci</th><th>Nannul</th><th>I. Vilak kam</th><th>Muttu viriyam</th></tr>
<tr><td>1.</td><td>vinaittokai verbal compound</td><td></td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td></td><td>✓</td></tr>
<tr><td>2.</td><td>panputtokai quality compound</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td></td><td>✓</td></tr>
<tr><td>3.</td><td>irupeyarottuppanputtokai two noun quality compound</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>4.</td><td>uvamaittokai simile compound</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td></tr>
<tr><td>5.</td><td>ummaittokai conjunctive compound</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td></tr>
<tr><td>6.</td><td>anmolittokai compound used figuratively</td><td></td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td></td><td>✓</td></tr>
<tr><td>7.</td><td>eluva:yttotar subject-predicate or nominative construction</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td></tr>
<tr><td>8.</td><td>vilittotar vocative construction</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td></tr>
<tr><td>9.</td><td>peyareccattotar relative participle construction</td><td rowspan="2">✓</td><td rowspan="2">✓</td><td>✓</td><td rowspan="2">✓</td><td rowspan="2">✓</td></tr>
<tr><td>10.</td><td>vinaiyeccattotar verbal participle construction</td><td>✓</td></tr>
<tr><td>11.</td><td>ternilaivinaimurruttotar finite verb (tense explicit) construction</td><td rowspan="2">✓</td><td rowspan="2">✓</td><td>✓</td><td rowspan="2">✓</td><td rowspan="2">✓</td></tr>
<tr><td>12.</td><td>kurippuvinaimurruttotar implied finite verb construction</td><td>✓</td></tr>
<tr><td>13.</td><td>itaiccol totar particle construction</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td></tr>
<tr><td>14.</td><td>uriccol totar uriccol construction</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td></tr>
<tr><td>15.</td><td>atukkuttotar construction of words of repeatation</td><td></td><td></td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>TOTAL</td><td>10</td><td>12</td><td>14</td><td>9</td><td>12</td></tr>
</table>

Ilam = Ilampu:ranar's commentary on *Tolka:ppiyam eluttatika:ram*

Nacci = Naccinarkkiniyar's commentary on *Tolka:ppiyam eluttatika:ram*

I. Vilakkam = *Ilakkana vilakkam*

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REDUPLICATION AND EXPRESSIVITY IN TAMIL

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In his article, "Onomatopoeics in the Indian Linguistic Area", Emeneau discusses the occurrence of this structural trait as a characteristic of the languages of the Indian subcontinent. He uses his earlier definition of Onomatopoeic forms which he set forth in *Kota Texts* (Emeneau 1944-1946). It runs thus: Onomatopoeic forms are "particles which appear in two syntactic constructions: (a) as a direct quotation followed by a form of the quotative verb, (b) as an expander (adverb) preceding the verb part of the predication." In other words, he considers them to be a separate class of morphemes. He lists shared Indo-Aryan and Dravidian features. Both families possess non-reduplicated and reduplicated stems, reduplication both in identical form and with some change, and both have verbal derivatives from onomatopoeic stems.

I shall look at the role reduplication plays in Tamil and shall also examine onomatopoeic forms, or *expressives* as I shall designate them, and show that certain features are found only in reduplicated expressives, and that therefore, it is necessary to classify expressives whether they are reduplicated or not, before certain interesting generalizations can be made about them.

I shall quote Emeneau again to make it clear that *expressives* are not all sound-imitative or onomatopoeic in a narrow sense. "We are dealing only in the most marginal way with blatant sound-imitative forms... Perhaps it would be more just to say that the class denotes varied types of sensation, the impingement of the material world, outside or within the person, upon the senses . . not merely the five conventionally identified senses, but all the feelings, both external and internal (Eneneau 12, p. 284).

Before going on to a discussion of expressives, I have to touch upon two features of Tamil which have a bearing on them. The first is the use of the quotative verb *en* "to say X" or "to call something X". Like other verbs, it occurs in finite and non-finite form. It is used to quote any utterance or sound in its finite form. Its non-finite forms, the conjunctive or adverbial participle *enru* "saying", and the infinitive *ena* "to say" are used more extensively, to quote not merely a sound, but to refer to the experiencing of any sensation, feeling or thought and also to refer to *implied* thought or feeling, i.e. when an act is the consequence

of some thought or feeling.[1] The infinitive *ena* "to say", has an additional specialized meaning, "similar to, like."[2] Phrases – by this term I mean clauses without finite verbs – which are rounded off with the infinitive *ena* and the conjuctive participle *enru* function like non-main clauses in English, and since these two forms can have whole utterances as their complement, sentences with *ena* and *enru* are among the few types of sentences in Tamil which can have more than one finite verb.

The second feature of Tamil which affects expressives and which I shall examine in some detail is *reduplication*. By this term, I refer to repetition both of a whole free form and a part thereof. The repetition may be identical or it may involve a change in vowel or consonant. Reduplication of different parts of speech, with specific meanings attached to such reduplication must be posited as a feature of Proto-Dravidian, since it is found in all branches of Dravidian.

To turn to examples, in Tamil, there is a distinction in meaning between a noun-based adverbial construction made with a single noun and one made with a reduplicated noun.

1.	at-ay	iraNT-aaka	piri	Separate it into two (by two).
	it-acc	two -adv	separate.	
2.	at-ay iraNTu iraNT-aaka piri			Separate it into twos (by twos).
3.	maaNavarkaL	varicay-aaka	nin-r- aarkal:	(The) students stood in a row.
	student-pl	row -adv	stand- pa-they	
4.	maaNavar-kal	varicay-aaka	nin-r-aarrkal	(The) students stood in a row.

For the sake of accuracy, it should be pointed out that with a different intonation, a stretching out of the adverbial suffix, a construction with a single noun can indicate plurality in informal spoken Tamil.

5. (phonetically) maaNavanka varycayaa ninnaanga: (The) students stood in rows.

The variable there is intonation. The first sentence, however, cannot, even in spoken Tamil, indicate plurality of the noun, as the second sentence with reduplication, does. In addition to this, interrogative pronouns and some demonstrative pronouns also indicate plurality when reduplicated, but not in the adverbial construction.

6.	enkee poo-n-aan	Where did he go?
	where go-pa-he	

7. enk-enkee poo-n-aan — Where all did he go?

8. ankee taNNiir iru-nt-atu — There was water there.
there water be-pa-it

9. ank-ankee taNNiir iru-nt-atu — There was water here and there.

To sum up, then, reduplication in nouns signifies plurality.

Repetition of adverbs signifies intensity of the quality denoted by the adverb. The intensity can be progressive.

10. virayvaaka naTa-nt-aan — He walked fast.
fast-adv walk-pa-he.

11. virayvaaka virayvaaka naTa-nt-aan — He walked faster and faster.

This kind of repetition is seen sometimes in Indian English.

Verbs convey different meanings when reduplicated. Repetition of the infinitive or conjunctive participle can signify the continuation of an action or its repetition. Only non-finite forms are involved here, and in my dialect, the quotative verb does not enter into this type of construction. Examples are:

12. naan kuuppiT-a piLLay va-nt-atu — As I called, the child came.
I call-inf child come-pa-it — Upon my calling, the child came.

13. naan kuuppiTa kuuppiTa piLLay va-nt-atu — As I called repeatedly the child came. Upon my continued calling, the child came.

14. naan kuuppiT-Tu piLLay va-nt-atu — I called and the child came.
I call-conj child come-pa-it — Upon my calling, the child came.

15. naan kuppiTTu kuppiTTu piLLay va-nt-atu — I called repeatedly and the child came. Upon my calling repeatedly, the child came.

Note that the subjects of the verbs in these sentences are non-identical. With identity of subject for the two verbs, only the conjunctive participle can be repeated or reduplicated.

16. piLLay kuti-ttu viLayaaT-ir-ru — The child played jumping around.
child jump-conj play-pa-it

17. piLLay kutittu kutittu viLayaaT-ir-ru — The child jumped around repeatedly and played. The child kept jumping and playing.

18. piLLay kuti-kk-a ooT-ir-ru — The child ran to jump.
child jump-inf run-pa-it.

19. piLLay kutikka kutikka ooT-ir-ru — The child ran to jump repeatedly.

A third kind of construction involving verbs makes use of the free form of the verb – the imperative –, and the conjunctive participle *enru*, of the quotative.

20. paTi paTi enru paTi-kkir-aan — He is studying intensively.
study study saying study-pre-he — He's in an orgy of studying.

21. maRai koTTu koTTu enru koTT-ir-ru — The rain came down in buckets.
rain dump dump saying dump-pa-it

The zealous, intensive or extensive performing or taking place of the action of the verb is denoted by this construction. There can be no shortening of the free form of the verb, like the dropping of the predictable final *u* at the end of the first occurrence of the verb. I shall return to this construction later.

The reduplication of colour terms can indicate either plurality of the nouns they qualify, or intensity of the quality they denote.

22. ankee veLLay puu iru-kkir-atu — There's a white flower there.
there white flower be-pre-it — There are white flowers there.

Since this sentence involves a non-rational noun, plurality need not be overtly marked as in the following example.

23. ankee veLLay puu-kkaL iru-kkinr-ana — There are white flowers there.
there white flower-pl be-pre-they

With repetition of *veLLay* in example 22, we get

24. ankee veLLay veLLay puu iru-nt-atu — There were white flowers
there white white flower be-pa-they — there, here and there.

The repetition of the colour term denotes here a *discrete* plurality. The same idea of discrete plurality is conveyed if, in the last sentence, the noun and verb are in the plural. Reduplication of the colour term is also seen in an adverbial construction with *aaka*, the construction which involves nouns.

25. ankee veLLay veLLay-aaka puu-kkaL iru-nt-ana There were flowers
there white white-adv flower-pl be-pa-they there – white – here and there.

The notion conveyed here also, is one of discrete plurality.

With colour terms, the distinction between repetition of a whole form and that of a part of it, becomes important. For when only the root of colour terms is reduplicated, the meaning conveyed is that of intensity of the quality denoted by the term. With this kind of reduplication, colour terms occur in a verb complement construction with the quotative *enru*.

26. ankee veLLay veLeer enru puu-kkaL iru-nt-ana There were flowers
there white white quot. flower-pl be-pa-they there, white as white could be.

Only a few colour terms occur in this kind of construction. I shall come back to these later.

We can now take up expressives. For phonological and syntactic reasons, they have to be considered a class in themselves. The only exceptionless definition that can be made of expressives in Tamil is that they are a class of morphemes which occur followed by the infinitive *ena*, or the conjunctive participle *enru*, of the quotative verb. They cannot be immediately followed by the finite or non-finite form of any other verb, without the intervening quotative. Some expressives can be followed directly by the *finite* form of the quotative verb. Some of them can be used attributively. Some of them occur with verbal suffixes of tense or agreement. Some of them occur with nominal—that is, noun forming—suffixes. All of them describe the nature of things as perceived, and of thought and feeling as experienced, by an individual.

Expressives can be classified as monomorphemic and polymorphemic, or reduplicated. In both classes, a further distinction can be usefully made between consonant-final and vowel-final forms.

I shall take up monomorphemic, or non-reduplicated expressives first. Of these, the larger number are consonant-final. These forms, when they refer to events, refer to semelfactive events. If they are *repeated without change*, they denote repeated occurrences. So repetition of these is iconic, and signifies plurality of the event.[3]

27. paRam Top enru viRu-nt-atu (The) fruit fell with a thud,
fruit exp. quot. fall-pa-it.

28. tiTiir enru varu-kir-aan He comes suddenly/unexpectedly.
exp. quot. come-pr-he

29. tiTiir tiTiir enru varu-kir-aan He keeps coming suddenly/unexpectedly.

30. curuk enru uuci-ay kutt-in-aaL She poked the needle with a jab.
exp. quot needle-acc poke-pa-she

31. curuk curuk enru kay vali-kkir-atu (My arm hurts with sharp stabs
exp. exp. quot arm pain-pre-it or pricks of pain.

With states or conditions, we have forms like these:

32. um enru iru-nt-aaL She was silent.
exp quot be-pa-she

33. kari cap enru iru-kkir-atu The curry is flat.
curry exp. quot be-pr-it

34. kam enru iru-kkir-atu It is still/quiet.
exp. quot be-pr-it.

These forms, when they describe states, are not repeated; nor do they occur with the verb in the progressive. Expressives which are repeated and which describe events or actions can occur with a verb in the progressive. Note that the same expressive can be used to describe a state or an event. The three examples above, which described states had the stative verb *iru* "be". To contrast with example 34 above, where the expressive *kam* denotes the condition of stillness, we have 35 below, where it refers to a phenomenon.

35. kam enru maNam viicu-kir-atu There's a a whiff of fragrant smell.
exp. quot fragrant smell waft-pr-it

We come next to non-reduplicated expressives which end in vowels. Many of these are sound-imitative forms, like *ayyoo, aa*, etc.This is not to say that sound imitative forms are found only in this group. Other vowel-final forms are not, strictly speaking, sound-imitative, but imitative in general.

36. ii enru pall-ay kaaTT-in-aaL She grinned.
exp quot tooth-acc show-pa-she She flashed a toothy smile (She showed her teeth "ii").

The next example may be called sound-imitative, but it shows how lexical meaning has become attached to many expressives.

37. maRay joo enru pey-t-atu (The) rain came down in buckets.
rain exp quot come down-pa-it.

These forms can refer to single or multiple events. When they describe events, the events do not have to be semelfactive as events described by consonant-final monomorphemic expressives have to be.

To the second, more extensive class, belong *reduplicated expressives.* Of these, the larger number end in vowels. The events or actions they describe are repeated or continuous occurrences. But, like non-reduplicated forms, they can also describe states or conditions. Let us look at some examples.

38.	kalakala	enru	ciri-tt-aarkaL		They laughed with an open, joyful,
	exp.	quot	laugh-pa-they		pleasant sound.
39.	tii takataka	enru	eri-nt-atu		The fire burned with a glow.
	fire exp	quot	burn-pa-it		
40.	tii katakata	enru	eri-nt-atu		The fire burned hot.
	fire exp	quot	burn-pa-it		
41.	ooTay-il taNNiir	calacala	enru	ooTu-kir-atu	Water plashes along
	stream-loc water	exp	quot	run-pr-it	down the stream.

These forms can occur with the verb in the progressive.[4]

Emeneau states that one of the features common to Indo-Aryan and Dravidian alike is the ability to form verbal derivatives. That feature is restricted to *reduplicated expressives which end in vowels,* in Tamil at any rate. Even among these, not all expressives of this type form verbal derivatives. As stated earlier, some expressives in this group form nouns taking derivative nominal suffixes. The verbal suffixes concerned are the tense suffixes -tt- (past), -kk- (present) and -pp- (future rational), –kk– (future non-rational) of strong verbs, class VI in Arden's grouping. And, of course, where finite verbs are concerned, we have to add on the suffixes of subject-verb agreement. The nominal suffixes are *-ppu,* which gives nouns of quality, and -ttal which gives derivatives which are the equivalent of English gerunds, nouns of action or state.

Let us see which of the examples given above can form derivatives. *kalakala* in example 38 forms only the nominal derivative in *-ppu, kalakalappu* "happy sociability". I am referring to one particular usage or meaning of the form. It does not take any verb suffix. *takataka,* describing the glow of anything, forms neither a noun nor a verb. *katakata,* describing the heat emitted by a thing, forms nouns in *– ppu, katakatappu* "heat" and in *-ttal, katakatattal* "the burning with heat." *calacala,* describing the sound of running water or the rustling of leaves, has the two nominal derivatives *calacalappu* and *calacalattal.* Further, it can occur as a finite verb, taking both tense and agreement suffixes. Eg. *calacala-tt-atu* "It rustled".[5]

There is a multitude of expressives describing the effects of various phenomena and feelings on a person. Some of these are:

coracora describing tactile roughness

korakora	describing	auditory roughness
toLatoLa	describing	looseness, lack of restraint
koLakoLa	describing	a semi-solid state
tiTutiTu	describing	haste, not quite under control
viruviru	describing	speed, among other things

As stated earlier, not all vowel-final reduplicated expressives take derivative nominal siffixes. Not all can occur as verbs. Some can take a a tense suffix and appear as conjunctive participles, but not as finite verbs. For example, the form *moRumoRu* "to be flabby, plump" cannot occur in a sentence:

42. avan moRumoRu-tt-aan He plumped, He flabbed.
he exp -pa-he

but only as in 43 and 44.

43. avan moRumoRu enru iru-nt-aan He was flabby/plump.
he exp quot be-p-he

44. avan moRumoRu-tt-u iru-nt-aan He was flabby/plump.
he exp. -pa-conj be-pa-he He, having become flabby, was.

There is no predictability as to which expressives have any derivatives. But all derivative suffixes which occur with expressives are morphologically, strong —that is, have geminate stops, and the verb suffixes are those of class VI verbs.

There are some reduplicated expressives which appear to be related to verbs. *vaRukku* is a verb "slip", and *vaRu,* a noun, "error, mistake". There is a reduplicated form *vaRuvaRu* which occurs with *enru,* expressing slipperiness or smoothness and the state of being infirm. Based on this reduplicated form is a noun *vaRuvaRuppu* "smoothness, slipperiness" and *vaRuvaRuttal* "being slippery, being smooth", in addition to the nominal forms *vaRukkal, vaRukkutal* "slipping". There is *kaTu,* a verb "throb, be peppery", and *kaTuppu* "throbbing", a noun. Related to it are *kaTukaTu,* a form meaning "to show signs of anger, to be pungent in taste", a form which occurs with *enru* as well as with tense suffixes. In addition there is a reduplicated nominal form *kaTukaTuppu* "throbbing, giving expression to anger". Take also the form *koRu,* a verb meaning "become fat". There is a related noun *koRuppu,* "fat, fatness". Reduplicated, it occurs as *koRukoRu* which occurs with *enru. poluku.* a verb "flow, drip" is most probably the form on which the expressive *polupolu* describing crumbling or falling lightly like rain, is based.

These forms which we have just examined, illustrate, I would suggest, a process of derivation from verb to expressive. Not all expressives have a likely verb from which they are derived by reduplication. That is, there are no verbs *taka* "glow" or *toLa* "be loose", to which *takataka* and *toLatoLa* are related, for

example. But verbs like *koRu*, *kaTu*, and *poluku* are primary and non-reduplicated, and the expressives *koRukoRu*, *kaTukaTu* and *polupolu*, secondary and reduplicated. These derived expressives can themselves be base forms for further derivations, both noun and verb, as stated above.

A brief statement on the manner in which all these forms are entered in the *Tamil Lexicon* of the University of Madras might not be out of place at this point. Consonant-final expressives are entered with the *enal* form of the quotative verb meaning "the saying X". Reduplicated expressives are entered generally with *enal*, the quotative. For the most part, where the expressive can take the tense suffix, at least to form a conjunctive participle (in the past tense), there is an entry in the *-ttal* form, the equivalent of a gerund in English. When it occurs, this *-ttal* entry precedes the *enal* entry. For example, there is an entry *kuppenal*, for the consonant-final form *kup* signifying suddenness; for *takataka*, there is also just the entry *takataka enal*, but for *moRumoRu*, there is an entry *moRumoRuttal* "v. int. to be flabby, *koRukoRuppaay iruttal*", although the form which occurs with a verbal suffix is the conjunctive participle. (It is also to be noted that although the Lexicon uses *koRukoRu* in the definition, there is no entry under *koRukoRu*.) There is no *enal* entry under *moRumoRu* either. What can be said, I think, is that where there is a *-ttal* entry in the Lexicon, the form can at least occur as a conjunctive. I have not examined every entry, so I cannot make an absolute statement.

We are still not finished with the classification of Tamil expressives. The next group of reduplicated expressives is that which shows a change in the initial consonant or vowel of the reduplicated part. These may be consonant or vowel final. Some sentences with such expressives follow.

45. **kaTaa muTaa** enru uruN-T-atu — It rolled making a racket—clattering, crashing, etc.
exp quot roll-pa-it

46. **caTTu puTTu** enru veelay-ay cey — Do the Job quickly. Step to it.
exp. quot work-acc do

47. **koLaam puLaam** enru iru-kkir-atu — It is in a mess, in disarray.
exp. quot be-pr-it

48. **Taam Toom** enru kalyaaNatt-ay naTa-tt-in-aan — He conducted the wedding with much ostentation.
exp. quot wedding-acc conduct-pa-he

49. **caTa puTa** enru veTi-tt-atu — It went off with small explosive noises.
exp. quot explode-pa-it

Some of these, like the last example, can have derived nouns and verbs based on them, but one cannot predict which ones can have them.

What then, of the reduplicated colour terms and verbs which we looked at earlier? Examples like *veLLay veLeer enru* and *koTTu koTTu enru*. These, I suggest, are an *extension of the expressive construction or frame*, to classes of morphemes which are not expressives. Note, however, that these constructions *require* reduplication. The following sentences are ungrammatical .

50.	avan	paTi	enru	paTi-tt-aan	He went into an orgy of studying.
	he	study	quot	study-pa-he	
51.	atu	veLLay	enru	iru-nt-atu	It was white as white could be.
	it	white	quot	be-pa-it	

If these constructions are an extension of the expressive consruction to verbs and adjectives, where do forms like *vaRuvaRu* and *koRukoRu* which I wish to consider derivatives, fit in? The latter are *lexical* derivatives. The process by which they have been derived, reduplication, has applied selectively to some verb forms to produce these secondary ones. It is not productive; one cannot at will make reduplicated expressives out of all verb roots.

As far as colour terms are concerned, the *veLLay veLeer enru* kind of construction is limited to a few terms. It is not productive. But where verbs are concerned, the *koTTu koTTu enru* and *paTi paTi enru* kind of construction is not closed or dead. It is potentially open to verbs which describe *actions*. Certain verbs have come to be frequently used in this construction. Other verbs have an element of freshness or unexpectedness when used in this construction.

52.	piLLay	tuLLu tuLLu	enru	tuLL-ir-ru	The child leaped or jumped about in joy, or in anticipation (in a dither of joy, expectation).
	child	leap	quot	leap-pa-it	

This sentence is not uncommon. But the next one, if not ungrammatical, strikes one as unexpected.

53.	pul	tuLir	tuLir	enru	tuLir-tt-atu	The grass sprouted away like mad.
	grass	sprout		quot	sprout-pa-it	

Verbs which can occur in this construction do not form other derivatives based on the reduplicated verb root. There is no *lexical* derivation involved here just the spreading of of a syntactic pattern. But reduplication is involved in both the formation of expressives from verbs (like *vaRuvaRu*) and in the generalization of the expressive construction frame to verbs of action.

This is not an exhaustive treatment of reduplication in Tamil. But there are some other forms which have at times been grouped with expressives, which

show reduplication. I shall take a quick look at them. These forms are not *expressives as I have defined them.* These are nouns which are reduplicated with a change in consonant or vowel. Some of them should be called *pre-duplicatives,* for the part that is reduplicated precedes the part which is not. That is, of two elements, one has lexical meaning and the other rhymes with it, but sometimes the rhyme precedes the lexeme. The two elements function as a unit.
Some examples follow.

cannal pinnal "entanglements, confusion", pinnal, "braiding"
kooNal maaNal "crooked, uneven, literal and figurative."
kooNal "crookedness, angularity."
cikkal pikkal "difficulties, entanglements", cikkal "entanglement"
kaaram caaram "spicy; angry, heated" kaaram "pungency"

Needless to say, these expressions do not occur with *enru.*[6]

This leads us to what have been termed "echo words". These are found in all Dravidian languages and should be posited for Proto-Dravidian. The trait characterises the Indian linguistic area; in addition, it is found in Turkish as well. This phenomenon is characterised by the repetition of a lexeme with a change in the first syllable, different languages using different consonants to begin the repetition. This is not confined to nouns. E.g. *maram kiram* "trees and such" *paaTi kiiTi* "having sung, etc." Again reduplication is essential to convey the nuance of echo-word constructions, and it is merely a nuance, for a sentence is quite grammatical without the echo phenomenon.

Reduplication then, is intimately bound up with expressive language—to convey nuances of meaning, and in the formation of a large group of expressives. Not all expressives as we saw earlier, are reduplicated. Derivation of expressives from verb roots involves reduplication of the roots. Extension of the expressive construction requires reduplication of the verb or adjective involved. As illustrated by reduplicated nouns and echo words, expressive language, if I might use that phrase, also involves reduplication. On the other hand, the expansion of expressive forms into other constructions, i.e. the derivation of nominal and verbal forms from expressives, involves only reduplicated expressives, not monomorphemic ones. Monomorphemic expressives, then, are a linguistic dead-end. In expressive language in general, and especially in productive expressive language, reduplication is the vital element in Tamil.

FOOTNOTES

1. For example,

avaL	varu-v-aaL	enru	poo-n-een
she	come-fut-she	quot	go-pa-I

(I went thinking, hoping she would come)
literally, I went thinking/saying thus: she will come.

2. An example of a sentence with *ena* meaning "similar to" is

puli	ena	paay-nt-aan	He leapt like a tiger.
tiger	like	leap-pa-he	

The same sentence with *enru,* goes like this:

puli	enru	paay-nt-aan	He leapt because of the tiger.
			He leapt thinking/saying: tiger.

The sence of like a tiger is also here.

3. With consonant-final and vowel final monomorphemic (non-reduplicated) expressives, there is no theoretical limit to the number of times a form is repeated. Usually the numer does not exceed four only three grammatically.

4. Reduplicated expressives may be repeated as well. E.g. sentence 41 could run ooTayil calacala calacala enru ooTirru.

5. When reduplicated expressives become the base forms of derived verbs and nouns, they may *not* be repeated.

6. These forms occur often in an adverbial construction with the suffix - *aaka.*

E.g.	kuRampu	kaaram	caaram-aaka	iru-kir-atu
	curry		spicy adv	be-pr-it

The curry is hot and good.

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(Phonemic system of transliteration).

T retroflexed stop ட்

N retroflexed nasal ண்

L retroflexed lateral ள்

R retroflexed frictionless central continuant ழ்

t dental stop த்

n alveolar, dental and velar nasal ன், ந், ங்

Other symbols are those conventionally used.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE 16TH CENTURY A GRAMMAR BY FATHER HENRIQUES

HISTORICAL PROVENANCE

By

JEANNE H. HEIN

The *Arte da Lingua Malabar* is a grammar of the Tamil language spoken by the Paravas in the mid 16th century before it had been very much sanskritized. It was written between 1548 and 1549 in Portuguese by the Jesuit missionary, Fr. Henríque Henriques (1520-1600). The only copy of the grammar known to exist is in the National Library of Lisbon, Portugal,[1] and was first identified by Fr. S. Thani Nayagam in 1954.[2] The grammar is unique. It gives us a full description of a Tamil dialect as it was spoken over four centuries ago and further more it provides us with the means of creating a phonetic key to its actual pronunciation. Since the document is a part of the earliest penetration of Indian culture by western people in modern times, the grammar also opens up new sources for study about those inter-cultural encounters.

Five basic factors underlie the writing of the *Arte*:

1. The struggle for economic survival by the Paravas;
2. The decline of the Vijayanagar empire and the consequent political instability among southern kingdoms;
3. The recent entry of the Portuguese in South India and their contention with Muslim powers for control of the sea routes to India and the East;
4. The obligation of the Portuguese king to the Christian Pope in Rome to spread Christianity throughout the Portuguese "discoveries";
5. The simultaneous founding of the Society of Jesus (1540), an order dedicated to the teaching of the Christian faith anywhere in the world.

Paravas depended on fishing for pearls, conches and fish for their livelihood. Both Sangam literature and European travel accounts attest to their dominance of this industry for many centuries.[3] The balance of power among South Indian nations to which the Parava villages belonged had been maintained by Vijayanagar rule. Paravas needed a stable political environment for the successful conduct of their industry. When early in the 16th century the Vijayanagar empire went

into decline the political stability of coastal kingdoms was shaken and nearby Muslim villages eventually took away the rights to the fisheries from the Paravas. This they accomplished both by superior force and by negotiated alliances with Hindu rulers. Without sufficient military power of their own and lacking support and protection from their rulers, the Paravas, in 1535, in desperation sent a delegation of fifteen of their leaders to Cochin to negotiate the help and intervention of the Portuguese. The delegation met the captain of the Portuguese fort at Cochin and asked for protection of the Portuguese fleet in return for their offer to embrace Christianity.[4] The deal was made and proved to be effective in bringing advantages to both parties. The Portuguese could by such an arrangement easily fulfil their religious obligation to spread Christianity while at the same time they could control the Gulf of Mannar and the Palk Straits. They would thus displace a Muslim sea power serving their enemy, the Zamorin of Calicut. Not least among the advantages was the tribute paid by the Paravas to their local kings, which now would be paid to the Portuguese protectors.

To the Paravas, the advantage was less complicated but of vital importance. They would regain their rights to the pearl fisheries and protection from the devastating turmoil and death resulting from clashes with the Muslims. Conversion for them was no problem. Christian baptism, which they readily accepted in mass ceremonies between 1535 and 1537, held little significance either for making a change of faiths or for altering their village religious practices or way of life. From their perspective, conversion was no great price to pay for the assurance of survival. Life within Parava villages went on as before. Over the succeeding years they continued to fish for pearls, paid their tribute to the Portuguese, tolerated their presence but developed no significant political loyalty to them beyond what was expedient for peace and survival. However, they did, in time, become convinced and practising Christians. This was due to the subsequent missionary work of the Jesuits who initiated the Christian mission to the Paravas.

News of the conversion of twenty to thirty thousand Paravas to Christianity reached Europe in 1537 and caused a stir of excitement setting off the beginning of the modern missionary movement.[5] This became the personal concern of King John III of Portugal, who obtained from the Pope the services of the just-forming Jesuit order to whom he entrusted the Christian mission to the Paravas and the East. Francis Xavier was selected to make the first exploratory journey on behalf of the missionary movement and was in fact the personal representative both of the king and the Pope on his eastern journeys. Within a few months after his arrival in Goa in 1542, Xavier set out for the South taking with him three young Paravas whom he found enrolled in the Portuguese college for youth in Goa. They had already learned enough Portuguese and the fundamentals of the Christian

faith to be able to work as Xavier's interpreters and assistants. With their help and the help of other Paravas recruited in Tuticorin, Xavier put the basic Christian doctrine and its prayers and customs into Tamil.[6] Although he never learned Tamil, he did sponsor and see through these translations and then, committing them to memory, he went about the villages reciting them and teaching them. He carried on his work on the coast laying the foundations for the organization of a full-fledged mission which got underway intensively in 1547 with the arrival of six Jesuits on the coast. Among them was Father Henrique Henriques who demonstrated at once such a proficiency in learning Tamil that Xavier set him apart during 1548 and 1549 to devote almost full time to writing a grammar. Jesuits sent detailed accounts of their experiences to their superiors in Europe. Many of these exist today providing us with an almost inexhaustible supply of invaluable source material with which to learn the full account of Henriques' work with Tamil and his writing of the grammar. These letters, numbering in the thousands, have been edited and published in two major series and are now at our disposal.[7] They, along with the *Arte* itself, are the principal sources we use for our historical and linguistic studies.

The language Henriques learned was the Tamil spoken in the Parava villages under his ecclesiastical supervision. He lists them:[8] the Parava pearl fishing villages were Vembar, Chetipur, Vaippar, Tuticorin, Cayle Velho, Talambuli, Punnaikayal (his home and headquarters), Virapandyapattanam, Tiruchendur, Alantalai, and Manappad; the Parava fishing villages (fishers) were Pudukudi, Periya Talai, Ovari, Kullankuli, Idindakarai, Perumanal, Kumari Muttam, Kanyakumari, Kovalam, and Rajakkamangalam; Mukkuvan villages (fishers) included eleven villages along the coast of Travancore extending north from Rajakkamangalam to Puvar; the Karaiya caste villages (shell burners) included Periyattanam, Vedalai, Kombuture, and Rameswaram.

Parava villages appear to have had their own government and with the exception of the fishing rights, lived virtually independent of local political alliances. Except for matters relating to the fisheries, such as payment of tribute and the protection which required a small Portuguese garrison to be stationed on the coast, there was little contact between the Paravas and the Portuguese. The priests were the principal intermediaries between them. Jesuits frequently represented Parava interests and incurred the criticism of some Portuguese officials who thought they should be more concerned about Portuguese interests. Priests shared with the headmen (pattankattis) the execution of justice and some of the enforcement of law and order. They also established schools, medical and social services, and ministered to the personal and spiritual needs of their parishioners from birth to death. The single most effective enabling factor in their enterprise was their knowledge of Tamil and their ability to communicate in depth with the Paravas right

from the start. In this they were far ahead of other areas of the Christian mission such as Goa, where Konkani was not known by priests until the 1560's.

Our study of the *Arte* clearly reveals it to be an original work by a man of considerable talent. Henriques worked from the model of Latin grammar[9] which was deeply ingrained in him and in his colleagues, and hence provided many useful language assumptions upon which he could work out his grammatical system for Tamil. There is no evidence in the *Arte* or in his letters that he was ever aware of the existence of the traditional Tamil grammars and commentaries. From his letters we know that he learned Tamil principally from children and youth in his communities. Concerned to communicate to his colleagues the precise sounds and finely tuned meanings of Tamil, the grammar is remarkable for its detail and accuracy for such an innovative effort. A curious document, the *Arte* combines scholarly rigour with an informal, conversational style indicating it was probably dictated to a scribe by Henriques. This particular manuscript is clearly a working copy. There are many corrections in it. Some sections are moved about. Pagination has not been conformed to changes. The author's struggle to render Tamil accurately is also apparent - the grammar is in the process of formation. Precise instruction for pronunciation is given especially where he knew Portuguese speakers would be faced with difficulties. Surely presentday Tamil scholars will be fascinated to peer over the shoulder of this 16th century foreign scholar as he wrestles with their language before their very eyes, for, with this *Arte*, that is what they will do.

The personal stamp of Henriques is visible throughout the document although he never signed his name to it. He didn't need to for it was a hand-made manual made for the use of men who knew him intimately. We do find Henriques' own handwriting here and there in the manuscript where he makes corrections or additions. One need only read through the Jesuit letters from 1540 on to learn that he had no peer with regard to writing a grammar. He himself describes in his letters how he wrote the grammar and his colleagues frequently refer to his work on it and their use of it. His emergence as a linguist is quite aparent, for, in the Jesuit letters, he is the acknowledged authority in matters related to language. In 1569 his superiors called him to Goa to help write the first grammar of Konkani.[10] The rector in charge of the church in Cochin asked him to write a grammar of Malayalam. Henriques wrote, "..Fr. Manoel Teixeira recommended that I do a grammar of the Malayalam language which is spoken in Cochin, which is as much different from the language of this coast (Tamil) as Spanish is from Portuguese..."[11] Further, Henriques never ceased to change and improve the grammar. He worked on corrections and revisions at least through 1569. Then he went on to re-do Xavier's primitive catechism and published a short catechism (1578) and a long catechism (1579) and a book on the lives of the Christian saints (1586), all in Tamil.

The catechism of 1578 was the *first book* to be printed in India in any Indian language. Because his catechisms were written for enduring use much later than the *Arte*, his Tamil has been "improved". Not so, the *Arte*. It is the unembellished dialect of the Paravas put down exactly as it was spoken. Faithfulness to the Parava speech in the *Arte* was compulsory for Henriques because he and his colleagues had the enormous task of being the first to put into Tamil the liturgies, doctrines and moral teachings of the christian Church and the task of leading Paravas into a full understanding of the faith they had accepted. The grammar did achieve these ends. It was never intended for posterity or for any other use.

The Christian character of present day Parava communities is sufficient testimony to Henriques' success as a missionary and the effectiveness of the *Arte* as the basic tool for Europeans to learn the Tamil language. Whether intended or not, the grammar has been preserved for posterity and we are the inheritors of it. By the remarkable good fortune of its survival of four centuries, it can now be put to other uses never envisioned by its author. It is an incredibly clear window into the life of the Paravas when they were in encounter with the Portuguese foreigners, and through it we can see a bit more of their social history and study their dialect of long ago.

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MINIMUM MODIFICATIONS TO THE EXISTING TAMIL SCRIPT TO SUIT MODERN REPROGRAPHY METHODS AND SCIENCE MACHINES

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Scope

Twentieth century is the age of the machines. Developing countries like India have to face the challenge and progress accordingly. The present day reprographic methods are highly advanced and mechanical reproduction is faster and easier. Careful planning should foresee the developments, that are to come in the next fifty years.

With all the development of science and technology associated with reprography, the human handwriting will continue to be used for all original writing purposes. In this paper, an attempt is made to suggest certain structural changes in the use of he Tamil language script. Initially these changes may be resisted by some, because it is difficult to change one's habits of writing suddenly. But it is hoped in course of time, people will see the advantage of the improved script and adopt the same with ease. The present generation has to tolerate any changes suggested now. Having these two aspects in mind a few auggestions are made for the modification of the present day Tamil script.

Terminology

This paper deals with Tamil alphabets and hence more Tamil terms are made use of for better clarity. uyir, mei, pulli are used as equivalents for vowel, consonent and dot. a, aa and other alphabets are denoted as akara, aakaara etc. The combined uyir and mei letter is referred as uyirmei letter. This is for the convenience of the subject chosen and of the readers who are more conversant with these terms.

Reprography Methods

Handwriting is the major source of producing the originals, as well as the chief reproducing arrangement. Taking copies with carbon paper is still prevalent in many Government offices in Tamil Nadu.

Typing process is slowly taking over the process of copy making. Since English was the official language of the State earlier, there are quite a number of typing machines available in Government offices. After the introduction of Tamil as the official language of the state, a few Tamil Typewriters have been introduced for the administration. Due to the paucity of funds, the Government of Tamil Nadu could not meet the growing demand for the Tamil machines.

Teleprinter and computer are the modern day machines, one for the telecommunication and the other for calculations and computations. Both these machines work just similar to the type machine in their input and output. Hence any suggestion made to the typewriter will apply also to the teleprinter and computer. Printing is the most popular and economical medium for the dissemination of any information to the public at large. The popularity of daily newspapers, the growth of book-holding in public and private libraries bear testimony to this. Printing technology too has made recently certain advances like mono-type and lino-type that have made it tremendously economical to print besides multiplying the speed capability of the machines. In the light of these developments in printing technology, the suggestions made to improve the Tamil script are expected to bring certain benefits in geometric progression.

Aims of the Changes

(1) To achieve some uniformity among the rows and columns of the matrix of the Tamil System.

(2) To improve the present day script in the light of its evolutionary of development over the last many centuries.

(3) To restrict the suggested changes to the limits of toleration of the common users of the Tamil language.

Minimum Modifications

(1) The uyirmey ukara and uukaara series will be written with the letter plus symbol on the right side.

(2) uyirmey nedil letters will take (ா) symbol with kuril figures.

The government of Tamil nadu, at present, has ordered for the change of five letters (ணா, னா, றா, லை, ளை). This eliminates four strokes in the typewriter. (ணா, னா, றா, ை)

By considering the first suggestion made above, another 20 strokes become surplus (ணு (2), று, நு, கு, கூ, து, ரு, ,, ு, T, ஞு, ஜு, சு, பூ,

து, மு, டு, °, கூ) Hence with little readjustment, all the 26 Roman characters can be made available in the Tamil Typewriter. (Fig. 1).

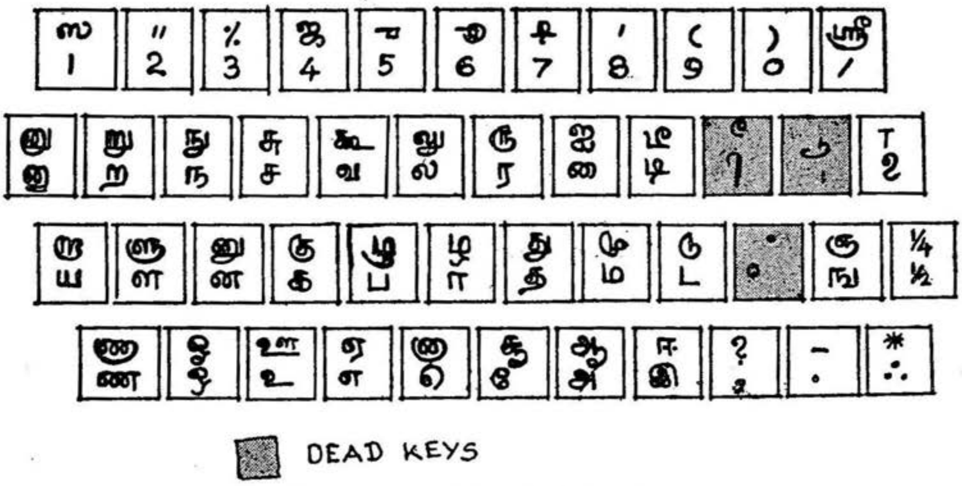


Figure 1. Tamil Standard key Board

It is to be noted that out of the 24 strokes referred to above, only 3 strokes fall in the lower row. Twenty one strokes lie only on the shift rows.

There are 31 keys in the Tamil typewriter bearing letters. Out of 31 upper row characters, 21 numbers may be dispensed with as suggested above. The characters left with, in the upper row are seven (ழ, ஞ, ஆ, ஈ, ஊ, ஏ, ஓ) only.

A study of these seven letters leads to the second suggestion made above. Out of the seven, ழ and ஞ have to be retained at any cost. There are three vacant spaces available already in the lower case, as mentioned in the previous paragraphs, where two convenient places can be chosen for the above two letters.

The characters left with in the upper case are only five uyirnedils. After all, nedils are only extension of kurils, just like கா column where all the kuril letters are extended by the addition of the attachee symbol (ா). It will be worthwhile to consider here, whether the same principle be followed for uyir nedils also. The symbol (ா) may be placed on the right side of the kuril letters.

A study of the Tamil paleography and the frequency analysis of the occurrence of uyir nedils are favourable for this argument. This point will be discussed in detail later.

The above recommendations are just sufficient for the typewriter, teleprinter, computer and other petty instruments like Bradma Press (Fig. 2) cheque writer in the Banks etc.

Figure 2. An Address printed with Bradma Press

For printing industry, some more changes are required in the present day script in three columns. In typewriter, the letter can be divided into two parts and using a dead key, one part may be placed over the other. Mei pulli is placed in this manner. First, pulli is typed and the carriage will not move. Below the pulli, the main letter will be placed. Similarly ikara and iikaara attachees are placed first with the help of dead keys and the main letters are placed later. This advantage is not available in the letter press. Each letter is an independent unit.

Swadesamitran, a leading Tamil Daily, made a bold attempt for some time, in dividing the main letter and the ikara and iikaara symbols separately and printed them side by side. (Fig. 3).

விருந்த உப்புச் சதுப்பானது மிகுதி
யான அளவு மண்ணில் படிந்து
விட்டது மேலும் நிலம் கடல் மட்
டத்தை விடத் தாழ்ந்ததாகையால்
நீர் கசிந்து சத சதப்பாக வேறு
இருந்தது. எனவே 100 அடிக்கு
ஒன்றாக குறுக்கும் நெடுக்குமான
அநேக வடிகால்கள் வெட்டப்பட்
டன. இவை நீரைக் கீழே இழுத்
துக்கொண்டதால் நிலத்தின் சதுப்
புத்தன்மை நீங்கியது. அவ்வப்
போது பெய்த மழையினால் உப்புச்
சத்துக்கள் அடித்துச் செல்லப்பட்
டன. சில மாதங்களில் நிலம் பயி
ரிடுவதற்குத் தகுதியானதாயிற்று.
என்றும் பொறுக்கி எடுக்கப்
பட்ட சில விளைபொருள்களே முத
லில் பயிரிடப்பட்டன.
இவ்வாறு நிலமானது மீட்கப்
பட்டதும் மற்ற நிர்மாண வேலை

ளாயர். 1945-ம் ஆண்டு ஏப்ரல்
17-ந் தேதி தங்களைத் தாக்கிய
தேசத் துருப்புகளின் முன்னேற்
றத்தைத் தடுக்க எண்ணி புது
நிலத்தைச் சுற்றிக் கட்டப்பட்
டிருந்த சுவற்றில் இரு சிறு
உடைப்புகளைச் செய்து விட்டனர்.
நீரின் அரிப்பு வேகத்தால் இச்
சிறு உடைப்புகள் சுமார் 200 கஜம்
அகன்றிருந்தன ஆயினும் புது
நிலம் முழுவதும் நீரில் மூழ்க 2
நாட்கள் பிடித்தன உயிர்ச்சேதம்
எதும் நிகழாமல் தடுக்கப்பட்டது.
மூன்று மாதங்கள் கழித்து போர்
நிலைமை சாதகமடைந்ததும் மீண்
டும் நீர் இறைக்கும் வேலை துவங்
கியது. முன்னர் 6½ மாதங்களில்
செய்த அதே வேலை இப்போது
4 மாதங்களில் முடிக்கப்பட்டது.
பழுதான கட்டிடங்கள் புதுப்பிச்

Figure 3. An imprint from Swadesamitran

Similar arrangement may be followed now causing a reduction of 34 independent figures in printing. It will be a proposition to treat the symbols as independent characters and the same may be adopted for டி and டீ also.

Regarding mei pulli, the pulli may be placed similar to a degree mark. This proposal reduces 18 characters in the printing process.

These two suggestions do not require any popularity among the public. It will be possible by the people to read the passages printed implementing the above suggestion. They will appear only as a new style introduced by the printer.

Regarding ai and au, no change is proposed now. au is made of ஒ and ள which are already available in the system. By the elimination of ai, the savings is just one figure and hence this is not a worthy proposal. ai may be allowed to continue as it is. The letter au was written, with normal size ஒ and short size ள, about 10 years back. Then it was convenient to differentiate au from ola. This facility is not available now.

All the printers use equal sized ள in place of half sized ள for au. Hence at this stage, it has become a necessity to write au as அவ் instead of ஔ.

Total number of Figures

As a result of all the suggestions made above the total number of figures gets reduced to 34 only as follows.

uyir	6	அ இ உ எ ஒ ஐ
mei	18	க ங ச ஞ ட ண த ந ப ம ய ர ல வ ழ ள ற ன
uyirmei symbols	8	ா ி ீ ு ூ ெ ே ை
pulli for mei	1	°
aaydham	1	ஃ
	34	

The revised alphabet system is shown in Figure 4.

Paleographical Grounds

The Archaeolologists and epigraphists, have proved beyond doubt the evolution of Tamil script in the past 2500 years.

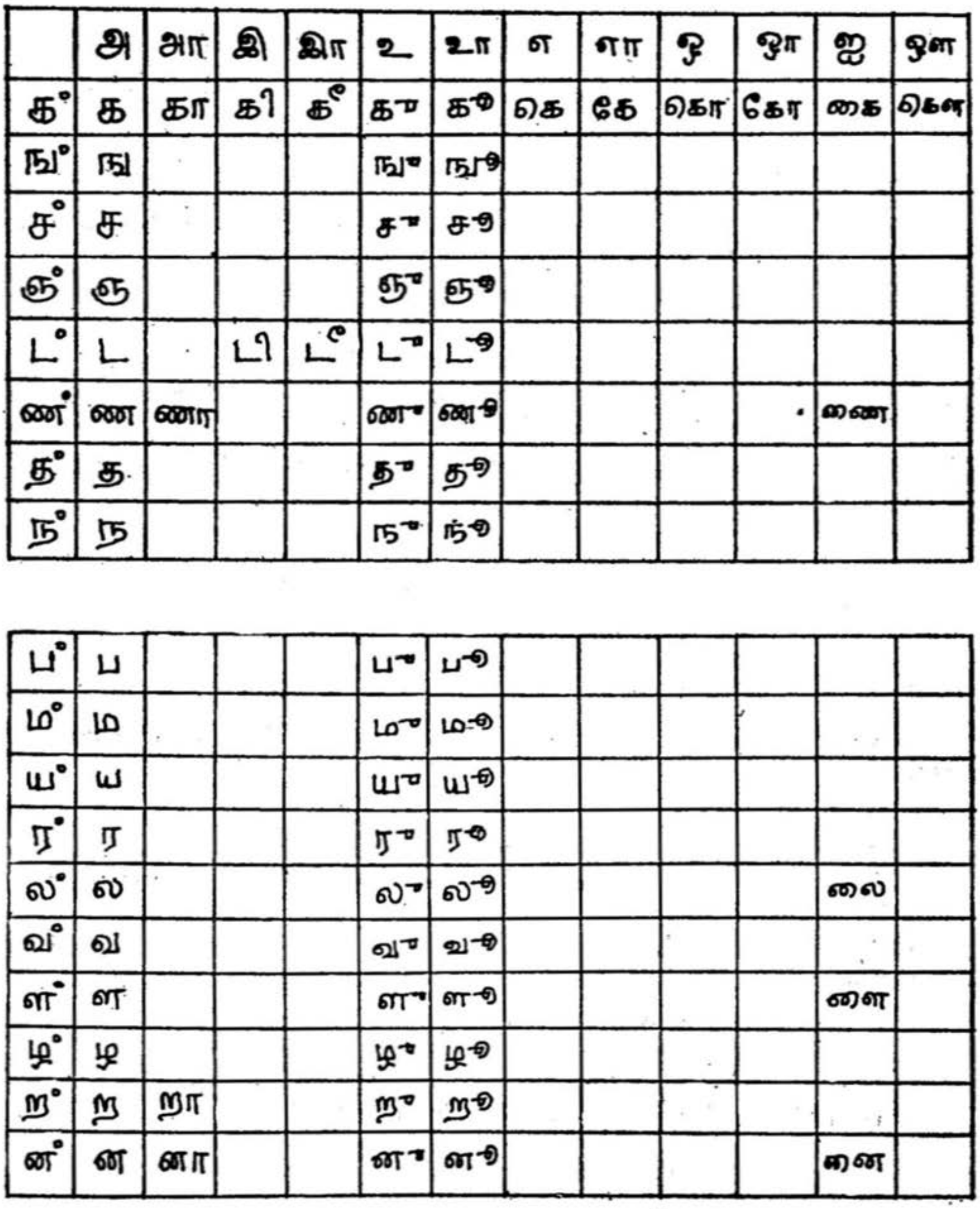


Figure 4. Modified Tamil Alphabets

The old Tamil script is shown in Fig. 5

Figure 5. Old Tamil alphabets

The consonants are formed by attaching dash lines, on top right top left, and at botom or bottom right as shown in the same Figure.

The development of ெ and ா are shown in Fig. 6

Figure 6. Evolution of the present day letters

Many letters are of square type and a few leters are curved at bottom. The ukara symbol is added to the bottom of the curved letters and to the bottom right of the square letters. This change is the reason for the development of various shapes for ukara and uukaara uyirmey letters.

It is now suggested to separate the attachee and place it as a supporting letter by the right side of the main letter.

The uyir nedil letters of the ancient Tamil are shown in figure 7.

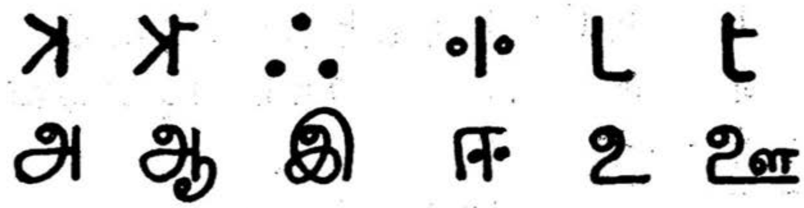


Figure 7. Uyir kurils extended

The letters a, aa, i, ii, u, uu are simply extended by the addition of dash. This dash is similar to that of kaa nedil, where it is similar to it, has taken the shape of (ர). It is now suggested to take this figure (ர) to extend uyirkurils to uyir nedils.

The development of the present mu is also shown in Figure 8.

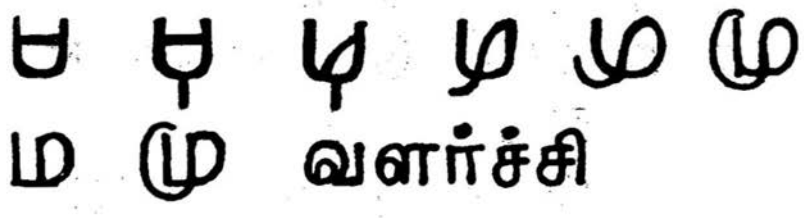
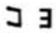


Figure 8. Evolution of mu

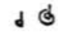
The attached symbol for u and uu

Two new figures for the supporting symbol for ukara and uukaara uyirmey characters are to be developed now. A few suggestions are already in the field.

1. Govindapillai, a typist of the Tamil department in the University of Ceylon, Peradenia campus (1974 Tamil Conference papers)
2. Er. Thillainayagam, an electronics Engineer of Ceylon now working in London (1974 Tamil Conference papers)

3.  Kodumudi Shanmugan a Civil Engineer of Tamilnadu, India (1974 Tamil Conference papers)

4. Tamilaka Pulavar Kuzhu. (a recommendation of the working committee circular dated 5-2-75 signed by N. Sanjeevi).

5.  Kerala Government has adopted this symbol to Malayalam.

The author conducted a field survey in Tamilnadu taking a random sample of Tamil users and found that 80 percent of them prefer the symbol (2) because it is being taught from the first class in elementary school.

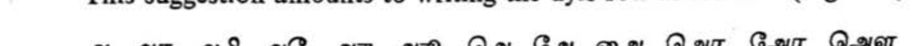
These symbols occupy more horizontal space. The author, at present recommends these symbols tilted by 90° with vertical position so that the space occupied will be minimum.

Rationalisation

A few scholars feel that, when some modification to the script is thought of, this opportunity should be made use of for rationalising the Tamil script. By rationalisation the following proposals are put forth for consideration.

1. In the 13 × 19 matrix of Tamil characters, there should be uniformity throughout the column. They suggest that the symbol used to differentiate uyirmei characters should be made use of for the uyir characters also.

This suggestion amounts to writing the uyir row as follows: (Figure 9).



Ftgure 9.

This suggestion causes major change in the system. There is a mechanical advantage of dispensing with 12 characters from the original system (five characters in the modified system, reducing the total modified characters only to 29).

Even then this is not a welcome suggestion, because of the higher frequency of uyir characters in Tamil usage. Since smooth change over is an essential requirement, this suggestion is not recommended.

Another suggestion is that the symbols used for creating uyirmei characters may become uyir symbols as shown in Fig. 10.

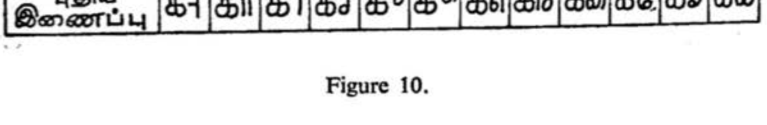


Figure 10.

2. mei characters have dots over the letters. Where as akara uyirmey letters do not have any distinguishing symbols. Since mei is independent and uyirmei is the convert in all other columns, some scholars feel that the dot from mei may be removed and a new symbol attached to akara uyirmei.

Though this suggested change appears logical, it need not be taken as it will be adding to the burden of the common writer. Hence status quo may be allowed to continue.

3. mei is independent. On the addition of uyir over mei uyirmei character is produced. Hence some scholars feel that any symbol attached to the mei should come only after mei in the sequence mei + symbol = uyir mei

This suggestion criticises the occurance of an attached symbol (ெ) to ekara uyirmei prior to the main letter and appearing on both sides of the letters like கெ, கொ, கௌ.

From Paleography, it is known, that the dash line attached on the left top of the letter had developed as (ெ) and the dash line attached on the right top of the letter had emerged as (ா). Double dash on the left top had become (ை). This growth had taken place in the last 2500 years, and the people are used to it. This system also need not be changed. There is no advantage in the suggestion.

4. Uyirmey characters are merely combination of mei + uyir. Then, why can't the letter be written mei + uyir as they are.

This suggestion advocates the system followed for English language to the Tamil system. முருகன் will be written as மஉரஉகஅன At the first instance, it may appear to occupy more space, but actual count has shown that the extra space occupied is only 30 percent because of the savings obtained in okara, ookara and aukaara columns. There are many advantages in this system. The major one is the reduction in the number of script to be 31. However the chief disadvantage is that this system suggests a total change from the existing system of Tamil writing reading. At this stage this change is not commendable.

In general, the above four suggestions though appear to be reasonable and rational, they advocate major changes from the existing Tamil system. Transition from the existing system to the new system will be very difficult causing great strain on the common man. It will be more advantageous to introduce only the minimum required modifications, and retain the major structure of the existing system as such.

Typewriter

Typewriter stands first in the line of machines most popularly used by many. Many officers have their own English portable typewriters in their house for their personal use. The Government of Tamilnadu once offered loan facilities for the supply of Typewriters at cheaper rates. Many English writers do even their first writing with the typewriters. However this practice is not popular among Tamil writers.

The use of typewriters in Government offices and commercial concerns, cannot be under estimated. The Government of Tamil Nadu have introduced Tamil as their official language as early as 1956. Anyhow the progress appears to be slow. One of the major reasons attributed to this difficiency is the short supply of Tamil machines. Obviously the Government have not been able to supply adequate number of Tamil typewriters due to paucity of funds.

The author of this paper is making use of a Tamil typewriter for his personal use for the last few years. He has found in his experience, that for the day to day activities, Tamil alone is not sufficient. English correspondence cannot be dispensed with, in a country like India, where the necessity of a link language will persist for many more years to come, It is needless to point out that acpuiring two machines, one English and another Tamil for small business houses, will be a heavy burden. This situation has necessitated thinking in terms of placing both the language scripts in a single machine.

It is possible to combine the Roman characters and the Tamil characters in one and the same typewriter. With this we can foresee a breakthrough in the use of Tamil in the official administration of Government. Besides the people of Tamil Nadu and the Tamils in other countries may choose to own such typewriters in their houses, just like any other modern machines of convenience like sewing machines, mixi, refrigerator, radios and television.

Modern Tamil

Modern Tamil usage demands the inter mixing of certain English words and certain scientific marks, some of them as parts of sentences and some of them appearing within parenthesis. Scholars have expressed their opinion, that, there should be fourth division to be formed by name 'Scientific Tamil' similar to the three earlier divisions, namely, iyal, isai and naatakam. Science writing is only in its infant stage and hence the use of English words within parenthesis cannot be avoided. Such usage helps in the grasp of the subject in its correct perspective.

English Typewriter

The present type-writers have two sets of English alphabetic letters, one capital and the other lower caps. Nowadays most people use

only one, out of four types of English script. Even in the modern computer and teleprinter printing mode, only capital letters are used. In recent times many books, souvenirs and pamphlets are getting printed both in India and abroad, with lower case letters only. It is found that the meaning of the sentences is not affected (except in rare cases) due to the practice of using lower case letters only. It is largely a matter of taste rather than utility. For the discussions to follow, the readers are requested to refer the figure of the key board of an English typewriting machine. (Figure 11).

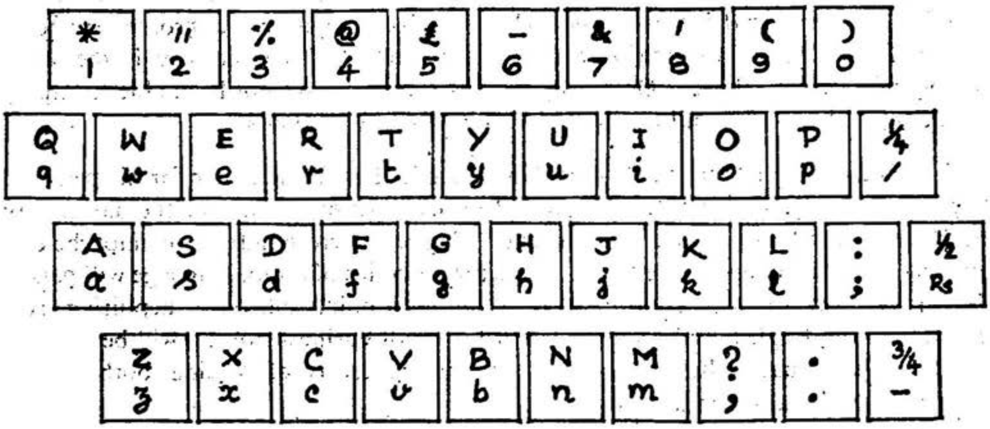


Figure 11. English Key Board

Considering these points it is advantageous to combine both English and Tamil language characters in one typewriter itself. While so doing it is certainly possible to have some machines with two language characters in which the English characters will be in capital form and in the second type of machine to have English characters in the lower caps only, to suit the requirements of the users.

Standard Tamil Key Board

The readers are requested to refer figure 1, which is the key board of the present day standard Tamil typewriter approved by the Government of Tamilnadu. This has got eleven keys in the first and fourth rows, and twelve keys in he second and third rows. The second third and fourth rows, the shift case contain று, நு, சு, சூ, லு, ரு, ரூ, ளு, கு, மு, து, மூ, டு, கூ, second half of ணு uyirmei ukaara and uukaara attachment for ப and ய and the latter for து and நு totalling 19 symbols out of 24 keys. The first half of ணு in the lower case of second row is also to be considered with the above letters. If the idea of placing a new side symbol for uyirmei ukara and uukaara series, all the above 20 strokes

can be spared for some other purpose. றா in the second row and ணை னை in the third row have been already eliminated by the new Government order of 1978 sparing another 3 places, similarly the prefix for லை ளை was also got eliminated by the above order yielding one space.

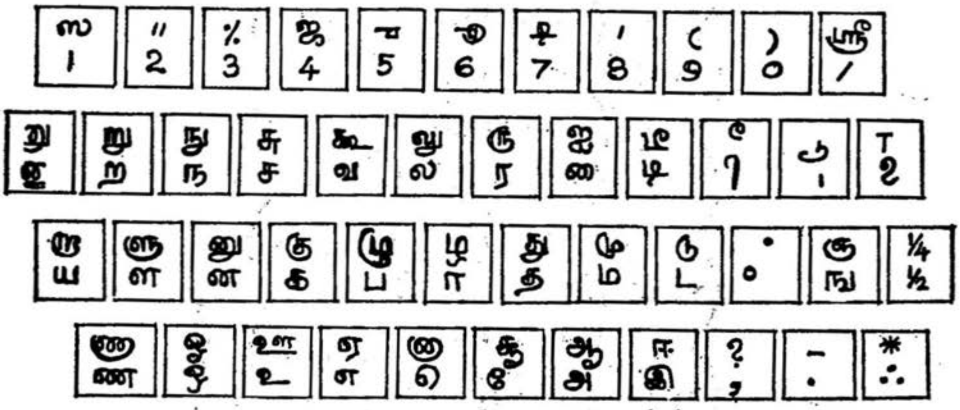


Figure 1. Tamil Standard key Board

The shift series in the fourth row consists ஓஊஏஆஈ which are now suggested to be replaced by their respective kuril forms followed by the extension symbol ா yielding another 5 places.

When the Swadesamitran style of creating uyirmei ikara and iikaara series, the same principle may be extended to பு and டு also, allowing two more spaces available.

Thus, 20 + 3 + 1 + 5 + 2 = 32 spaces are now available for readjustment. This has paved a way for 26 Roman characters and six additional science symbols.

Kongu Board

Kongu, a well known Tamil monthly for Science and History, in its January 1974 issue published the first key Board for a Bilingual Typewriter. This is shown in figure 12. For convenience, this Board is refered here as KONGU BOARD.

This is open for comparing with the standard Tamil Key Board. The salient features are as follows:

1. All the eighteen consonants, are kept as they are, other than ழ which is placed in the first key of second row.

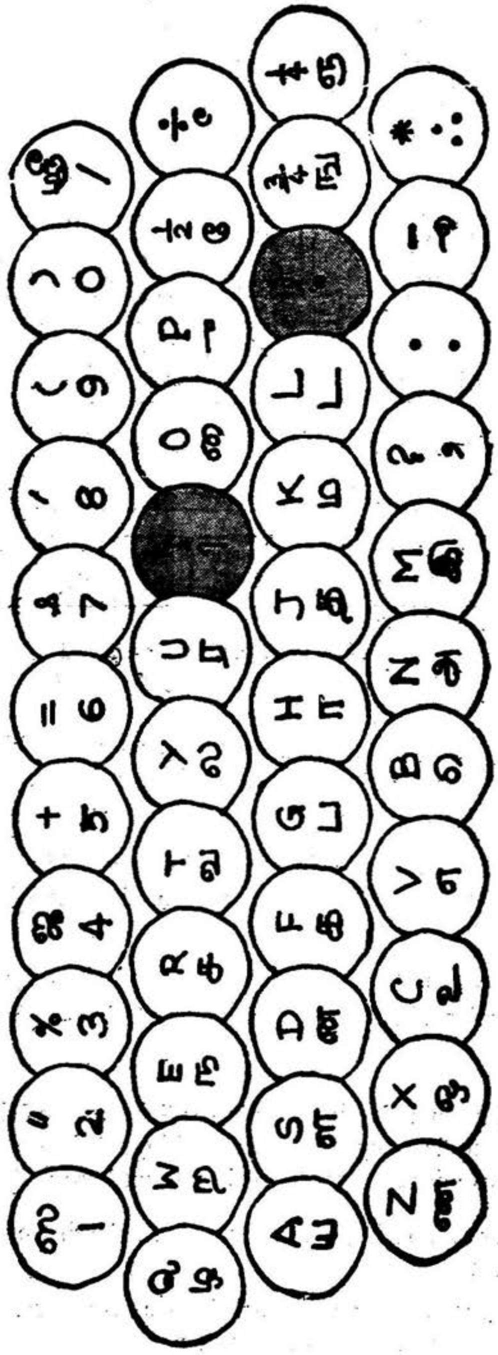


Figure 12. Tamil Kongu Board

2. The five vowels அ இ உ எ ஒ are arranged in the fourth row.
3. The symbols for creating uyirmei characters are arranged suitably.
4. The eight letter series of the fourth row is now seven (This has later been revised).
5. In place of 3 dead keys, this board consists two keys with half degree movement and they are the eighth key in the second row and tenth key in the third row.
6. There is absolutely no change in the positions of English letters.

Periyar Board

The kongu Board is improved a little and new arrangement is devised and named after Periyar,. This board may be made use of immediately. Kindly refer to figure – 13. and compare the same with the standard Tamil key board.

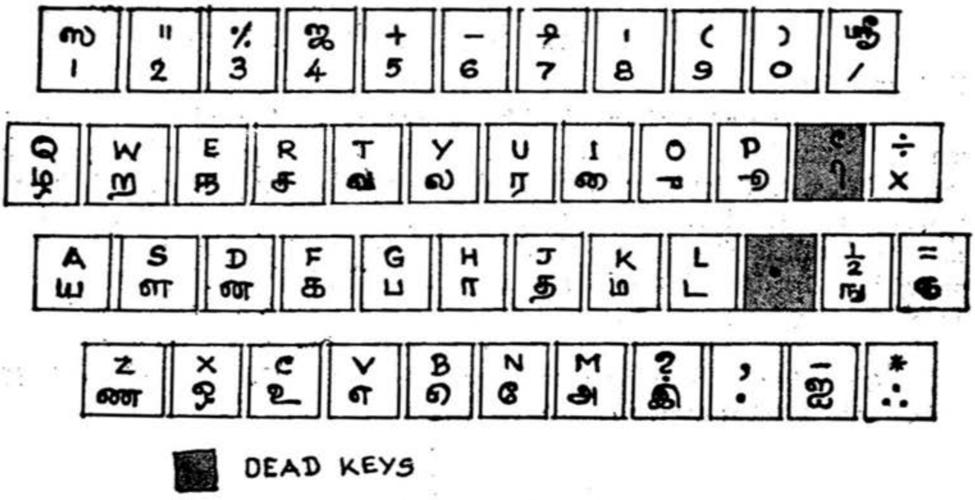


Figure 13. Tamil Periyar Board

1. The English System is retained.
2. The Tamil system is retained with respect to vowels and consonants other than ழ and ஐ.
3. The symbols required to produce uyirmei characters find place in more convenient places.
4. Dead keys for mei pulli and ikara and iikaara symbols are retained. This helps to continue the present system of mei series and uyirmei ikara and iikaara series.
5. The science symbols + — = × ÷ are introduced for convenience.

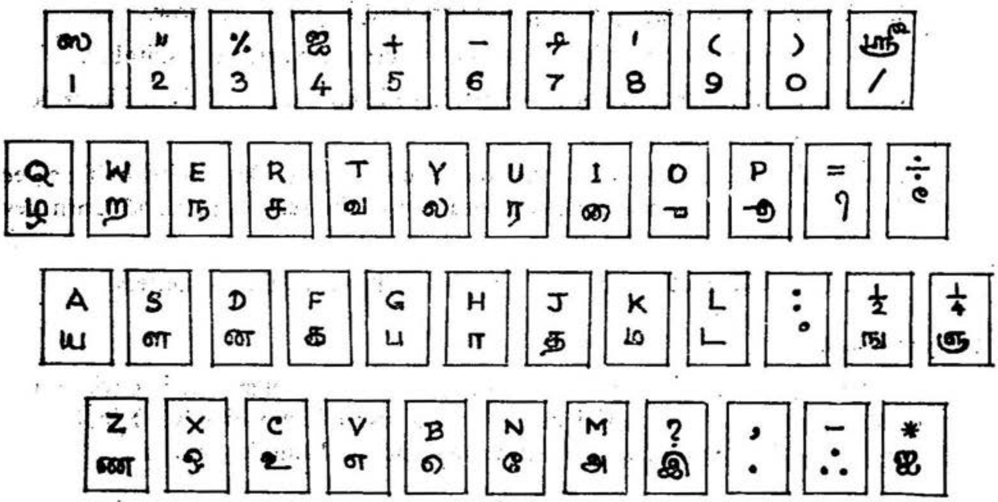


Figure 14. Kodumudi Board

Kodumudi Board

In the Periyar Board, two dead keys are provided. There is strong support among the technicians to dispense with the dead keys. Our final aims is to separate mei pulli from the letter and place it as a degree symbol and treat ikara and iikaara symbols as independant characters. If this suggestion is accepted, the dead keys may be dispensed with, to suit this condition, one more key board is proposed as shown in Figure-14. Since this might be the last one, it is named as 'Kodumudi' board meaning the 'top point'.

A new key board is shown in figure 15 exclusively for Tamil with only 35 keys. This Board is named as VALLUVAR BOARD.

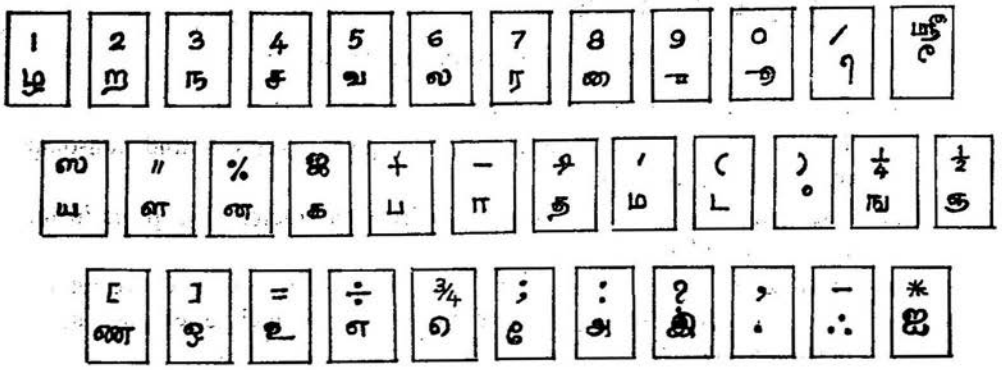


Figure 15. Valluvar Board—New Key Board for Tamil alone

Computer

Computer is one of the modern advancements in science. This is a business machine trained to work continuously and solve mathematical problems. Any analysis could be transformed into a mathematical problem solvable by computer. Computer has its own language by name "Fortran" meaning "Formula Translation." Though an English word is used, it might have been assigned with different meaning in the computer.

Since Roman Script is adopted for their languages in most of the countries, it is widly made use of in the computer. Computer was once appeared to be a rarity for India, but now it has become an essential machine. All the universities process their admissions and examinations now only through computers.

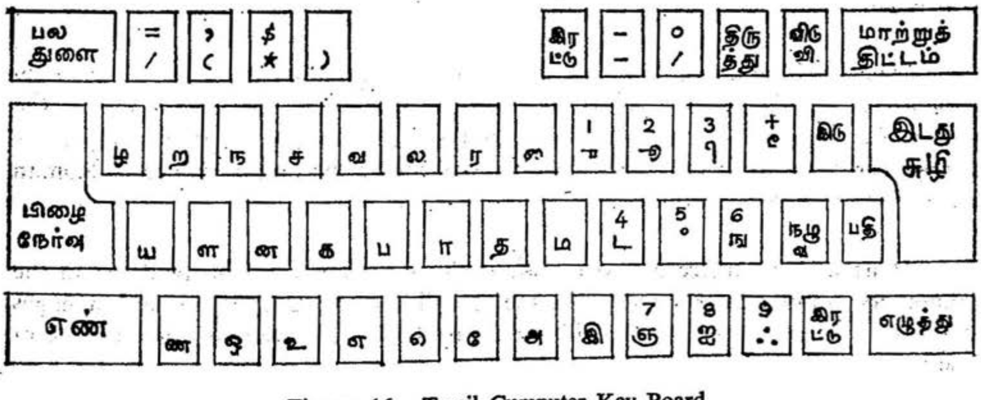
There are computers, at present, doing translations between languages and translation of voice to script. This speech or songs of one can be studied by the compter and new passage or a stanza can be arranged to be spoken or sung similar to the original, in the absence of the particular individual.

Mini calculator type pocket size machines have been developed now to offer in its screen equalent words, for one language, in five other languages. This is possible by the use of common script for all those languages.

It is possible to produce a mini pocket calculator with all the 1330 Thirukurals in it. By pressing a number button we could get the corresponding Thrukural in the screen. Since India is fastly improving in Electronics, manufacture of Tamil Books in the shape of pocket size calculators, in Tamilnadu itself, is possible in the near future.

Key Board

The arrangement of key board of the computer in Tamil script is shown separately. (Figures 16)



Figures 16. Tamil Cumputer Key Board

This is similar to the Kodumuidi board of a Tamil Typewriter. Any one who is trained in typewriting could easily operate the card punching machine. This board is also comparable with present English Board vide figure 17.

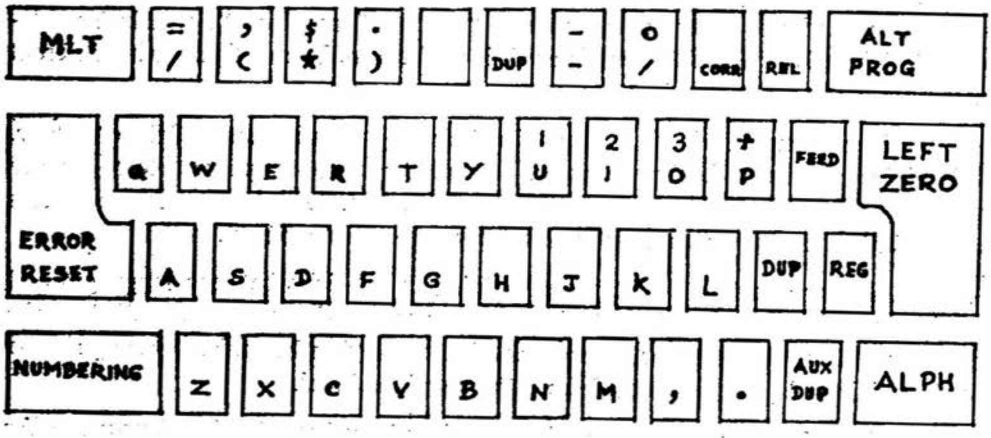


Figure 17. English Computer Key Board

In computer there is a special facility like output machine. Output machine can be operated independently with the punched cards of the Computer. Hence output machine alone can be provided with Tamil script. The punched cards of the computed results can be made to operate the output machine and obtain the results in Tamil. After all, any letter is stored in the card in the shape of two holes in their particular positions. It can be so arranged to reproduce corresponding tamil script through the same card.

Hence at present, there is no need to meddle with computer proper at all. It is enough to instal a separate output machine.

The latest computers in advanced countries are capable of handling many languages. The instructions for the computer is stored in a memory unit in the shape of a ball. Whenever the output is required in any other language, it is enough, to change the ball memory unit. Of course the output will be in Roman script, the script of all those languages.

One may be interested to question why the Roman script available in the computers cannot be made use of for the Tamil language and the other languages of India. There can be no scientific objection to the proposal but for the taste of users.

Teleprinter

Teleprinter is another machine available in Hindi, English and many other languages. All the News agencies and News papers have Telex links. Message typed in one place gets transmitted to many other places at the same time.

Necessity of Tamil in the teleprinter is felt by the common man when telegrams are served to him, in English. In rural Tamilnadu there are many distant places, where an English telegraph could not be read and translated.

There are innumerable newspapers printed daily in Tamil. Some papers are published simultaneously in five to six district capitals in Tamilnadu. They receive the matter through telex in English. The message is translated simultaneously by different people at different places. As every body know, the translations done by two different persons cannot be in the same style. Some times, the essence of the news itself gets twisted in the translations.

The papers published on the same title in different places might give different versions for the same message depending on the skill of the translators in those places.

Tamil Nadu is progressing fastly in the field of Telecommunications. Government of Tamilnadu may soon instal Telex units in all its offices of the Collectors and Revenue Divisional Offices, Heads of Departments in the City and police offices in the moffusal. Ground should be prepared now itself to make those machines in Tamil to have clarity in the message communicated. No risk can be taken in this regard in the transactions of the Govt. administration.

Key board

The arrangement of Key Board for a Teleprinter in English and Tamil are shown separately. This is similar to the key Board of the Tamil Typewriter. (Figure 18 & 19).

The important point in this aspect is the personality of the user. Teleprinters cannot be compared with that of computers. Computers are handled by more qualified few, where as Teleprinter is accessible to the common lot. When it is possible to produce teleprinter exclusively for Tamil Language it may not be necessary to borrow some other script.

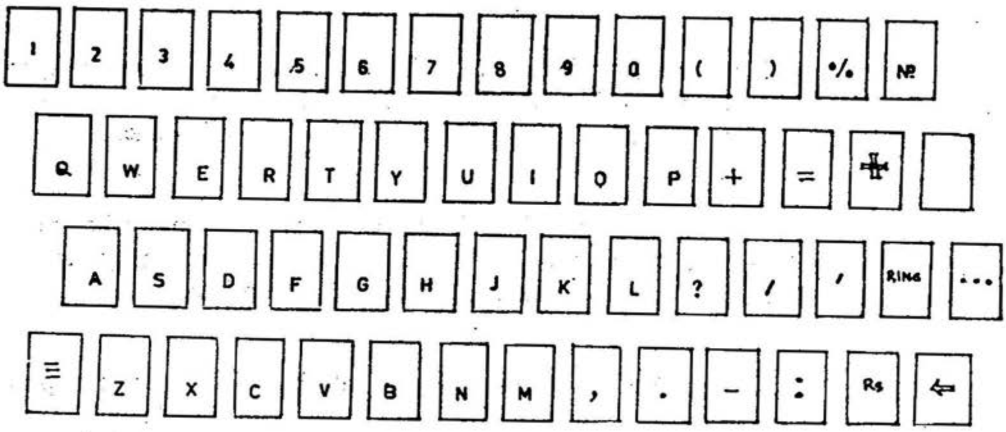


Figure 18. English Teleprinter Key Board

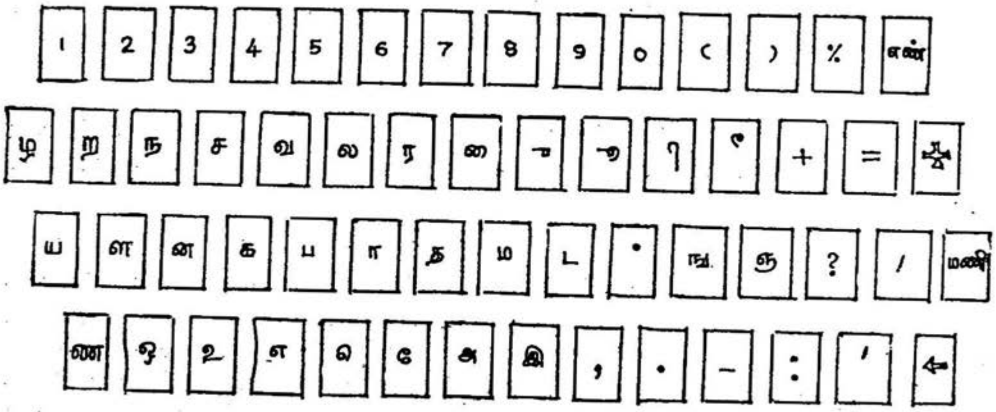


Figure 19. Tamil Teleprinter Key Board

Printing

Printing is the most popular form of Reprography affecting the common man in his daily affairs. Starting from the newspaper, all his business gets oriented over printing. The importance of type scripts and manuscripts fall only after printing.

It is very essential to make our common man accept the changes made to the script of the modern day. He may be able to adjust to a few changes but not extensively. This basic fact is taken note of, through out this paper.

Letter Press

Lead cast letters are arranged one after another to make a line. Line after line forms a passage. Each letter is an individual piece, available in printing to

create 247 letters of the Tamil system. In Typewriter, the letters in ikara and iikaara series are seperated into the letter and its attachment. They are superposed on the former. Similarly in mei characters top point can be added seperately to the letter. These conveniences are not available in printing.

There was a Tamil daily by name Swadesamitran, which had adopted this practice. It was quite popular in Tamilnadu for a long period. Then Tamil readers did not find it difficult in reading that paper. Similar arrangement can be revived now. For uniformity டி டீ also may be printed with the same attached symbol. For mei characters, the top point may be laid similar to the degree (temperature mark). These two changes do not deviate much from their original system and hence during change over, this may not pose much difficulty.

Letterbox

All the lead cast letters are arranged in a modern pigeon hole box in front of the composer. This box is too large to hold the present day Tamil characters of 127. Here mixing of English letters does not arise, since any press will possess English letters also. The size and arrangement of the letter box is shown in Figure 20 the size of which would be reduced much with the new proposal.

Type Foundry

Type Foundries will find it economical to cast only 34 characters in place of the existing 127 letters. For printing a particular page of matter, the printer has to purchase twice the weight of letters in Tamil, than in English for the same number of pages. Thus the initial cost of the printer is reduced by 50 percent or even more.

Mono Type and Lino Type

In larger commercial press, composing work is done by the monotype and linotype machines. The composing machine contains a key board with all the letters of a language. When the key is pressed, it makes two holes in a tape, which will be sensed by the casting machine. Thus composing is done in one place, the tape is removed and fed into the casting machine, where the letters are cast fresh with the molten lead and arranged accordingly. This composition of lead cast letters are made use of in the printing unit. In monotype, each letter is cast seperately, hence correction is made by replacing the single wrong letter. In linotype one line is cast fully and hence for any correction in a single letter, the whole line has to be recast.

In these types of machines, there are 127 individual characters for producing 247 letters. If the suggestions advocated in this paper is accepted, the total number of characters reduce to 34 only. The size of the mould as well as the key board size gets reduced to one fourth of the original size.

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	ந	ஜு	ா	[illegible]	ம	உ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	∴	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	கி	உ	எ	ஒ	ரு	ஞ	ஹ	ணை	ணை	ளை	லை	ெ / ு		ஆ	ஃ	ஊ	ஏ	ஐ	ஓ	ஜ	ஜி	ஜீ
	ங்	ச்	ஞ்	ட்	ண்	த்	ந்	ப்	ம்	ய்	ல்	வ்	ழ்	ள்	ற்	ன்				ஸ	ஸி	ஸீ

ஜு		ஷி		தி		; / –	" / •	ரு	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	•	ா	[/)	? / !	ழ	ளி	ளு
ு	ணி	வு	வி	சு	கி	ள		ட	ச		ன	ற	ல	யி	யு	ரி	ரு	மு

லூ	வூ	ழூ	ளூ	றூ	ணூ	ஞு	நு	க்ஷ	க்ஷி	க்ஷீ	க்ஷ்
லீ	வீ	ழீ	ளீ	றீ	ணீ	ஞீ	நி	ஹ	ஹி	ஹீ	ஹ்
ரீ / ள	(வா)	. மீ	உ	டை	அ	டி	∴	ஷ	ஷி	ஷீ	ஷ்
ெ / ு		ஆ	ஈ	ஊ	ஏ	ஐ	ஓ	ஜ	ஜி	ஜீ	ஜ்
வ்	ழ்	ள்	ற்	ன்				ஸ	ஸி	ஸீ	ஸ்

—	•	ா	[/)	? / !	ழ		ளி		ஞ	
ன		ற	ல		யி	யு	ரி	ரு	ழி	ழு
ம		வ	த		பி	பு	ஜி	வு	அகர எம்	குறு சம்
க		ெ	ை		ந		, / .	: / —	குவார்ட்ஸ்	

Electronic composing machines

Composing machines are now being manufactured with electronic circuits. The cost of such machines depend on the circuits required to create the number of shapes of the letters. Here also it will be one fourth cheaper to manage with 34 characters in place of 127 characters.

Supports to the Move

The Government of Tamilnadu has recently accepted the changes of ணா, றா, னா, லை, ளை, ணை, னை, similar to their counter parts above and below in the column of 13 × 19 Tamil matrix of letters.

The kerala government has adopted to break the ukara and uukaara uyir mei series into two, the first part being main letters and second part common attached symbols. The symbols used are ு for kuril and ூ for nedil.

The Thamizhaka Pulavar Kuzhu has considered these changes in its committee meeting and suggested the following new symbols as right adjascent symbols

ு = kuril
ூ = nedil

The Indian University Tamil Teachers Conference in its Pondicherry conference has discussed at length and accepted to publish the article in the mode of their writing. A few scholars choose to adopt Periyar's suggestion fully and the author of this paper wrote his article using ¬ and ூ for ukara and uukaara uyir mei kurils and nedils.

Alternate Script

For the past 300 years, English is made use of as an alternate script for the Tamil. Proper nouns and place names are written in English letters in attendance Registers, name boards and other records. In English articles, Tamil poems are cited with transliteration in many places followed by suitable translations.

At present, the transliteration system is that adopted by the Tamil Lexicon of the University of Madras. A few other transliteration systems are also advocated by many authors in their books. It is high time to standardise the transliteration system for the Tamil language.

The transliteration system should contain only one type out of four of the English system. Use of both capitals and lowers should be avoided. Diacritical marks like dot dash should be avoided. With these consideration in mind, the following system is put forth for the consideration.

அ	=	a	ஆ	=	aa
இ	=	i	ஈ	=	ii
உ	=	u	ஊ	=	uü
எ	=	e	ஏ	=	ee
ஒ	=	o	ஓ	=	oo
அய்	=	ai	அவ்	=	au

க	=	k	ங	=	ng	ய	=	y
ச	=	s	ஞ	=	nj	ர	=	r
ட	=	t	ண	=	nw	ல	=	l
த	=	th	ந	=	nh	வ	=	v
ப	=	p	ம	=	m	ழ	=	lz
ற	=	rh	ன	=	n	ள	=	lh

It would be an wise move to adopt this standardisation to suit other Indian languages also.

Conclusion

It will be difficult to make even a little change in any existing system for which the people are used to. In view of the many advantages, it may not be difficult to make our people accept some changes. In suggesting some changes to the existing shapes of the Tamil letters, the following advantages are attained:

1. Uniformity in the rows & columns of the matrix of Tamil letters,
2. accomodation of English and Tamil in one single typewriter of the present size,
3. economy in foundry and printing press and
4. easy communication.

The suggested visible changes are as follows:

1. Attached or adjascent symbols by the right of the main letter to create the ukara and uukaara uyirmei series.
2. uyir nedils are created by adding ா to the respective kurils.

The following two invisible changes are also suggested.

1. The attached symbol namely ி and ீ of the ikara and iikaara series are to be treated as separate adjascent symbols.
2. mei pulli is to be laid as degree dots.

Final left over figures for Creating 247 Tamil letters will be as follows:-

அ	இ	உ	எ	ஒ	ை	°	ா
க	ச	ட	த	ப	ற	ி	•
ங	ஞ	ண	ந	ம	ன	ு	ூ
ய	ர	ல	வ	ழ	ள	ெ	ே

The introduction of these changes may be compared with the change over from Foot Pound Second system to the metric system with respect to weights and measures and coinage. Let us hope, the Tamil speaking population of the whole world will accept these changes for the bright future.

REFORM OF THE TAMIL ALPHABET

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The purpose of this article is to invite discussion and debate over the necessity to reform the Tamil script to suit modern needs. The Tamil language is one of the most ancient of cultivated languages and is considered by some as the mother of the Dravidian group of languages (Tamil, Telegu, Kannada, Malayalam, Tulu, etc.). Tamil is considered to be as classical as Sanskrit, Chinese, Hebrew and Greek. However, Tamil has been one of the most conservative of all languages and appears to have resisted to the utmost, over a period of time, all attempts to influence or reform its script. It should be noted that out of the languages mentioned above, only Chinese and Greek have continued to be spoken languages. Hebrew, once considered a dead language, is now being revived and restored by Israel. It has also to be recognised that the Tamil Language and the script have remained essentially the same over hundreds of years, when compared to the other languages of the same antiquity. A situation has now arisen where the Tamil speaking people all over the world have necessarily got to be bilingual -- Tamil and English, Tamil and Hindi, Tamil and Malay or Tamil and Chinese. This would lead perhaps to further neglect and possibly the decline and decay of the Tamil language. At the most, what can be expected is that the language would remain dormant. If this process of decline and decay that would set in is to be arrested and the language is to be developed, we should first begin with the reformation of the script. This matter is of the utmost urgency and no time should be lost if Tamil is to continue to be a modern language, a language suitable for today's needs. In short, without any further delay, Tamil should be developed so that it could aspire to be the medium of thought and expression in all fields, especially Science and Technology, Administration, Philosophy, Logic, and other academic necessities of modern life. The first step that has to be taken for the achievement of this goal is the reformation of the script, to enable the vast amount of literature available in those disciplines, to be effectively translated into the Tamil language.

I find it extremely difficult to understand why nothing constructive has been done so far by the Tamil speaking people to remedy the obvious deficiencies in the script. Is it because, in the opinion of the Tamil speaking people, the script is not deficient or is it that (and this is more likely) there is no one who is sufficiently interested in this matter? It might even appear that the reason is that there isn't anyone among us who is capable of undertaking this task. To an outsider it might even appear to be sheer indifference on the part of the Tamil speaking people. My

intention therefore is to attempt to stimulate thought, discussion and inquiry into the matter, among all the Tamils in the world and thereby generate an enthusiasm and an academic interest in the subject. If this is not done and done now, the Tamil speaking people will be failing in their duty to the Tamil Language which is their mother tongue.

This task is too vast and too big to be undertaken either by one individual or by a group of people. All those who are sufficiently interested in the language and who have the ability to contribute to this task, should at this moment contribute what they can to recommend to the Government and influence it to establish a suitable Institute or Academy that would undertake the task of pioneering, piloting and providing the necessary impetus to fulfill the objectives. We should consider this our sacred duty and the most valuable contribution that we could make for the greater glory of Tamil.

In order to launch this massive modernization programme, large amounts of funds are necessary. Apart from this, we need the Authority of the people to undertake this task on their behalf. The fact that so far no Government that is in a position to do so has undertaken this task, makes it doubly difficult to commence this programme. It is also important to remember that no development of the Tamil Language took place or State patronage extended to it, after the fall of the Pandiyan Empire (about the 14th century). During this period of time, the European languages have enriched themselves tremendously through Research and Development. So have Japanese, Chinese, Russian and a host of other languages. Whereas other languages like Hebrew and Malay are now being sponsored, encouraged and developed by the Governments of Israel and Malaysia respectively, no such thing is being done by the Government of Tamil Nadu. Negligible amount of money or none at all, is being diverted to research and development of the Tamil Language. In the foreseeable future too, prospects are not too bright and to put it factually, there is at the moment no responsible body or organization that is looking after the interests of the Tamil Language. The Government of Israel, since its inception in 1949, has spent vast amount of funds, time and energy and revived the Hebrew language which was almost dead. The language has been modernised and made suitable for the needs of the present day. So has the Government of Malaysia. The development of the Malay Bhasa is one of its priorities and vast strides have been taken in that direction. Similarly, if the Tamil Language is to be developed and modernised, this task has to be undertaken by the Government of Tamil Nadu or by some Authority or Organization, that has the backing and the support from the Government to perform this task. Therefore I would urge that, for the purpose of undertaking this reform, either the Government of Tamil Nadu or the International Association of Tamil Research should set up an "Academy of Tamil Studies" which would continuously conduct research and control and manage the

development of the Tamil Language. This Academy should, inter alia, invite discussion at academic forums on the problems confronting the Tamil Language, choose the best out of the alternatives offered, popularise their decisions and choices and guide and control the development of the language.

In attempting to reform a script, one has to consider the present situation, the advantages and disadvantages of retaining the existing script without change and why, if at all, reform is necessary. The reform should be undertaken only if it is absolutely essential and for no other reason. While reforming, care should be taken that all areas of strength and supremacy in the present script are maintained. In my considered opinion, the most important aspect of the existing script is its simplicity, phonemic character and the fundamental basic scientific approach to sound formation. A mere 18 letters மெய் எழுத்து divided into 3 groups of 6 each. The allotment of a particular letter to the 3 different groups depends on the position of the tongue when pronouncing that letter and there are only 3 such positions possible viz: the tongue touching either the front, middle or the deeper portions of the upper side of the mouth. The groups are க்ச்ட்த்ப்ற், ங்ஞ்ண்ந்ம்ன், ய்ர்ல்வ்ழ்ள். On these 3 groups of 18 letters are superimposed 12 variations of sound (உயிர் எழுத்து). These 12 variations are again subdivided into 3 groups of 2 each and 2 groups of 3 each.

Another source of strength of the present alphabet is its phonemic character–Tamil being 100 per cent phonemic. This aspect of the alphabet should be sufficiently appreciated to realise the enormous advantage it bestows on the language. For instance, with the Roman alphabets which have only 26 letters it becomes necessary to learn by heart the correct spelling and the correct pronunciation of each and every word. This is a very complicated task which is, in fact, a wastage of time and energy, and is the dilemma of those who attempt to master the English (and other European) Languages. To this day, the Indian and other Asian people have not been able to overcome this problem, even after nearly 150 years of English education. This type of difficult situation is non-existent in the Tamil script because words are pronounced exactly as they are written and the words are in turn written exactly as they are spoken. This is not the way with the languages that use the Roman alphabets (e.g.) PUT is not pronounced the same way as BUT. This complication and difficulty with the Roman alphabets, in the English Language, are a source of amusement even to the French, who say that the English write L-O-N-D-R-E-S and pronounce it as CONSTANTINOPLE. That does not go to prove that French is any different, for French is also written with the same 26 alphabets and only the French people know how to pronounce French words. The other European Languages are, I guess, confronted with the same difficulty. With the Tamil alphabets, we do not have this problem. This drives home the great advantage of the phonemic character of Tamil alphabets. To stress this point

further, if there are 100,000 words in the language, lack of phonemic character would require the learning by memory of a 100,000 spellings and a 100,000 pronunciations. The amount of time and energy wasted on this effort would be colossal. When the language expands to a 1,000,000 words the wasted effort would be multiplied 10 fold. In my opinion, therefore, any reform of the Tamil script should retain these 2 sources of strength, i.e., its simplicity and phonemic character and not deviate from the basic fundamental scientific approach. In attempting change, it is important to retain these features even at the cost of certain unavoidable deficiencies that my arise. Languages like Telugu, Kannadam, and Malayalam, while in the process of reforming their alphabets, have evolved scripts which are very complicated. This should not happen to the Tamil script. It therefore looks as though the Tamil script should both be changed and also not be changed. It has to be changed, because a language suited for modern needs should not be lacking or wanting or deficient in any respect. It should not be changed in that, while attempting to change the script, the basic characteristics of the language which have been retained for thousands of years, and its grammatical base should be kept intact for ever.

What then is the apparent deficiency in the Tamil script? To my mind, the basic and fundamental deficiency is the lack of the letters GA, HA, BA, FA, JA, ZA, SA, DHA and TA. And this should be rectified. In trying to do so, the main consideration should be, not to complicate the script or alter its fundamental beauty. It is also not necessary to evolve new alphabets or to borrow them from foreign languages. It is common practice when reforming scripts and developing languages to alter or change continuously the alphabets and scripts in order to improve the language. The structure of and the ideas from, other languages could influence our views, but it is not necessary to adopt them blindly without thought and consideration. When one observes (or studies) foreign languages, he is bound to notice certain similar deficiencies. For instance, the absence of the JA in Spanish (J is pronounced as H), the VA in German (V is pronounced as F), the RA in Chinese (R is pronounced as L) are some examples. So it strikes one that it is not absolutely essential that all sounds should be present in the Tamil Language or in every language. The correct thing to do therefore, when absorbing foreign words or coining new ones, is to adopt the words to suit the language and not vice-versa. As an example, certain words in the English Language are completely different from the original. Deutschland becomes Germany, Francais becomes France, Nippon becomes Japan, Espana becomes Spain, Roma becomes Rome, Munchen becomes Munich, etc. Similarly London in French is Londres and England is Angalaise. It would therefore be clear that, in such circumstances, the foreign words absorbed into any language should be suitably amended to conform to the genius of that language. "British" in Tamil need not be the same word but could well be and in fact is "Prithaniya" (பிரித்தானிய). A language need be amended

to suit foreign words only when it is absolutely necessary and for no other reason. Even then, such amendments should be kept to the basic minimum.

If then foreign words are to be amended suitably to conform to the alphabet, what is the necessity to reform the script? It would be observed that the amendment of foreign words to suit the language applies only to words that are absorbed into the language or to new words that are coined for use in the language. It is an entirely different proposition when it comes to writing in Tamil, words which continue to be foreign and which need not be absorbed into the Tamil Language i.e. words which need not, should not and therefore cannot be amended. In this category would be words that are names of people and other proper nouns which should, of necessity, be maintained in its original form. When, for instance, you refer to the B.B.C. you cannot write P.P.C. (பி.பி.சி.) or translate it as "Prithaniya Oliparappu Kuttusthapanam" and say P.O.K. just because you don't have the letter B in Tamil. Similarly, when you advertise "Bata" products, one cannot by any stretch of imagination, say பாட்டா, because Bata shoes would then become "Patta" shoes and would in Tamil mean, your grandfather's shoes and not the shoes manufactured by the Bata Co. Or when you advertise Tata products, if it is written as (டாட்டா) it would be not only incorrect but very humorous too. Consider also the case when, say, Mr. John Finlay visits the country. If in Tamil you say that the visitor is யான் பின்லே (Yarn Pinlay) it may well refer to quite a different person and is factually incorrect. How then could we overcome this impasse – a seemingly difficult situation?

Although I have stated earlier that the necessary bilingualism of the Tamil speaking people may be to the detriment of the Tamil Language, it would not be so, if the Tamil Language is, while we adopt bilingualism, simultaneously developed and modernised. I would like to digress at this point from the main theme of this article and state that it would be necessary and indeed absolutely essential that every Tamil speaking person should, for another at least 100 years or more, in addition to his mother tongue, learn and be equally proficient in English which is a World Language (till such time as the Tamil Language is developed to a state of parity and equality as the English Language, if this could ever be done). Any other course of action would not only be folly but totally suicidal for the Tamil speaking people whose interests and whose social, cultural and economic well-being are of paramount importance. This should be our main concern and the reform of the Tamil script is but a small step towards this end. It is therefore assumed for the rest of my argument that every Tamil speaking person from now onwards for an indefinitely long period of time in the future, would be bilingual and therefore equally proficient in both Tamil and English. This state of affairs should continue till such time as our Political, Social, Cultural and Economic circumstances change in such a manner that Tamil could effectively and efficiently

replace the English Language, as far as the Tamil speaking people are concerned. It is therefore assumed that the Tamil speaking people would be very familiar with the 26 Roman alphabets. If this is accepted, then there is a very simple way in which the script could be reformed.

The reform of the script could be accomplished in many different ways. Extreme care should therefore be taken on the decisions made. Suggestions, criticisms and alternatives should therefore be sought from the widest possible sources and much publicity given in the daily press and other media at the formulation stage itself. The people concerned should not be taken by surprise but their views taken into consideration, so that the language could benefit by the widest variety of opinion. I am stressing the importance of this fact, because some of the recent attempts to transform the script, are, in my opinion, retrograde. I shall now state one such way in which the script could be transformed. My intention in suggesting this, is only to stimulate thought and invite further discussion. I am not, at this stage, taking up the position that this is the best way to reform the script.

I would therefore suggest that the reform of the Tamil script be preferably accomplished by the incorporation of a suitable letter from the Roman alphabet, in to the existing Tamil script, thereby amending the particular Tamil letter. The Roman alphabet being one which is used practically internationally by many languages other than English would assist and benefit the anticipated bilingualism of the Tamil speaking people. The incorporation of a symbol with which everyone in the world is familiar, would only enrich the Tamil Language. This could be done as given below, by just inserting the Roman Alphabet before the Tamil letter which is intended to be altered.

Using this simple amendment, it is now possible to write any foreign word, as follows:-

B. B. C.	B பி. B பி. S சி.
Bata	B பா. T டா.
Tata	T டா. T டா.
John Finlay	ே J யான் F பின்லே
Bournavita	ே B பான -வி T டா
Zambia	Z யம் B பியா

In conclusion, I would like to state again, that the above suggestions are only for the purpose of using the Tamil script to write foreign words and that the words which are borrowed or incorporated into the Tamil Language, should be suitably amended to conform to the Tamil alphabets. I am not a philologist or a serious student of the Tamil Language. I am making this inquiry and giving some suggestions solely because I am deeply puzzled why such glaring deficiencies have not

been rectified and am deeply grieved that nobody has done anything so far to set it right.

Finally and although this is entirely a different matter, I wish to ask one question. Has not the time arrived when we should think of evolving a common script for the Dravidian group of Languages? The languages are so similar that it is a great pity indeed that we cannot read and understand what is written in Telugu, Kannadam or Malayalam, just because four different scripts are being used. Would it not be a grand idea that we start the unification of our brethren and forge a common identity, with the formation or at least the attempted formation, of a common Dravidian script?.

[Note : There is a strong move to evolve a common script for the Telugu and Kannada Languages.—Editor]

NEW TOOLS FOR TAMIL RESEARCH

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Introduction

The use of quantitative methods in Tamil studies is by no means new. For that matter, the classification of linguistic forms and preparation of lexicon in any language are the implicit outcome of statistical methods. In this paper we propose to survey the employment of modern data processing tools in Tamil research. Linguistics and Epigraphy are the two areas that will be dealt with in this survey. The survey is not exhaustive due to restrictions of communication transcending the technicalities involved. However this introductory survey, we believe, will give an idea of versatility of the modern tools that are available and can be of use to the research scholars who are in search of finer and more effective tools for their work.

Statistical Methods

Statistics is a branch of Mathematics that describes how things are on the average. It does not aim at precision and accuracy. However there are a number of situations when even statements regarding patterns which are only probably true, true on the average, are valuable. The statistical approach is most helpful when we are dealing with large masses of data. Especially with the advent of computers, the processing part of the statistical analysis can be simplified.

Even though statistical methods are being extensively used in linguistic research all over the world, recognition of its use in the context of Tamil research appears to be very casual.

Mrs. T.M. Kameswari of Annamalai University has used statistical methods in linguistic studies. In an article on "Frequency distribution of Paripaatal"[1] she has analysed the vocabulary of Paripaatal and prepared a table showing the number of words used once, twice, thrice etc. She has pointed out that there are 4282 distinct words that are used. She has remarked that so few as nine words account for one-twentieth of all the occurrences of the words in Paripaatal and that the use of the vocabulary is concentrated very heavily on to a relatively very small proportion on the whole. Such studies are significant in that they give an insight to the style of individual authors.

Stylo-Statistics

To quote Werner Winter,[2] style may be said to be characterized by a pattern of recurrent selections from the inventory of optional features of a language. Just as we can identify different dialects of a language, it should be possible to establish style boundaries. Starting with the assumption that style is a probabilistic concept, Statistical Stylistics had become an area of study on its own right. Several attempts had been made to find statistical tools which could be used as measures of style, that could identify and distinguish one author from another. Besides researching on disputed authorship these attempts could also determine the chronological order of an author's writing and could explore the difference between prose and poetry, creative literature and technical reports, etc.

There is a wide range and variety of statistical indices like vocabulary size, verbal diversification, type-token ratio, sentence length, styles in punctuation, verb-adjective ratio. In spite of the varieties of indicators and formulas that areat the disposal of the critic, there is no litmus test that can serve as an infallible identification. However these techniques are very useful as auxiliary tools and the search for better devices are engaging the attention of the scholars working in this area.

Mrs. Kameswari in her paper 'Statistical approach to the problem of authorship of Netunalvaatai and Tirumurukaattu-p-patai', has used methods of stylo-statistics and come to the conclusion that both the works are from one and the same author. There is considerable scope for further research in the area of stylo-statistics.

Information, Entropy and Redundancy

Looking at language as a code for communication is one of the methods for studying the structure of a language. Language is a complex coding system as there are different levels of linguistic forms such as words, morphemes and phonemes each of which can be considered as a distinct code. Statistical investigation of a language as a code with probability constraints leads us to the Information theory and its relationship to Structural Linguistics.

Information is something we need when we have to make a choice. We need more information when we face a wide range of equally likely alternatives than when we face a simple choice between two alternatives, either this or that. The amount of information or the effort needed for obtaining the information is the logarithm of the number of alternative symbols (generally with base two) with the assumption that all the alternative symbols are equally likely to occur. When we are concerned with the use of symbols in a language we note that the occurrence of all the alternatives are not equally likely. The definition of information is extended suitably to suit this fact. With this definition we notice that natural languages,

in general, use far more symbols per message than would be necessary if all the symbols could be used equally often. The amount of redundancy in any language can be mathematically formulated and is a characteristic of the language. The time spent redundantly cannot be considered as waste because redundancy in language reduces errors in communication.

We find that many results pertaining to information, entropy (measure of uncertainty) and redundancy with reference to the Tamil language are available. Due to the mathematical equipment that is necessary for the formulation of results in this area, many of the findings are not very well known.

In her expository article[3] on "Information and its measure", Mrs. Kameswari has analysed the index of words with their frequencies of Irantaam tiruvanthathi and has calculated the measures of information based on word frequencies, phoneme frequencies, etc. She points out that the small entropy value ($H = 1.452$) indicates the higher degree of language structure.

Dr. Gift Siromoney in his technical article[4] 'Entropy of Tamil Prose' has compared Tamil prose with Tamil poetry of different periods and has made an experimental estimate of the entropy of Tamil prose. He has pointed out that it is possible to reduce drastically the length of a given message in Tamil, if proper encoding is used. Dr. K. Karunakaran has made a study of "Redundancy and functional load in Tamil"[5] and has compared the relative efficiencies of Standard Written Tamil and Spoken Tamil. Mrs. Kameswari also has made a study[6] of "Redundancy" using the word index with their frequencies of MuunTam thiruvanthaathi.

Once again we cannot but point out that the diverse possibilities that are available in the area of application of Statistics and Information had not been fully exploited by Tamil scholars.

Epigraphy

Another area in which the data processing tools and computers have started playing active and exciting roles is Epigraphy. The results on the analysis of the Indus script with computer aided techniques by the Tamil Scholar Iravatham Mahadeven and by Russian and Finnish scholars bear testimony to the versatility of these modern tools.

Professors Noboru Karashima of Tokyo University and Y. Subbarayalu of Madurai Kamaraj University undertook a programme to analyse the information given by the personal names and desginations collected from all the 3543 published Chola inscriptions in the Tamil language. This project was sponsored by the National Inter-University Research Institute of Asian and African languages and Cultures and the two instalments of the interim report[7,8] had appeared in 1975 and 1976.

The two research scholars made use of Hole Sort Cards to record the basic information contained in the inscriptions. For the items they wanted to study it was necessary for them to prepare 9590 cards to codify the information. Personal names (including titles), designations (terms of status, occupation, caste etc.), period and locality are some of the items codified.

The Cards were processed manually and the interim report was prepared on the basis of the statistical analysis. Many unknown facts about Chola administrative and social organisation were reported.

In the second year of the programme, Professor Toru Matusai of Tokyo University, a specialist in Indian History trained in the use of computers joined the team. The information in the hole sort cards was modified and punched cards for the computer were prepared. As they had an access to a computer for their work, the analysis could be conducted in more detail and in lesser time. As a result a concordance of names found in Chola Inscriptions had been published recently. Further research is in progress. The results obtained by the authors are not only nseful for historical studies but also for sociological and linguistic research. We only wish that the research could be extended to cover Chola inscriptions which had not yet been published also.

We have outlined the process of the above research in detail for highlighting two important factors. (1) The use of hole sort cards for processing information is economical as it is manual. When the quantum of information does not warrant mechanical processing, the use of hole sort cards for data processing and for preparation of concordance etc. will be ideal. (2) When the information to be processed is quantitatively very large and when the results are required quickly, access to computers will help. We have the added advantage of getting the output in the desired script/characters so that the publication of the results can be expedited.

Another work we would like to report in the area of epigraphy is by Dr. Gift Siromoney, . During his stay at the Picture Processing Laboratory of the University of Maryland, College Park, U.S.A. in 1974, he had made an experimental study[9] of using picture processing techniques by computer for reading inscriptions. By using image enhancement techniques and by using a semilinear line detector it is possible to get a good transcript of inscriptions which are not clear. The method outlined by him will be useful for studying inscriptions in stone, copper plates and other surfaces.

It may be also remarked that Dr. Siromoney and his colleagues had worked on Computer Recognition of printed Tamil Characters.[10]

Spoken Tamil

Making use of a computer program for speech synthesis developed at Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Dr. N. Ramasubramanian has tested the acceptability of generated phonological words[11] A set of rules of phonology of Standard Tamil (Prose Tamil) so as to generate a finite number of well formed phonological words was proposed and the acceptability of the phonological words thus generated was tested by the Program. He has pointed out how new Tamil words (for example, technical terms) could be coined so that they are grammatically acceptable.

The language laboratories in the linguistic departments at Annamalai University[12], Foreign Languages Section and the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore[13] are two of the other centres engaged in processing linguistic information optically and accoustically.

Conclusion

We have made a brief introductory survey of the impact of the statistical and mechanical techniques of processing information in Tamil Studies. We are sure that these methods will be extensively used by the research scholars in the years to come.

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COMMONNESS IN EARLY OLD PALAEOGRAPHY OF TAMILNADU AND SRI LANKA

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The appellation "South Asia", to cover the countries of the sub-continent of India and Sri Lanka, has been coined recently. But this concept was a reality in the cultural sphere for at least two thousand years. The whole of South Asia was linked by one script or rather the variant forms of the same script. Though the Indus script existed in what are now called Pakistan and North-West India, sufficient evidence is not available to show that this script penetrated to other parts of South Asia. More than a millennium after the abrupt disappearance of the Indus culture, Brahmi and Kharoasthi scripts make their appearance. Kharoasthi script was prevalent in roughly the area of modern Pakistan while Brahmi was the prevalent pan-South Asian script. Buddhism came to Sri Lanka during Asoka's reign in the third century B.C. and it is generally believed that the Buddhist monks who brought the religion, also brought the art of writing. The origin or rather the introduction of the art of writing in Tamilnadu remains controversial. Leaving the controversies and beliefs aside, the present writer will concentrate on the earliest available writing in these two states. The earliest extant writings in both these states can be termed Brahmi. But there are minor variations from Asokan Brahmi and Brahmi of other regions of subsequent periods. So, Brahmi in Tamilnadu has been variously termed Tamil-Brahmi, Dravidi and Damili.[2] Likewise, Brahmi in Sri Lanka has been named Old Sinhalese.[3]

Some South-Asian scholars have referred to the close similarity in palaeography between the ancient records of Tamilnadu and Sri Lanka. According to P.E.E. Fernando, "In general appearance, these records (of Tamilnadu) are so like the ancient cave records of Ceylon that one can almost mistake them to be those carved in Mihintale, Vessagiriya and such other ancient cities in Ceylon.[4] The similarity in cave records between these two regions was due to many reasons, such as records being carved on drip ledges of caves and palaeographical grounds. He also identified two letters which did not occur in any of the records of Asoka, viz., 'i' and "ma", A. H. Dani has stated that the letter "ma" (of Lanka Brahmi) copied the form of the southern (Tamilnadu) caves. According to him, the writing in the ancient Sri Lanka inscriptions was clearly related to the Naneghat records of Western India and that seen in the caves of the south of India though local tendencies were

also obvious.[5] T. V. Mahalingam has referred to various similarities between the cave inscriptions of Tamilnadu and Sri Lanka[6] and he has mentioned the short 'i' as common to the scripts of Tamilnadu and Sri Lanka.[7]

Some Sri Lanka scholars are not willing to acknowledge and account for this close similarity in the palaeography of these two regions. Dani himself has given two references. Senerat Paranavitana had drawn up a chart entitled, "*Evolution of the Sinhalese script between the fourth and nineth centuries A.D.*[8] Tennakoon Vimalananda used the same material for his Doctoral thesis. In that thesis, four broad chronological divisions are made and changes in the letter forms are described under each of them.[9] Dani had criticised them both for treating the development of Sri Lanka script as if it was wholly indigenous and as if it had no extraneous influence.[10] Dani had not referred to the contributions of C. W. Nicholas and P.E.E. Fernando probably because he had not seen the relevant volume of the University of Ceylon Review. C. W. Nicholas, a co-worker of Paranavitana had drawn up a chart showing the palaeographical development of the Brahmi script from the third century B.C. to the seventh cntury A.D.[11] His chart was based mainly on the dating of the Brahmi records by Paranavitana and there was no improvement in his treatment of the development of the script from that of Paranavitana. Fernando made use of his chart to prepare a fine paper which he published in the same volume of the same journal. It is unfortunate that Vimalananda could not make use of this paper and build on this foundation for his thesis which he submitted two years later.

The theory of K. V. Raman that the Brahmi writings of Sri Lanka could have been the inspiration for the Brahmi writings of Tamilnadu takes another extreme stand.[12] Both Krishna Sastri and K. V. Subrahmaniya Ayyar have in their study of the Tamilnadu Brahmi inscriptions made pointed reference to the Sri Lanka Brahmi inscriptions and tried to compare the two. Subrahmanya Ayyar believed that the Tamilnadu cave records belonged to the Buddhists as in the case of the Sri Lanka cave records. The earliest extant Brahmi records in the far south of India belonged to the Pandiya country and Subrahmanya Ayyar entitled his paper, "The Earliest Monuments of the Pandiya country and their inscriptions".[13] Ayyar seems to have believed that Mahinda and Arittha, the earliest Buddhist missionaries to the Island went to South India also to propagate the teachings of the Buddha. But according to Fernando, the original Pali of the Mahavamsa did not warrant such a conclusion.[14] Raman, of course, subscribes to the finding that most of the Tamilnadu ancient Brahmi records belonged to the Jains. But considering the similarity between the records of both these states, the fact that almost three thousand Brahmi records had ben discovered in Sri Lanka to almost less than a hundred in Tamilnadu and the fact that the Brahmi records in other parts of Tamilnadu are later records compared to the records of the Pandiya Kingdom with which Sri Lanka had intimate connections even according to the ancient chronicles

of Sri Lanka, he had propounded his theory. In this connection, it should be pointed out that Mahalingam had already referred to mention in traditional chronicles of Sri Lanka of matrimonial and other connections of the early Indo-Aryan settlers with the Pandiyas.[15] So, it is quite possible that the evolution of the earliest extant script in the region owed to close collaboration between the Pandiya Kingdom and Sri Lanka.

Recently, in the political situation created in Sri Lanka due to long years of neglect of the unsolved minority problem concerning the status of the Tamil community in the country and the leaders of the Tamil community putting forward the demand for separation of the country, communal relations in the country took a worse turn. Articles and books have appeared, denying the historical claims of the Tamils to Sri Lanka and over-emphasising the contribution of the Tamils to the same. Some examples will be cited from the latter category here. J. T. Xavier has taken up the stand that the Indus Valley people settled in South India and Sri Lanka and that they were the common ancestors of the Sinhalese and the Tamils. According to him, the oldest known Sinhalese and Tamil cave inscriptions, dated in the third and second centuries A.D. were in he Damili script. The inflow of Magadhan Buddhist missionaries to Sri Lanka introduced the Asokan Brahmi or Old Pali script used in the inscriptions dated in the first century onwards for over four centuries in the post-Christian era.[16] D. J. Kanagaratnam puts forward the following argument. Buhler called the Mauryan script "Brahmi" and the Southern script "Dravidi". According to this definition, Sri Lankan inscriptions should be called Dravidi inscriptions. Buhler also stated that the Dravidi script was a century or two earlier to Asoka and might have been introduced by Indian colonists to Sri Lanka. In Sri Lanka and South India, similar symbols were found for some vowels and consonants which were not found in the Brahmi records of Asoka. Kanagaratnam mentions about 'i' and "ma".[17] He quotes Saddhamangala Karunaratne from a news-paper article to show how the early Dravidi alphabet became modified due to Mauryan influence.[18]

To assess realistically the commonness between the Tamilnadu script and the Sri Lanka script in a manner that will be acceptable to the generality of scholars, a rigorous comparison should be made among the ancient Sri Lanka Brahmi, the Asokan Brahmi and the North Indian Brahmi contemporaneous with Sri Lanka Brahmi. The Sri Lanka tradition that the art of writing was brought here by Asokan Buddhist missionaries is held stongly and it weighs quite heavily with Sinhalese scholars in Sri Lanka.[19] Paranavitana who rcently edited the early Brahmi inscriptions of Sri Lanka in one volume,[20] seems to be still unreconciled to the idea of any close relation between the scripts of Tamilnadu and Sri Lanka. Discussing the palaeography of the early Brahmi inscriptions of Sri Lanka, he could only say that it was substantially the same as Asokan Brahmi. Even about the

peculiar symbols of i and ma, he was arguing that those symbols appeared in North India, implying that they could have come direct from North India. It is unfortunate that he had not made use of analyses made by Dani, Fernando and Karunaratne. Dani, of course, did not accept the existence of a Dravidi or a Damili script or even an old Sinhalese script. He considered the latter minor variants of Brahmi. He could assert that the Sri Lanka script betrayed influences from Naneghat in the North as well as from the caves of Tamilnadu. According to Dani, the equivalisation of verticals, as in the cave inscriptions of Vessagiri, was a practice which started in North India after the Mathura Kshatrapa inscriptions and to having a hook attached to the vertical in the Decani style.[22] His comment about the Dravidian ma had been already noted.

Likewise, Tamil Brahmi also has to be compared to Asokan Brahmi and contemporary North Indian Brahmi and then SriLanka Brahmi has to be compared to Tamilnadu Brahmi. Mahalingam has brought out the symbols for the following letters as the peculiar symbols of Tamil Brahmi when compared to Asokan Brahmi and contemporary North-Indian Brahmi:– 'i', 'na', 'la', 'ḷa' and 'ra'. He dealt with 'ma' in a different context. As voluminous material is available for Sri Lanka Brahmi, scholars wellversed in this are in an excellent position to compare this with Tamil Brahmi. Fernando had done good work thirty years ago, when he had made the following comment:– The letter well represented in the South Indian records, that is, 'u', 'e', 'ka' 'ca', 'ta', 'pa', 'ya' and 'ra' resemble those found in the inscriptions at Vessagiriya and Ritigala. But the more remarkable affinities are noticeable in the letters, 'a', 'i', and 'ma'. Equally remarkable affinities to the Brahmi alphabet of the early cave records of Ceylon are found in the inscriptions carved in pottery discovered at Arikamedu in South India.. . .The letters occuring in these inscriptions . . contain the 'i' and the 'ma' peculiar to the records of Ceylon and of South India mentioned earlier". Fernando had also referred to the influence of Asokan characters of the Western and the Southern parts of India and also to the influence of Brahmi of Central and Eastern parts of India in that of the characters of the earliest extant records of Sri Lanka.[24] The statement that the early old script of Sri Lanka was Dravidi or Damili might not be acceptable to the scholars. What one can do is to assert the commonness in the script of these two states, pinpointing the almost unanimous view of the resemblance in the symbols for 'i' and "ma".

A point to be noticed when one compares the Sri Lanka Brahmi with Tamil Brahmi is that in Sri Lanka, the script was used to write Old Sinhalese or more precisely Sinhalese Prakrit while in Tamilnadu the script was used to write Tamil or more precisely Tamil with Prakrit intermixture. The Tamil Brahmi script depicts the Tamil Brahmi alphabet and a few other symbols to write Prakrit words. The Sri Lanka Brahmi was used to write Prakrit which does not exactly correspond to

any known one Indian Prakrit. It was already a composite Prakrit with certain new features not recorded in other Indian Prakrits. That is why, the earliest recorded language in Sri Lanka was sometimes referred to as Sinhalese Prakrit.[25] But there is one more letter "la" which is found both in Sri Lanka and Tamilnadu, and Karunaratne only, according to the news-paper article quoted, seems to have mentioned this. The inscriptions found at Bhattiprolu in the heart of the Telugu country had an additional sound la which was needed to write some Telugu proper names.[26] The Tamil Brahmi also had this letter but its formation differed from that of Bhattiprolu. It is remarkable that Sri Lanka Brahmi also had this letter and the symbol for the letter was that of Tamil Brahmi. Therefore it is quite possible that this symbol was needed in Sri Lanka Brahmi also to write Dravidian words.

Most of the other scholars had failed to mention this letter as one of the distinct symbols common to Brahmi of Tamilnadu and Sri Lanka because there is controversy in Sri Lanka whether this symbol should be read as "lu" or "la". Parnavitana has given a list of reasons[27] for his identification of the symbol as lu and they need careful consideration. On this reading, Paranavitana himself had followed Goldschimidt, Muller and Bell. Firstly, Paranavitana's argument is that this symbol had not been satisfactorily read in Tamilnadu Brahmi. He was aware of Subrahmaniya Ayyar's reading and Sir Mortimer Wheeler's criticism[28] that the exact nature of the language was open to doubt. But unfortunately, he was not aware of Iravatham Mahadevan's widely acceptable readings and interpretations.[29] Secondly, Paranavitana argued that the attempt to trace the evolution of the modern Tamil letter la to the Brahmi symbol in question does not carry conviction because of the yawning gulf of nearly a millennium between the earliest occurrence of the character la and the Brahmi symbol from which it is sought to be derived. Here too, Paranavitana seems to be out of date and not aware of the new chronological tables prepared by Iravatham Mahadevan and T.V. Mahalingam and of the discovery and datings of ancient epigraphical records by R.Nagaswamy.[30] Thirdly, he pointed out that it occurred, for instance, in the name read as "Velu Sumana" in one of the inscriptions. Because Pali and Sinhalese historical works have preserved the name of a hero as Velu Sumana, Paranavitanan felt that the names must be identical. The present writer finds nothing in the inscription to suggest that the person mentioned must be the one mentioned in the historical works. When read as in Tamil Brahmi records, it will be "Vel Sumana" meaning "Sumana the Chieftain".

The other arguments brought forward by Paranavitana also do not carry conviction. Fourthly, the feminine form of parumaka had been read as parumakalu in one of the records. According to him, the feminine form of parumaka occurred also as parumakala and parumakali in two other records. According

to him, Indo-Aryan feminine suffixes 'ā' and 'ī' have been shortened as 'a' and 'i' in old Sinhalese. In the two latter records cited by him, the dental l was clear. So he reasoned out that parumakalu was the form resulting from the addition of the feminine - u suffix to parumaka, augmented by the -la suffix. He seems to have started from the pre-conceived notion that this form could not be Dravidian. If this letter were read as 'la', the feminine form could easily be read as parumakal The letter ḷa/ḷ is the recognised femine termination in Tamil. As for the other two forms of the same word mentioned by Paranavitana, the two terminations la and li could be explained away as scribal errors without bringing in new grammatical rules. The letter la might have been there for la because the scribe failed to convert the symbol for la into the symbol for ḷa by inserting the additional mark. The letter li might have been written for la because the scribe wrote a vertical line up instead of down.

The fifth argument of Paranavitana was that words which contained a la were written in the early Brahmi inscriptions with a da in place of the letter la and that when the cerobral la eccurred in later Brahmi records in places where there had been a da in earlier records, the symbol for "la" was formed by the addition of an extra stroke to the bottom of the letter da. He correctly pointed out that the letter la of modern Sinhalese alphabet directly evolved through various stages from the latter la. As Dani points out, these two "las" though very much related, are distinct sounds, the former one evolving to represent a Dravidian sound and the latter one evolving to represent what came to be known later as West Indian la.[31] So, Paranavitana seems to be right in the latter part of his argument. What he is unwilling to concede was that there was no evidence for the systematisation at that early period of old Sinhalese language or old Sinhalese script. The earliest extant Sinhalese literary work is dated in about the tenth century A.D. and the earliest extant Sinhalese grammatical work is dated in thirteenth century A.D. As Karunaratne is quoted to have mentioned in the newspaper article, an earlier la must have given way to a later la when North Indian influence became predominant in the period of later Brahmi inscriptions. The writing of la in a later stage in place of an earlier da seems to have been a feature of the North Indian languages. When this la was introduced in Sri Lanka Brahmi, the earlier la went out of use.

So, besides this la which should have signified Dravidian influence, the symbol for 'i' should have been introduced to fulfil the needs of Dravidian/Tamil phonology. The addition of a dot to the three dots of 'i' signified long 'i' in Northern Indian Brahmi. According to Tamil early phonology, as in the case of consonants, addition of a dot signified shortening of the value. Therefore, the four dots had been converted to a vertical line with a dot on each side. So, this symbol should have been originally long.[32] But in ancient Tamil Brahmi, this symbol denoted both the short i and the long i.[33] As Sri Lanka Brahmi was avoiding long vowels,

it could be said that that symbol denoted the short i.[34] But after some timeAsokan short i of three dots makes its appearance both in Tamilnadu and Sri Lanka and the peculiar symbol denoted long i in both states. It was as long i that this symbol makes a brief appearance in North India.[35] Though Dani was inclined to accept that this symbol might have travelled from the extreme South to the North of India,[36] Paranavitana could go only so far as to say that this symbol was found in the North also.[37]

The other common symbol which is definitely peculiar to the two states is what is generally referred to as Dravidian "ma". A variety of forms of ma had been found in Asokan Brahmi. Some varieties are found in Sri Lanka Brahmi also. But this peculiar symbol known as Dravidian ma was very common in Sri Lanka Brahmi also.[38] As far as the present writer is aware, nobody has explained why this particular symbol had been evolved to denote "ma". The symbol representing Asokan ma was occurring as a Non-Brahmi symbol in a few inscriptions in Sri Lanka.[39] This symbol occurs in some ancient Brahmi cave inscriptions discovered in Periya Puliyankulam (Vavuniya District: Northern Province); Nattukanda (Anuradhapura District: North Central Province); Tonigala and Paramakanda (both in Puttalam District: Northwestern Province).[40] The northern and western portions of Sri Lanka were strongholds of Naga inhabitants during that early period and Nagadipa, mentioned in various chronicles, historical records and Puranas had been identified with different parts of the region.[41] This symbol also occurs on a recently discovered Brahmi potsherd inscription from Kanterodai[42] (Jaffna Peninsula: Jaffna District: Northern Province). This non-Brahmi symbol of Sri Lanka, the equivalent of the symbol for ma in Asokan Brahmi sems to have been a Naga banner. Therefore there was a need to create a new symbol for ma in Sri Lanka.

The fact that the symbols created to fulfil the needs of Dravidian and particularly Tamil and those of the Nagas found universal acceptance in the two states in the earliest extant available record should be realised in its full significance and the early history of Sri Lanka should be reconstructed in this new light. Paranavitana had read and interpreted the Sri Lanka Brahmi records, always looking for derivations from Pali, Prakrit and Sanskrit. Changes in letter forms do not occur in a haphazard manner. The modern trend in the study of palaeography is to study it as an aspect of culture[43]. A new approach to this study of early old palaeography of the two states from the point of view of Dravidian and particularly Tamil should be made first.

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34. Paranavitana – Early Brahmi Inscriptions – P. XXVIII.
35. Mahalingam, – opp. cit. – p. 135.
36. Dani – opp. cit. – 73.
37. Paranavitana – Early Brahmi Inscriptions – p. XVIII.
38. Ibid. See Paranavitana's chart on Brahmi script in Ceylon.
39. Ibid. See Paranavitana's chart on non-Brahmi symbols.
40. Ibid. See the photographic plates of the records.
41. Paranavitana deals with this problem in his paper on Vallipuram Gold Plate inscription in Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. IV – pp. 229-237. Geiger identifies Nagdipa with Mannar area. Mudaliyar A.M. Gunasegara identifies it with the maritime parts of Puttalam and Chilaw Districts. Paul E. Pieris identifies it with Jaffna Peninsula.
42. Indrapala, K. – A Brahmi Potsherd Inscription from Kanterodai – Purva Kala – pp. 18.19 – Jaffna, 1973.

    What Indrapala says here can be quoted as it is very interesting:–

    > "The first character may be read as 'ma', but Dr. W. Saddhamangala Karunaratne, the Assistant Archaeological Commissioner (Epigraphy) of Sri Lanka is inclined to take it as a symbol. The present writer understands that the late Prof. S. Paranavitana also read it as a symbol. As the present writer has a high regard for the knowledge of these two scholars in the field of Brahmi inscription and as such symbols do occur in the Brahmi Inscriptions of Sri Lanka, this interpretation is adopted by him in this article, although personally he would prefer to read it as the letter 'ma'.

43. Dani – opp. cit. – preface.

WHY THE PERMISSIVE IS NOT PERMISSIVE

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Tamil abounds in auxiliary compounds[1] which express moods, aspects and some other notions as well. One of these compounds is characterised by its meaning as the Permissive in the literature. This compound is of the morphological pattern *ceyyattum*, usually glossed as "let (x) do". It consists of the infinitive of a verb and an auxiliary whose form and function have been described differently by different writers. This paper is an attempt towards a contribution to an understanding of the phonological shape and the semantics of this compound.

Identification of the Auxiliary

The first question that arises naturally concerns the form of the auxiliary that enters into the compound of the pattern *ceyyattum* "let (x) do". This question has two parts, one relating to the stem from which the auxiliary derives, and the other to the grammatical category this auxiliary belongs to.

None of the traditional grammars deals with this auxiliary compound or any other for that matter. Arden (1954) deals with the question of the form of this compound. He assumes the auxiliary to be *attum* which, he suggests, "may be a corruption of *am* (*aku* "become") or a corruption of *ottum*, the third person neuter future of *ottu* "permit, allow" (p. 247)." The Tamil Lexicon describes *attum* as "a verb suffixally used as a kind of imperative auxiliary in the sense of 'let'."[2] Some of the guide-books, grammars etc., written by non-natives (e.g. Hart, 1970) as well as natives (e.g. Shanmugam Pillai, 1971)[3] subscribe to the view expressed in the Lexicon concerning the form of this auxiliary. There are others such as Pope (1911) among the non-natives, and Jotimuttu (1956) among the natives, who treat *ottum* as the auxiliary. Writers other than Arden (1954) have not explicitly stated that *attum/ottum* is the third person neuter future in form.

Let us first consider the first part of the question, viz., the stem from which this particular auxiliary derives. The derivation of *ceyyattum* from the infinitive *ceyya* 'do' and the auxiliary *attum* seems to be ad hoc for the following reasons. It is a valid generalization that each of the auxiliaries in Tamil was, or still is, a main verb with the same or related meaning. Hence, one would expect to find a main verb *attu* on the basis of "the neuter future" *attum* but no such verb exists. There is a verb *attu* "pour" that occurs in the early Sangam literature and the

inscriptions but it is quite unrelated to this auxiliary in meaning. It may be recalled here that the Lexicon itself cites, under the entry for *attum*, no Tamil verb other than a Malayalam cognate *atte*, even though it has another entry for the Tamil verb *attu*.[4]. On the other hand, the transitive *ottu* "permit, allow" occurs as a main verb in the early literatures like *Cilappatikaram* and in the works of the early modern period such as Dupuis (1863).[5] It may be added here that there is also an intransitive *ottu* which is glossed, among others, "be suitable, be appropriate" in the Lexicon.

There is another compelling reason why the form of this auxiliary has to be treated as *ottum* even in modern Tamil. In the negative non-finite form, the only other form in which this auxiliary appears in modern Tamil, it is *ottu* that shows up and not *attu*. Consider the following sentences:

1.

avarkal	avanaip	peca	ottamal	kuccal
they	he-acc	speak-inf	*agree*-neg-AvP	shout
pottarkal				
put-pst-PNG				

"They shouted, not letting him speak."

2.

mamiyar	tan	purusanukkum	pentattikkum
mother-in-law	emp	husband-dat-incl	wife-dat-incl
ottamal	panni	vittal	
agree-neg-AvP	make-pst-AvP	*leave*-pst-PNG	

"The mother-in law caused the husband and the wife (to become) not agreeable (to each other)".

Facts such as these enable us to draw the conclusion that the auxiliary derives from the main verb *ottu* "agree" and not the hypothetical *attu*.

Now let us turn to the second part of the question. What grammatical category does this auxiliary belong to? As noted earlier Arden (1954) characterises it as the third person neuter future. But this hypothesis is not supported by facts. For, this auxiliary has an alternate form *ottu* which generally occurs in questions such as

3.

nan	unkalotu	varatta?
I	you-pl-soc	come-inf-*agree*-Q

"Shall I go with you?"

4.

tiruttup	payale!	un	kaiyai	otikkatta?
thieving	fellow-voc	your	hand-acc	break-inf-*agree*-Q

"(You) thieving fellow! Shall I break your hand?"

Such occurrences are quite common in the regional dialects of Ramnad and Tirunelveli Districts. *ottu*, as a variant of *ottum*, has also been noted by Dupuis (1863) and Baulez (1903).

Secondly, it is a known fact that a verb stem unaltered in its morphemic shape can function as an imperative singular only. Hence, *ottum* is morphologically the middle honorific form (in the sense of Hart, 1970) of the imperative *ottu*. Characterisation of *ottum* as the third person neuter future is easily understandable since the neuter form is homophonous with the middle honorific in the case of weak verbs except for the irregulars like *ta* "give".

Thirdly, the morpheme-*en* "why" which derives an optional imperative[6] from a regular one can be affixed to this auxiliary. e.g.

5. avan ataic collattumen
he that-acc tell-inf-*agree*-why
"Let him tell that. Why not?" (= Why don't you let him tell that?)

6. itu kirupai poziyum varusam akattumen
this grace shower-fu-AjP year be-inf-*agree*-why
"Let this be a year in which (you) shower (your) grace. Why not?"
(= Why don't you let this be a year in which you bestow grace upon us?)
(kiristu capai pamalai: 81)

7. nan ciluvaiyil ummutaiya cinekat tiyaip
I Cross-loc you (pl)-gen friendship fire-acc
parkkattumen
see-inf-*agree*-why
"Let me witness the fire of your fellowship in the Cross. Why not"
(= Why don't you let me witness the flame of your fellowship in the Cross?) (Vedanayagam Shastriyar, 1974:174)

Note that this morpheme -*en* 'why' cannot be affixed to any auxiliary that is not imperative in its form. Consider the following sentences:

8. (a) * avan ataic colla ventumen
he that-acc tell-inf want-fu-PNG-why
* "Why don't you he must tell that?

(b) avan ataic collalamen
he that-acc tell-VN-*become*-fu-PNG-why
"Why don't you he may tell that?"

(c) * avan ataic collak kutaten
he that-acc tell-inf *be-possible*-neg-PNG -why
* "Why don't you he should not tell that?"

(d) collit tolaiyen
tell-pst-AvP *be-lost*-why
"Off with it"

These facts indicate that the auxiliary verb in the compound of the pattern *ceyyattum* "let (x) do" is morphologically the middle honorific of the imperative *ottu* "agree". There are semantic grounds as well to support such a derivation, as shown later.

Functions of this Auxiliary

Now, before we attempt at a probe into the semantics of this auxiliary compound, let us consider its functions. There are three major functions, which can be labelled as (i) the Response-initial, (ii) the so-called Permissive, and (iii) the so-called Optative. Let us consider these three in some detail.

(i) *The Response-initial*: There are two expressions involving this auxiliary *ottum*, which occur initially in responses in a speech context. The first is *akattum* "so be it", which is sometimes treated as the same as *amam* "yes". But *akattum* "so be it" and *amam* "yes" are not interchangeable. The former but not the latter constitutes a proper affirmative response to a question like

9. ni kataikkup poyk kaykari
you store-dat go-pst-AvP vegetables
vankik kontu varukiraya?
buy-pst-AvP *hold*-pst-AvP come--pres-PNG-Q
"Will you go to the store and get (some) vegetables?".

amam 'yes' but not *akattum* 'so be with it' is a proper affirmative response to a question like

10. un peyar murukana?
your name Murugan-Q.
"Is your name Murugan?"

Hence, *akattum* "so be with it" cannot be treated on par with *amam* 'yes".
The former denotes the hearer's agreement to the speaker's proposal.

There is another Response-initial expression *atu irukkattum/atu kitakkattum* 'let it be so', which is usually employed when the hearer initiates a change of topic in a conversation, as in

11. A: unkalai ulakam ellam pukazkiratu
you-pl-acc world all praise-pres-PNG
"All the world praises you".

B: atu	irukkattum	vanta	kariyattaic
it	be-inf-*agree*	come-pst-AjP	matter-acc
collunkal			
tell-imp (pl)			

"Let it be so. Please tell me the purpose of your visit"

In this case also, the construction with *ottum* denotes the hearer's agreement with the proposition verbalized by the speaker in a manner to be discussed later.

(ii) *The so-called Permissive*: The second major function of this auxiliary compound is found in sentences like

12.	kuzantai	tunkattum
	child	sleep-inf-*agree*

"Let the child sleep".

The auxiliary compound, as the one in the above sentence, has been termed the Permissive (Hart, 1970; Shanmugam Pillai, 1971).[7] But there are many problems with this characterisation. First, the "Permissive" does not occur in a context where it is expected to occur. Suppose a subordinate officer seeks permission to enter his superior's office. He cannot say

13.	nan ,	ulle	varattuma?
	I	in	come-inf-*agree*-Q

"Shall I come in?"

He will have to say

14.	nan	ulle	varalama?
	I	in	come-VN-*become*-fu-PNG-Q

"May I come in?"

Furthermore this auxiliary compound occurs in a situation where seeking permission is unthinkable, as an angry father telling his crying child.

15.	azukaiyai	niruttukiraya?	nalu	ati
	cry-VN-acc	stop-pres-PNG-Q	four	blow
	kotukkattuma?			
	give-inf--*agree*-Q.			

"Will you stop crying, or shall I give you some blows?"

These facts indicate that the meaning of this auxiliary compound is not seeking or granting permission.

It is to be noted here that there seems to be a peculiarity in the distribution of the so-called Permissive. Shanmugam Pillai (1977) notes that this compound

never occurs in the second person and that it occurs in the first person with the *-a* interrogative only (p. 168). But on an earlier occasion he states that this auxiliary occurs in all persons other than the second (p. 162). It is clear from the following examples cited by him that this auxiliary compound occurs with a first person singular or exclusive plural subject:

16. ennai vitu; nan pokattum
    I-acc leave I go-inf-*agree*
    "Leave me. Let me go".

(Shanmugam Pillai, 1977 : 162)[8]

17. pecate; nankal pokattum
    speak-neg-Imp we (excl) go-inf-*agree*
    "Don't say (anything). Let us go".

(Ibid)

This compound can of course in the first person singular or exclusive plural with either an e- interrogative (corresponding to the WH-interrogatives of English) or an *-a* interrogative (corresponding to the Yes-No Questions), as evidenced by

18. (a) nan enna ceyyattum?
    I what do-inf-*agree*
    "What shall I do?"

    (b) nankal enke pokattum?
    we (excl) where go-inf-*agree*
    "Where shall we go?"

19. (a) nan cetikkut tannir uttattuma?
    I plant-dat water pour-inf-*agree*
    "Shall I water the plants?"

    (b) nankal poy vittu varattuma?
    we (excl) go-pst-AvP *leave*-pst-AvP come-inf-*agree*
    "Shall we take leave?"

But this auxiliary compound does not occur with either a first person inclusive plural or a second person (singular/plural) subject both in the affirmative and the interrogative. e.g.

20. (a) * nam pokattum
    we (incl) go-inf-*agree*
    "Let us (incl) go".

    (b) * nam pokattuma?
    we (incl) go-inf-*agree*-Q
    "Shall we go?"

21. (a)

* ni	kutikkattum
you (sg)	drink-inf-*agree*

* "Let you drink"

(b)

* ni	kutikkattuma?
you (sg)	drink-inf-*agree*-Q

* "Shall you drink?"

(c)

* ninkal	pecattum
you (pl)	speak-inf-*agree*

* "Let you speak".

(d)

* ninkal	pecattuma?
you (pl)	speak-inf-*agree*

* "Shall you speak?"

There are some apparent counter-examples to the above observations in which this auxiliary compound occurs in either the first person inclusive plural or the second person (singular/plural) subject in embedded clauses, as in

22. (a)

nam	varattum	enru	avan
we (incl)	come-inf-*agree*	*say*-pst-AvP	he
kattuk	kontu	irukkiran	
wait-pst-AvP	*hold*-pst-AvP	be-pres-PNG	

"He is waiting for us (incl) to arrive"

(b)

nanum	niyum	varattum	enru
I-incl	you-incl	come-inf-*agree*	*say*-pst-AvP
avan	kattuk	kontu	irukkiran
he	wait-pst-AvP	*hold*-pst-AvP	be-pres-PNG-

"He is waiting for you and me to arrive"

23. (a)

ni	varattum	enru	avan
you (sg)	come-inf-*agree*	*say*-pst-AvP	he
kattuk	kontu	irukkiran	
wait-pst-AvP	*hold*-pst-AvP	be-pres-PNG	

"He is waiting for you (sg) to arrive"

(b)

ninkal	varattum	enru	avan
you (pl)	come-inf-*agree*	*say*-pst-AvP	he
kattuk	kontu	irukkiran	
wait-pst-AvP	*hold*-pst-AvP	be-pres-PNG	

"He is waiting for you (pl) to come

The occurrence of this auxiliary compound with these personal pronouns is felt to be a surface phenomenon since it has been shown that person specifications need

not appear in semantic structures at all (McCawley, 1968). At the semantic level, the NPs that are the sources for the pronouns in sentences (22a) through (23b) will not have the indices as those in the semantic structures of (20a) through (21d). Presumably, the NPs in the lowermost embedded structures underlying (22a) through (23b) will have third person indices in reference to their embedding subject NPs, whereas those in structures underlying (20a) through (21d) will have first/second person indices. Note also that a sentence like

24. *	nam	varattum	enru	nan
	we (incl)	come-inf-*agree*	say-pst-AvP	I
	kattuk	kontu	irukkiren	
	wait-pst-AvP	hold-pst-AvP	be-pres-PNG	

* 'I am waiting for us to arrive'

is unacceptable. Hence, the occurrence of the first person inclusive plural and the second person singular and plural pronouns as subjects with the auxiliary *ottum* as in sentences (22a) through (23b) is not considered as a counter-example. The fact remains that these pronouns do not co-occur with this auxiliary compound.

(iii) *The so-called Optative* : The third major function of this auxiliary compound is as an optative. As a matter of fact, Andronov (1969) characterises this compound as the optative. It is not at all clear that the *ottum* construction expresses the speaker's wish the same way a regular optative[9] does. First of all, a regular optative can be used in expressing a curse, as in

24(a)	Avanaip	pampu	kotta
	he-acc	snake	peck-opt
	'May a snake bite him'		
(b)	avalaip	pataiyil	vaikka
	she-acc	bier-loc	place-opt
	'May she be placed on a bier'		

Affixation of *ottum* in the place of the optative suffixes in the above sentences will make them unacceptable.

Secondly, a regular optative can occur with a first person inclusive or the second person singular/plural pronoun as its subject, as in

25(a)	nam	vazka		
	we (incl)	live-opt		
	'May we live long'			
(b)	ni	verriyotu	tirumpuka	
	you(sg)	victory-soc	return-opt	
	'May you return victorious			
(c)	ninkal	viraivil	kunam	peruka
	you(pl)	speed-loc	cure	get-opt
	'May you have a speedy recovery'			

But the use of *ottum* in the place of *-ka* in the above sentences will make them unacceptable.

From the above discussion the following facts emerge : (i) the auxiliary ottum is morphologically imperative, even though the form is unproductive in modern Tamil, (ii) the auxiliary compound in *ottum* cannot have as its subject any NP which is indexed for the hearer, and (iii) the meaning of this compound is not permissive (i.e. seeking or granting permission). Any semantic theory of this compound should account for these facts.

Toward a semantic theory of this Auxiliary

Before I proceed to sketch a proposal in order to account for the morpho-syntactic behaviour of *ottum* I wish to show that there is an imperative semantically underlying this compound. Tamil questions like

26. nan avanaip parkkattuma?
    I he-acc see-inf-agree-Q
    'Shall I see him?'

necessarily draw an answer in the imperative rather than the declarative, as in

27(a) parkkate
      see-inf-neg-Imp
      'Don't see'

(b) par
    see-Imp
    'See'

(c) paren
    see-why
    'Why don't you see ?'

(d) * parppay
      see-fu-PNG
    * 'You will see'

Shanmugam Pillai (1971) gives the above set as well as many others.[10] It is evident that sentences like (26) have to be analysed as interrogated imperatives (see McCawley, 1968). In other words, an imperative is involved in the semantic structure of the auxiliary compound in *ottum*.

I propose that the auxiliary compound in *ottum* involves an expression of the speaker's agreement imposed on the hearer. Thus it is an IMPOSITIVE in the sense of Green (1972).

The co-occurrence properties of this auxiliary compound clearly indicates the fact that it expresses the speaker's agreement. Consider the following sentences :

28. avan	patikkattum	*kutatu		enru
he	study-inf-agree	*be possible*-neg-PNG		say -pst-AvP
		colkiren		
		say-pres-PNG		
		ventum	enru	colkiren
		want-fu-PNG	*say*-pst-AvP	say-pres-PN
		*ventum	enru	colven
		want-fu-PNG	*say*-pst-AvP	say-fu--PNG
'Let him study.		*I say he shouldn't		
		I say he should		
		* I will say he should		

29. avan	patikkattum	*kutatu		enru
he	study-inf-*agree*	*be possible*-neg-PNG		*say*-pst-Av ?
		colkiray		
		say-pres-PNG		
		*ventum	enru	colkiray
		want-fu-PNG	*say*-pst-AvP	say-pres-Av
		ventum	enru	colvay
		want-fu-PNG	*say*-pst-AvP	say-fu-PNG
'Let him study.		*You say he should not		
		*You say he should		
		You will say he should		

Note that the future tense, and not the present, is acceptable in the second half of sentence (29). This indicates that the speaker expects the hearer to agree with him. On the other hand, the present tense, and not the future, is acceptable in (26) which expresses the speaker's agreement.

One point needs clarification. The non-occurrence of *ottum* in the first person inclusive plural or the second person singular/plural cannot be explained, it seems, by an appeal to universal semantics, since there is nothing odd in positing structures that would yield a sentence like.

30. You will agree that you are rather old.

Hence, the above non-occurrence has to be explained in terms of the auxiliary *ottum*. This verb is required to have in the immediately lower clause a subject NP that does not have the same indices as the NP that functions as its own subject.[11] Such a requirement will preclude the possibility of derivation of sentences with the first person inclusive plural or the second person singular/plural pronoun as the subject of the

embedded clause.[12] Given the fact that the auxiliary *ottum* is idiomatized in modern Tamil, the above requirement may not sound as outlandish as it does at first. Let me conclude reiterating my earlier position, viz, the above discussion is intended not as a complete theory but as a contribution to the proposal of a theory toward the semantics of the auxiliary compound in *ottum*.

NOTES

1. This term is due to Sanford Steever (Personal Communication). For other terms in use for such compounds, see Annamalai (1979). 2. It is to be added here that the Tamil gloss for the same item reads *oru viyankol vikuti* 'an optative suffix'. 3.Shanmugam Pillai (1977) considers that-*ttum* is the form involved in this compound. It is not clear whether that form is to be treated as an auxiliary or a suffix. However, it is to be noted that no geminated obstruent occurs initially in any Tamil. morpheme. Of course there is nothing in theory to prevent an analyst from positing an entirely hypothetical underlying form. But such positing is usually done on the basis of compelling evidence. Curiously enough, Part I of Hart (1970) gives the form of this auxiliary as *-ttum*, while Part II as *attum* ; 4. One gloss for this verb listed in the Lexicon is 'to join, stick, paste' for which no citations are given. This verb in this sense is said to be related to Telugu *antu* in which case this is a "corruption" of Tamil *antu* 'approach'.; 5. Examples such as *ennaip pizaikka ottan* 'He will not let me live', cited in Dupuis (1863), are best considered as instances of the use of *ottu* as a main verb, for auxiliary verbs (other than the attitudinal markers) in general do not take suffixes that indicate Person, Number, and Gender (such as *an* for masculine singular). Judging from the examples given in Dupuis (1863) and Baulez (1903), it seems that the distinction between the use as a main verb and the use as an auxiliary in the case of *ottu* correlated in the spoken Tamil with a phonetic distinction, viz, the loss of the infinitival *-a* in the former and the loss of the initial *o-* of *ottu* in the latter. But Dupuis (1863) identifies this phonetic distinction with the distinction between the negative and the "positif" uses of *ottu* (p.293). Perhaps the use of *ottu* as a main verb was restricted to the negative paradigm at the time he wrote his grammer.; 6. This term is due to Shanmugam Pillai (1971). An Optional Imperative is an imperative that gives an option to the hearer, i.e., the hearer may or may not do the action (Ibid, p.15). ; 7. However, Shanmugam Pillai (1977) characterises the meaning of this compound (and the meaning of the compound of the pattern *ceyyalam* '(x) may do') as *icaital* 'agreement'.; 8. The glosses and the translation are mine.; 9. A regular optative in Tamil is formed by affixing either *a* , *ka* etc., to a verb stem or *aka* to a future finite verb. The optative form in *a* is homophonous with the infinitive and hence Beschi's confusion (see 1917:77ff). ; 10. Shanmugam Pillai's sets do not have an item corresponding with sentence (27d). Transcription has been changed here to be consistent with the present work ; 11.

English *let* appears to have a similar restriction. It does not allow a second person pronoun to be the embedded subject. e.g.

(a) *Let you be the judge
yourself

However, it allows the first person inclusive plural pronoun to be the embedded subject, as in

(b) Let us go to a movie.

12. It could be suggested on the basis of sentences like

(a) avan	unnal	kollap	patattum
he	you-ins	kill-inf	*experience*-inf-*agree*

'Let him be killed by you'

that the auxiliary *ottum*, like the English *let*, obligatorily triggers the Passive transformation when the subject of the next lower clause is the second person pronoun. But such a solution is not felt to be correct since sentences like the above are least common in Tamil. Such sentences are felt to be influenced by English.

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PHONOLOGICAL CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN TAMIL AND JAPANESE

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There is a strong probability for the existence of a relationship between Tamil and Japanese. In order to prove this, it is necessary to present a long list of corresponding words strictly supported by sound laws to clarify grammatical similarities between both languages to prove suffixal correspondences in the structure of words a nd to prove morphological correspondences.

As for problems in grammatical structure, the Japanese language is an agglutinative language, as is the Tamil language. In Japanese the adjective comes before the noun and the adverb before the verb. The object also comes before the verb. Japanese uses postpositions and auxiliary verbs. The Japanese nouns, adjectives and verbs have no plural declension. The demonstrative pronouns have the distinction of "near" "intermediate" and "far" [1](proximity, mediality and remoteness like the Latin *hic iste ille*). There is no personal conjugation in the verb which exists in the Tamil language; and this is one of the main differences between Tamil and Japanese. There are several more points to be compared grammatically between these languages, but I should like to hold off mentioning these points till I have made progress in the study of classical Tamil.

This time I shall deal only with word correspondences. My source for the Tamil words is Burrow and Emeneau's *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*. I have tried to confirm the meanings of the words which I picked up from this dictionary with the help of a few informants in Tamil Nadu. I have taken up a total of 500 words whose correspondences with Japanese words seem to be supported by sound laws. The informants understood 70% of the 500 Tamil words in total and explained the meanings to me. Some of the informants replied "Roughly half the words asked are not in common use. We remember having read such words in books."

As for the corresponding Japanese words, I have used all materials available from Old Japanese to the present day dialect. I should have given an explanation to each word but this time I have refrained from it for want of space.

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1. Cf. The Tamil demonstrative *i, u* and *a*.

Phonological System of Old Japanese

(1) A syllable was composed of either one vowel only (V) or a combination of a consonant and a vowel (CV).

(2) A syllable always ended in a vowel. (Therefore, Tamil syllable-final consonants tend to disappear. Sometimes a vowel is added to a syllable-final consonant to make one more syllable.)

(3) A vowel was always a monophthong. There were no diphthongs.

(4) There was no distinction between long and short vowels.

(5) There were only four vowels : a i u ō.

(6) Later, two vowels, e and o were added. There were not many examples containing these new vowel phonemes.

(7) A word allowed only one consonant in initial position. It had no syllable-final consonant.

(8) Only eight consonants could stand in initial position of a word :
k, s, t, n, f, m, y, w.

(9) As syllable-initial consonants in the second and the following syllables a total of 13 consonants could stand including the above given eight consonants : k, s, t, n, f, m, y, w, g, z, d, b, r. Old Japanese g, z, d, b, had a nasal glide immediately before these consonants.

(10) Therefore, Tamil distinctions between (t and ṭ), (n and ṇ), (r, and ṛ), (l and ḷ) were lost in Japanese. They correspond to (t, d or s), (n), (r), (l) respectively.

Chief Phonological Correspondences between Tamil and Old Japanese

A. Vowels

I. vowel correspondences in the first and the following syllables:

	Tam.		Jap.
(1)	a, â	—	a
(2)	i, ī	—	i
(3)	u, ū (1)	—	u
(4)	u, ū (2)	—	o
(5)	e, ē	—	i
(6)	o, ō	—	a

B. Consonants

I. consonant correspondences in the first syllable :

	Tam.		Jap.
(1)	k	—	k
(2)	c	—	s
(3)	t (1)	—	t
(4)	t (2)	—	s
(5)	n, ñ	—	n
(6)	p	—	f
(7)	m	—	m
(8)	y	—	y
(9)	v (1)	—	w
(10)	v (2)	—	f

II. vowel correspondences in the second and the following syllables:

(7)	u	—	a
(8)	al	—	o

II. consonant correspondences in the second and the following syllables:

(11)	k	—	k
(12)	ṅk	—	g
(13)	c	—	s
(14)	ṭ, t (1)	—	t, d
(15)	ṭ, t (2)	—	s, z
(16)	n, ṇ	—	n
(17)	p	—	f, b
(18)	m	—	m
(19)	y	—	y
(20)	r, ṟ, l, ḷ	—	r
(21)	r	—	s
(22)	v (1)	—	w
(23)	v (2)	—	f, b

(An Old Japanese f is supposed to have developed p—f—h. Present day Japanese has h.)

VOWELS

I. Tam. a — Jap. a

(1) akam (T.): place, agricultural tract.
aka (J.): paddy field, rice field.

(2) akal (T.): to spread, widen, extend, depart, go away.
aka—> ake (J.): to open, be opened, become vacant.

(3) akal (T.): to spread, widen, extend, depart, go away.
akaru (J.): to separate, part (from, with), leave.

(4) akavu(T.): to utter a sound as a peacock.
aka-boyeru (J.): to cry, weep (beyeru means roaring).

(5) ankalay (T.): to lament, grieve, sorrow, be envious, covet.
agarasi(J.): to lament, grieve, weep, deplore.

(6) acatu(T.): stupidity, fool. (This is Sanskrit)
asato-si (J.): foolish, shallow.

(7) acanku(T.): to stir, move, shake.
asagu(J.): to walk, move.

(8) aca(T.): languor, faintness.
acai(T.) to be slender, flexible, diminish.
asa(J.): slight, shallow, short, early.

(9) accu(T.): weaver's reed instrument for pressing down the threads of the woof; comb-like frame in a loom through which the warp threads are passed and by which they are pressed or battened together.
aze <—aza(J.): weaver's reed instrument for pressing down the threads.

(10) atu(T.): to move (intr.), wave, swing, shake, dance, act a part of play, play sport, cohabit, fight, go, wander about; say, do.
aso-bu(J.): to play, amuse (enjoy, divert).

(11) accu(T.) weaver's reed instrument for pressing down the threads of the woof; comb-like frame in a loom through which the warp threads are passed and by which they are pressed or battened together.
aza-fu, aza-nafu(J.): to twist, make a rope. ("fu", "nafu" are suffixes to make verbs.)

(12) ati(T.): foot, foot print, base, bottom, source, origin.
asi(J.): foot, leg, limb.

(13) ati(T.): to beat, strike, dash against, strike, defeat, overcome, slay, punish; n. blow, stroke.
atu(J.): to hit, strike, apply, put a (a patch) on (a shirt), patch up (a shirt).

(14) atar(T.): to beat, strike, mould by beating: to attack, kill, destroy.
ataru(J.): to strike, come true, hit the truth, touch, graze.

(15) attu(T.): to join, stick, paste (tr.).
atu(J.): to patch up.

(16) attu(T.): to unite (as two or more parts), make to fit in with one another, apply (as medicine): n. sewing.
atu(J.): to apply.

(17) atukku(T.): to pile up one on top of another, heap up in order: n. pile, series, row, tier.
atu-si(J.): to be thick.

(18) antai(T.): field band, ridge of a field.
adei(J.): ridge of a field, forest and mountain.
ado(J.) id.

(19) atir(T.): to shake, quake, tremble, be startled.
adir(J.): to writhe, move about in sleeping.

(20) ayakku(T.): to shake (tr.).
ayuku, ayoku(J.): to shake.

(21) amali (T.): tumult, uproar, bustle.
amaru (J.): to be boisterous, uproarious.

(22) ampali(T.): porridge, esp. of ragi.
amari(J.): porridge.

(23) amir(T.): to be immersed, plunged, to sink.
amu, abi-ru(J.): to take (have) a bath, bathe (in the sea).

(24) aralai (T.): stone broken for roads.
arare(J.): pebble, hail, hailstone.

(25) arai(T.): to grind, pulverize, destroy by rubbing, mash, destroy, clear of seeds, gin.
ara(J.): rice bran.

(26) alampu(T.): to wash, rinse.
arafu(J.): to wash.

(27) alar(T.): to blossom, open up, spread (as rays of the sun, water), increase in size, manifest itself; n. fullblown flower.
are <—ara(J.): to be born.

(28) alar(T.): to blossom, open up, spread (as rays of the sun, water), increase in size, manifest itself; n. fullblown flower.
ara-faru(J.): to appear.

(29) ar(T.) sharpness, pointedness.
(cf.) ar (Malayalam): chip, splinter (as of bamboo).
ara(J.): refuse of a fish.

(30) ar(T.): to shout, roar, bellow; slander, vilify.
ara-gafu, are-sofu(J.): shouting.

(31) arai(T.): room, apartment, chamber, cell, entrance of the room.
ara-to(J.): entrance of the room. ("to" means entrance)

(32) arral(T.): strength, power, prowess, ability, abundance, endurance, courage.
arasi-ko(J.): man of power.

(33) alukku(T.): to shake (tr.) slightly; strut, swagger.
aruku(J.): to walk.

(34) ari(T.): rice, paddy.
(cf.) ari (Malayalam): grain of rice freed from chaff, seed grain.
are(J.): powder of rice.

(35) aiyam(T.): doubt, uncertainty, scepticism.
aiya (T.): excl. of wonder; excl. of pity, concern.
aya-si(J.): doubtful, dubious, suspicious, questionable, strange, queer.

(36) avalam(T.): suffering, pain, distress, poverty, want, sorrowing, care, anxiety, fault, sickness, disease.
afare (J.) sorrow, pain, pity, suffering, sympathy.

(37) avuri(T.): indigo plant.
awo(J.): blue.

(38) aviri(T.): indigo plant.
awi(J.): indigo.

(39) avai(T.): to pound in a mortar, crush, cuff, prod.
afa(J.): millet. (cf. kumai means husked rice in Japanese).

(40) akkulu(T.): to tickle.
akuru(J.): play with, disport, sport.

II. Tam. i — Jap. i

(1) i(T.): demonstr, base, expr. the nearer or proximate person or thing.
i(J.): it or you as a proximate person.

(2) itaru(T.): to stumple, kick, obstruct.
idani(J.): to stammer, stutter.

(3) iti(T.): thunder, roar, great noise, ache, throbbing pain.
iti(J.): awful might of God.

(4) itai(T.): middle in space or time, interval, gap, unfilled space, waist.
ito-ma(J): interval, gap.

(5) itti(T.): white fig.
itiziku(J.): fig.

(6) impar(T.): here; this world.
ima(J.): now.

(7) ira(T.): to beg for alms, beseech, entreat.
iraval (T.): begging, anything borrowed to be returned after use (except money).
(cf.) eravu (Kannada): that which is asked for, that which one desires to borrow, a thing borrowed for temporary use, state of borrowing from one another.

(8) iruku(T): to daub, smear, rub over (as mortar).
irai(T.): to rub so as to be dissolved (as a pill in honey or milk), daub, paint, draw.
iro(J.): colour.

(9) irai(T.): to associate very intimately, have tender emotions (as in love), be together (as husband and wife), copulate (as snakes).
irafu(J.): to associate, answer.

(10) ilaku(T.) to shake (intr.) agitate.
iraku—> yuraku(J.): to shake, swing, sway.
(note) "i" and "yu" were exchanged easily in old Japanese as "iku", "yuku" (to go); "ime", "yume" (dream); "iki" "yuki" (name of an island); i-mu, yuyu-si (to be taboo) etc.

(11) ilaku(T.):to become relaxed (as a bowstring), get loose (as screws), become pliable (as melted iron).
yura(J.): to be loose, lax, slack, pliable.

(12) iru(T.): to strain, percolate (as a liquid).
iru(J.): to strain, percolate.

(13) irai, irappu(T.): inside of a sloping roof, eaves of a house.
(cf.) irakali (Malayalam): eaves of a house.
(cf.) erake (Kannada): a roof, thatch.
iraka(J.): eaves.

III. Tam. u— Jap. u

(1) uvan(T.): upper place, place above.
ufa(J.): the upper part, the top, the summit, the head, the top, the surface.

(2) uka(T.): to ascend, rise stately, soar upward.
uka(J.): to float (on the water, in the air), waft.

(3) ukalu(T.): to leap, bound, frisk, gambol, jump over, run about.
ukaru(J.): to be gay, make merry, be in high spirits.

(4) uku(T.): to be shed as feathers or hair, fall down, die,
ugu(J.): to be fallen off, slipped off.

(5) ucci(T.): crown of head, head, summit, zenith.
uzu(J.): flowers worn on the head.

(6) uttu(T.): to discard, throw away.
utu(J.): to throw (cast, fling) away, dump.

(7) umi (T.) husk: to become chaff.
umi(J.): to ripple flax and take out the fibres.

(8) urai(T.): to rub into a paste, grate.
ura-kosi(J.): to grate, to rub into a paste (kosi means filtering).

(9) uyar(T.): to rise (as water), move toward the meridian(as a heavenly body), be high, elevated, lofty, grow, increase, be excellent, eminent, respect.

(10) ural(T.): mortar.
ural (Malayalam): wooden mortar for beating rice.
usu(J.): mortar: hand mill.
(note) the examples of correspondences r—s are shown in page 19 in consonant

(11) uru(T.): to become ripe, mature.
uru(J.) to ripen, be ripe.

(12) uruku(T.): to dissolve (intr.) with heat, melt, liquefy, be fused, become tender, melt (as the heart), be kind.
urukasu(J.): to steep (in water), swell up.

(13) ul(T.): to be, have.
u(J.) to be, set, sit.

(14) ul (T.) (inside, interior of a place, mind, heart, a locative ending.
ura(J.): the reverse (wrong) side, the inside, the back, the rear.

(15) ullam(T.): mind, heart, intention, thought, soul.
uramu(J.): to bear (have) a grudge (spite), think ill of (a person), resent.

(16) uranku(T.): to sleep, feel drowsy, be weary.
uragu(J.) to sleep.

(17) utu(T.): the middle, that which comes between, waist.
utu(J.): the inside, the interior,.

(18) utu(uti) (T.): to blow (as a wind instrument, a fire), blow out (as a lamp), blow or breathe upon to allay pain, refine with fire (as gold), be inflated.
uti(J.) to blow, n. breath, life.

IV. Tam. u — Jap. o

(1) utu(T.): to put on (as clothes), surround, encircle.
oso-ki(J.): clothes.

(2) utuppu(T.): cloth, unsewn garment, clothes.
osufi(J.): clothes.

(3) unar(T.): to wake from sleep, get back to consciousness, recover from languor.
unaruka (Malayalam): to awake, watch, be conscious.
odoro-ku(J.) to wake from sleep, to awake, to be astonished.

(4) utir(T.): to drop off (as leaves, fruits), fall out (as hair), to be blasted, drop down (as tears), crumble (as cakes).
otu(J.): to fall, drop, come (go) down, crash.

(5) urappu(T.): to whoop, shout so as to menace or intimidate. bluster, roar, frighten, cause to sound loudly.
orabu(J.): to shout.

(6) uppu(T.): to become big (as a seed), bloat, puff up (as the abdomen), rise (as leaven).
ofo, ofu(J.): big, become long.

(7) uy(T.): to be overripe, decay.
ur(T.): to grow old, pass the prime of life.
oyu(J.) to grow old, dote.
(note) "r" and "y" are often exchanged in old Japanese.
(note) The correspondences u—o are abundantly found in (T.) ku—(J.)ko, (T.) tu—(J.) to, (T.) nu—(J.) no, (T.) pu—(J.) fo, (T.mu—(J.)mo, (T.) ru, ru, ru, lu, lu—(J.) ro.

V. Tam. e, e — Jap. i

(1) e(T.): interrogative base; pref. before a noun, meaning 'what, which' (e before consonant, evv before vowel.)

i(J.): interrogative base.

itu when.

iduku where (ku means place).

idure which, who (re means direction).

iduti which direction (ti means direction).

ika how, why (ka means state of things, figure of things).

iku how many (ku is an adverbial suffix).

(2) ettu(T.): to reach up to, come within reach, approach, be attained.
iru(J.): to enter into an enclosure, go (come, to get, step) in, into.

(3) ey(T.): to discharge arrows, n. arrow.
e (T.): shooting, arrow.
i-ru(J.): to discharge arrows, shoot a bird.

(4) eri(T.): to burn, blaze, (sore or fever) burns.
iru(J.): to parch (beans), fire (tea).

(5) erru(T.): to throw out (as water from a vessel).
iru(J.): to pour.

(6) eku(T.): to go, pass, walk.
iku(J.): to go, go away, leave (for).

VI. Tam. o, ō — Jap. a, ō

(note) In old Japanese there wasn't a vowel o. Then the initial syllable o, ō in Tamil corresponded to a and o in Japanese. a and o were often exchanged in the old Japanese.

(1) oppu(T.): to agree, accede to, assent.
afu(J.): to fit, suit, be suited to, agree, accord to.

(T.) kokki	(T.) kottam	(T.) kottu	(T.) kontai	(T.) kottai
(J.) kagi	(J.) katama	(J.) katu	(J.) kanta	(J.) kattai

{(T.) tol {(T.) noy
{(J.) ta {(J.) naya

(2) onku(T.): to rise high, ascentd (as a flame), be lofty, lift up, raise.
agu(J.): to rise, lift up, raise.

(3) onnu(T.): the number one, one.
ono(J.) myself, each one.

(4) orukku(T.): to draw out.
oru(J.): to draw out thread, weave.

(5) orru(T.): to press, hug close, stamp (as a seal), press down, press upon.
osu(J.): to press, stamp.

(6) oppu(T.): to drive away, cause to flee, scare away as birds.
ofu(J.): to drive away, turn out.

CONSONANTS

I. Tam. k ——— Jap. k

(1) katampan(T.): unruly person.
katampi (T.) : lewd woman.
kadamu (J.) : crooked, perverse, lewd.

(2) katai (T.) : entrance, gate.
kado (J.) : entrance, gate.

(3) katavu (T.) : he - buffalo.
kotofi (J.) : strong buffalo which carries weighty loads.
(In the ancient Japanese, there were many examples of the exchange between the vowels, a and o.)

(4) kati (T.) : to bite, gnaw.
kadi-ru (J.) : to gnaw, eat, nibble.

(5) kan (T.) : joint in bamboo or cane.
kanu (T.) : joint of bamboo, cane, etc.
kana-me (J.) : rivet of a fan.

(6) kan (T.) : place, site.
ka (J.) : place.

(7) katuvu (T.) : to seize, grasp, take more than a proper share of.
kadofu (J.) : to abduct.

(8) kavvu (T.) : to seize with the mouth, grasp with eagerness.
kamu (J.) : to bite, gnaw.

(9) kavvu (T.) : to seize with the mouth, grasp with eagerness.
kabu-ru (J') : to gnaw (upon), nibble (at), bite.

(10) kamar (T.) : crack, cleft in the ground caused by drought.
kama (J.) : cleft, deep crack, hollow in the river.

(11) kamar (T.) : to emit fragrance.
kamari (J.) : fragrance.
kamaru (J.) : to smell, scent.

(12) kammal (T.) : hoarseness, sore throat.
kammu (T.) : to become hoarse, be rough or jarring (as a wind instrument).
kama-si (J.) : noisy, boisterous.

(13) karai (T.) : to become emaciated, become gradually attenuated.
kara—kare (J.) : to wither, die.

(14) kal (T.) : stone, pebble, boulder, precious stone, milestone.
kara (J.) : stone.

(15) kalakkam (T.) : being agitated, discomposure, perplexity.
karakafu (J.) : being agitated, distress.

(16) kalavu (T.) : to mix join together unite.
karamu (J.) : to twine (coin) round, twist about.

(17) kalai (T.) : to disperse (as an assembly, a defeated army), be scattered (as clouds), be ruined.
karu (J.) : to separate, departure.

(18) kavir (T.) : to be capsized, turned bottom upwards.
kaferu (J.) : to capsize.

(19) kavul (T.) : cheek, temple or jaw of elephant.
kafo (J.) : face, countenance, look.

(20) karu (T.) : stake for impaling criminals, sharp-pointed pieces of wood strung around cow's neck, trident.
kari-mata (J.) : trident.

(21) kal (T.) : to weed, pluck.
karu (J.) : to cut, reap, shear, trim, mow.

(22) kali (T.) : thickpulp, liquid paste, gruel.
kayu (J.) : gruel.

(23) karanku (T.) : to whirl ; n. whirling, gyration, kite.
kara-gu (J.) : to tie up (round), tuck up one's clothes, bind.

(24) kaval (T.) : watching, caution, preservation, defence, guard, protection, amulet, fence, fortification, prison.
kaba-fu (J.) : to protect, defend, cover.

(25) kampu (T.) : flower stalk, flowering branch, handle, shaft.
kabi (J.) : flower stalk, haft of a sword.

(26) kayal (T.) : backwater, lagoon, mouth of an ebbing stream.
kaya (J.) : inlet, small bay, cove.

(27) kar (T.) : to be pungent, acrid, hot to the taste.
kara-si (J.) : hot, pungent, peppery, salty.

(28) kal (T.) : leg, foot, base (of tree), family, relationship.
kara (J.) : family, relationship.

(29) kiri (T.) : to tear, rend, split, cut, rip up, lacerate.
kiru (J.) : to cut, chop, hack, carve, slash, saw, shear.

(30) kucci (T.) : splinter, peg, stick.
kusi (J.) : skewer, spit.

(31) kural (T.) : dim, tawny colour.
kuro (J.) : black.

(32) kutalai (T.) : lisp, prattle of children, soft talk (as of young girls).
kataru—gutaru (J.) : chat, chatter, gabble.

(33) kuppal (T.) : heap as of manure, mound, multitude.
kuma (J.) : swelling, bulge.

(34) kurappu (T.) : to mix, stir, confuse, disturb, bewilder, disconcert.
kuru-fu (J.) : to go mad, become insane.

(35) kuratu (T.) : small block or clump of wood plank.
kure (J.) : small block of wood.

(36) kumai (T.) : to beat or pound in a mortar ; n. blow, strike.
kuma (J.) : special rice for deity.

(37) kuval (T.) : well, hollow, hole, pit.
kubo (J.) : hollow, cavity, depression, pit.

(38) kun (T.) : bend, curve, hump on the back, humpback, snail.
kune-ru (J.) : to be crooked, wind, meander.

(39) kuru (T.) : nut.
kuru-mi (J.) : walnut.

(40) kuru (T.) : nut.
kuru, kuri (J.) : chestnut.

(41) kuvavu (T.) : to be piled up ; heap up, gather.
kufafu (J.) : to add (to), add up, sum up, increase, gain.

(42) kurul (T.) : to curl ; n. curl, lock of hair, woman's hair.
kuru-meku (J.) : to curl.

(43) kulai (T.) : cluster, bunch (as of fruits, flowers).
kura (J.) : a root, a plant of vegetables.

(44) kuttu (T.) : secret.
koso-goso (J.) : hiding goods, moonshine, bootleg.

(45) kumir (T.) : knob (as of wooden sandals), pommel.
kuppu (Kannada) : abnormal globular excrescence of the body.
kobu (J.) : wen, swelling in the skin.

(46) kumpi (T.): to become charred (as food when boiled with insufficient water).
kobi (J.) : scorched rice.

(47) kulir (T.) : to feel cool, get numbed (as in death) ; coldness.
koyu (J.) : to be chilled to the bone, be benumbed with cold.

(48) kumai (T.) : to beat or pound in a mortar ; n. blow, strike.
kome (J.) : husked rice.

(49) kuru (T.) : short, dwarfish.
kuruku (T.) : young of an animal.
koro-koro (J.) : young or small animals (as dogs, pigs).

(50) kurai (T.) : to cut, reap.
koru (J.) : cut down (a tree).

(51) kumpu (T.) : to close, shut (as a flower), contract, shrink.
kuppu T.) : to close, contract, shut in (as an umbrella).
komu (J.) : to close, shut, contract.

(52) kul (T.) : to crowd together, assemble, muster.
koru (J.) : to crowd together.

(53) kokki (T') : hook, clasp.
kagi (J.) : key, hook.

(54) kottam (T.) : small ola basket.
katama (J.) : small basket made of bamboo.

(55) kottu (T.) : to beat, pound (as paddy).
katu (J.) : pound in a mortar.

(56) kontai (T.) : tuft, head (as of a nail), knob (as of a cane), round top.
kanta—ganta (J.) : head, hair of head.

(57) kottai (T.) : rottenness, blot, blemish.
kattai (J.) : a man having leprosy.

II. Tam. c —— Jap. s

(1) cattam (T.) : wooden frame, model, rule, order, regulation.
sada-mu (J.) : to decide official and holy affairs.

(2) catti (T.) : earthen vessel, pan.
sasi-nabe (J.) : earthen pan.

(3) cattukam (T.) : ladle, metal spatula with a long handle.
satti (Tulu) : a kind of wooden ladle.
sazi (J.) : spoon.

(4) cappai (T.) : that which is insipid, or tasteless.
safa-su (J.) : to make something insipid, remove astringency.

(5) campa (T.) : a superior kind of paddy.
samba (J.) : rice specially offered to deity.

(6) cay (T.) : to grow thin.
sa, se (J.) : to be thin, narrow.

(7) calavai (T.) : bleaching or washing of cloth, washed cloth.
sara-su (J.) : to wash and bleach.

(8) cavatu (T.) : earth impregnated with soda, alkaline soil.
saba (J.) : clay containing sand.

(9) callal (T.) : mud, slush.
sara-fu (J.) : to dredge, clean (out), sweep.

(10) catu (T.) : to stretch out as the arms and legs from lassitude.
cacu (Kannada) : to stretch out, hold out, extend, stretch forth, put out as the hand etc.
sasu (J.) : to extend, stretch straightly.

(11) campu (T.) : to wither, droop, perish, pine away, close up as flowers, decline, shrink.
sabu (J.) : to become desolate, decline.
sabu-si (J.) : to be lonely, lonesome, solitary, be sorrowful.

(12) cayam (T.) : colour, tinge, tint, dye, true colour, real nature.
cayal (T.) : beauty, gracefulness, colour, likeness, resemblance.
saya-ka (J.) : be clear, bright, lucid, vivid colour.

(13) caru (T.) : to slip off, slip down as from a tree, slant, incline as a post, deviate, flow, issue.
saru (J.) : to go away, depart (from), quit, leave.

(14) cappal (T.) : refuse of food, leavings.
*sappa—zappa (J.) : refuse of food.

(15) callu (T.) : to sift.
zaru (J.) : sieve.

(16) calli (T.) : small pieces of stone or glass, potsherd.
jalli (Kannada, Telugu) : broken stones.
*sari—zari (J.) : gravel, pebbles.

(17) cimintu (T.) : to pinch, tickle, prod.
*simi-ru—jimi-ru (J.) : to pinch.

(18) cimpal (T.) : splinter, rough nap.
siba (J.) : brushwood, twig, splinter ; turf, sod.

(19) ciluppu (T.) : to churn, stir, agitate.
siro-fu (J.) : to agitate each other.

(20) cukir (T.) : to card as cotton, part, separate (as hair, fibres).
suku (J.) : to comb the hair, plow, plough.
suki (J.) : a plough, a plow.

(21) cuppal (T.) : twigs.
soma (J.) : twigs and trees.

(22) cul (T.) : pungency.
su (J.) : vinegar.

(23) cuppu (T.) : to suck, sip.
sufu (J.) : to suck.

(24) curai (T.) : robbery, dacoity, pillage.
suri (J.) : thief, pickpocket.

(25) cettai (T.) : shoulderblade, fin.
siti (J.) : upper part of the back, either sides of the backbone.
siti-ku (J.) : position between the backbone and shoulderblade.

(26) cetukku (T.) : hew with an edge, cut of a surface.
sida-ku (J.) : to break, destroy, crush.

(27) centu (T.) : ball used in game, ball of thread.
sita (J.) : anything like a ball.
sida (J.) :
sita-mi (J.) : a bamboo basket like a ball, crate. creel, fish-basket.
sita-dami (J.) : periwinkle.
sida-mi (J.) : acorn.

(28) ceri (T.) : to thrive, flourish, grow well as vegetation, be fertile, be super abundant.
sizi (J.) : to be thick, luxuriant, dense.

(29) cellu (T.) : flea, tick.
sira-mi (J.) : a louse (pl. lice)

(30) cekaram (T.) : that which is secured, savings.
sikari (J.) : to be solid, secured, earnest, abundant, thrifty, frugal.

(31) ceku (T.) : solidity, hardness ; to be too big, hard.
siko (J.) : to be solid, large and rustic.

(32) cettu (T.) : red.
sita (J.) : to be red.

(33) ceru (T.) : sap, juice, sweetness.
siru (J.) : sap, juice.

(34) coli (T.) : to strip off, peel off, tear.
soru (J.) : to shave, cut off one's hair.

In Old Japanese, initial consonant s was often dropped. These examples were noticed by scholars of ancient Japanese language. But they have been unable to give an explanation to the cause.

Also in Tamil, initial c is often dropped. This resemblance between the phenomena in Tamil and Old Japanese deserves special notice. And it is interesting that almost all the Japanese words which have lost initial s have their corresponding Tamil words as the following list will show.

(a) akal (T.)
sakaru (J.) :
to go away, scatter away.
akaru (J.) :

(b) cappai (T.)
safa-su (J.) : to remove astringency.
afa-si (J.) : to be easy to vanish, to bc faint, weak, light.

(c) alukku (T.)
saruku (J.) :
to walk.
aruku (J.) :

(d) avuri (T.)
sawo (J.) :
blue.
awo (J.) :

(e) i (T.)
si (J.) :
a demonstrative peronoun, "this" "you" as a proximity.
i (J.) :

(f) ver (T.)
suwe (J.) : to set, lay, place.
uwe (J.) : to set, plant, sow.

(g) uttu (T.)
sutu (J.) :
to discard, throw away.
utu (J.) :

(35) curai (T.) : calabash, climber.
uri (J.) : cucumber, melon.

(36) cural (T.) : eddy, curl, whirling.
uzu (J.) : eddy, swirl, whirlpool.

(37) ceppu (T.) : to say, speak, declare.
ifu (J.) : to say , speak.

III. Tam. t ——— Jap. t

(1) tati (T.) : to grow large, swell, full, become stout.
tatu (J.) : to grow large, swell.

(2) tata (T.) : large, broad, full.
tata-fu (J.) : to overflow with, fill with ; praise.

(3) tati (T.) : to hew down, cut off, kill.
tatu (J.) : to cut off.

(4) tati (T.) : stick, staff, rod, cane, club, cudgel. bludgeon.
tati (J.) : sword, long sword.

(5) tatu (T.) : to hinder. stop, forbid, prohibit, restrain, control.
tatu (J.) : to stop, forbid, prohibit, block up.

(6) tatu (T.) : to hinder, stop, forbid, prohibit.
tatu (J.) : abstain from, give up (drinking), abnegate (tea).

(7) tatti (T.) : salver, tray.
tadi (J.) : wooden box used for carrying food.

(8) tattu (T.) : to knock, tap, strike against, dash against, thresh.
tata-ku (J.) : to knock, tap.

(9) tattu (T.) : to leap, jump, skip, hop, go by leaps and jumps.
tatu (J.) : to start.

(10) tavaru (T.) : to slip, fail, miscarry, fail in duty.
tafa-ru (J.) : to act a foolery, fooling.

(11) tavir (T.) : to abstain, refrain, cease, become extinct, stay, abide, subside, abate, leave, seperate from, forsake.
tabi (J.) : trip, travel.

(12) tarai (T.) : to flourish, thrive, grow luxuriantly (as plants), be abundant (as a flood), prosper (as a family, people, state).
taru (J.) : to be sufficient, be enough, suffice, serve.

(13) tampal (T.) : riverside land having much water.
tambo (J.) : mire field, mud field, paddy field.

(14) talar (T.) : to grow weary, grow slack, become flabby from age.
tara-si (J.) : to be weary, to be foolish ; simpleton.

(15) tavu (T.) : to jump up, leap over, fly, spread.
tabu (J.) : to fly, flutter, soar, jump, leap, spring, hop, skip.
(16) tar (T.) : to fall low, be lowered, descend, decline as the sun, sink in water, sink in circumstances or repute, decrease, decay, degenerate, despond, be dejected, prove inferior, fail, stay, rest, droop.
taru (J.) : to flow down, hang down, become low.
(17) tari (T.) : large pan, pot or vessel with a wide mouth, jar, burial urn.
taru (J.) : cask, barrel.
(18) tuntam (T.) : piece, fragment, bit , small piece of cloth.
tuda-tuda (J.) : to be cut into fragment.
(19) tukai (T.) : to tread down, trample on, bruise or destroy by treading, pound in a mortar.
tuku (J.) : to pound in a mortar.
(20) tuppal (T.) : saliva, spittle.
tuba (J.) : spittle, saliva.
(21) tumi (T.) : to cut off, saw, keep off.
tumu (J.) : to cut off with the teeth.
(22) tuyya (T.) : pure, holy, clean, immaculate.
tuya (J.) : gloss, luster, brightness, clearness.
(23) tura (T.) : to tunnel, bore.
tura-nuku (J.) : to bore.
(24) tuval (T.) : feather, feather of an arrow, quill pen.
tubasa (J.) : feather, wings.
(25) tukir (T.) : red coral, coral seawood.
toki (J.) : coral colour.
(26) tumpi (T.) : dragon fly.
tompau—tombo (J.) : dragon fly.
(27) tuvu (T.) : to sprinkle, scatter, spread out as grain for fowls.
tobu (J.) : to fly, soar, flutter, jump, lap, spring, hop, skip.
(28) teli (T.) : to strew, scatter, sprinkle, sow as seed, cast up in sifting, winnow.
tiru (J.) : to strew, scatter.
(29) totta (T.) : big.
dodda (Kannada) : large, stout, spacious.
tota—dota (J.) : corpulent, fatty person.
(30) tol (T.) : arm, shoulder.
ta (J.) : arm, hand.

IV. Tam. t, ṭ —— Jap. s

(1) tan (T.) : cold, cool ; grace, love.
tanpu (T.) : coldness, coolness.
samu-si (J.) : to be cold, be chilly.

(2) timir (T.) : to be numbed as a limb, be paralysed, stiffness from cold.
simi-ru (J.) : to be benumbed (with cold), be frozen.

(3) tar (T.) : bolt, bar.
saru (J.) : bolt, fastener.

(4) terul (T.) : to know , gain true knowledge, perceive, ascertain, understand clearly, be renowned, be clear, lucid.
teri (T.) : investigate, test, ascertain, inquire, know, understand, select, choose, learn through listening, sift.
siru (J.) : to know, be aware of, learn, be informed of ; understand.

(5) teli (T.) : to become clear, be bright (as the countenance), become white.
teli (T.) : white, pure.
sira, siro (J.) : white.

(6) tempu (T.) : to fade, wither, droop, be tired, grow thin, be emaciated, be in trouble, suffer, perish.
sibo-mu (J.) : to wither, fade away, be shrivelled ; deflate.

(7) ati (T.) : foot, footprint, base, bottom, source, origin.
asi (J.) : foot, leg, something like a leg.

(8) katir (T.) : ear of grain, spear of grass.
kasira (J.) : the head with hair, spear of grass.

(9) kati (T.) : fermented gruel or ricewater, vinegar, gruel, pickles.
kasu (J.) : brewer's grains ; draff, lees.

(10) pati (T.) : step, stair, rung of ladder.
fasi (J.) : stairs, a staircase, a stairway, steps.

(11) atu (T.) : dance,act a part of a play, play, sport, cohabit.
aso-bu (J.) : to play ; amuse oneself, enjoy oneself.

(12) utuppu (T.) : cloth, unsewn garment, clothes.
osufi (J.) : clothes.

(13) catti (T.) : earthen vessel, pan.
sasi-nabe (J.) : earthenpan (pot).

(14) vatu (T.) : wart, mole, scar, wale, fault.
fasu (J.) : boil, gathering, tumor, abscess.

(15) manti (T.) : female monkey, monkey in general.
masi (J.) : monkey, ape.

(16) mattu (T.) : measure, quantity, degree, size, proportion, a standard of measurement.
masu (J.) ; (dry or liquid) measure.

(17) mutippu (T.) : tying, fastening, tie, knot, bundle.
musu-bu (J.) : to tie, bind, knot, fasten.

(18) vatam (T.) : cable, large rope, cord, bowstring.
wasa (J.) : a snare ; a noos, a loop.

V. Tam. n, n ——— Jap. n

(1) nalam (T.) : earth, land.
na (J.) : earth, ground.

(2) naral (T.) : to sound, make noise.
naru (J.) : to sound, ring, toll.

(3) nekir (T.) : to become loose, be tender-hearted, melt as wax.
niki (J.) : to be soft, tender-hearted.

(4) naru (T.) : to sprout, shoot forth, come into being, be born, appear., rise.
naru (J.) : to sprout, come into being, be born.

(5) nattu (T.) : to set up, fix, plant, establish one's life, create.
nasu (J.) : to perform, accomplish, bear, produce, bring forth.

(6) nakku (T.) : to lick.
nagu-ru (J.) : mock, beat, strike.

(7) natu (T.) : middle, center.
na (J.) : middle.

(8) namattu (T.) : to itch.
namudu (J.) : a kind of skin disease causing itchy sensation.

(9) nampu (T.) : to long for, desire intensely, trust, confide in, rely on, believe, have faith in, hope, expect.
namu (J.) : to desire intensely, have faith in.

(10) nalakku (T.) : to crumple as cloth or paper, soil slightly, sully, tarnish.
nare (J.) : crumple.

(11) navu (T.) : to become soft, be weary (as the limbs by labour).
nafe (J.) : to wither, droop, lose strength of the feet.
nafe-ku (J.) : to be paralyzed (as the feet).

(12) navu (T.) : tongue; to thrust out the tongue and move it sideways, mock by thrusting out the tongue.
namu (J.) : to lick, lap, suck, taste.

(13) navu (T.) : tongue ; to thrust out the tongue and move it sidewasys, mock by thrusting out the tongue.
nabu-ru (J.) : to tease, make sport (fun) of, banter.

(14) nan T.) : I.
na (J.) : I.

(15) nilam (T.) : ground, earth, land, soil, field, the earth, world.
ni (J.) : soil, the earth.

(16) neku (T.) : to suffer, be distressed.
neg-(Kota) : to suffer from reverse of fortune.
niku-si (J.) : hateful.
niku-mu (J.) : to hate.

(17) ni (T.) : to separate from, renounce as the world, put away, abandon, leave, be removed.
inu(J.) : (i (here)+nu) to go away, leave.

(18) ninku (T.) : to leave, go, separate from, pass over, turn away.
nigu (J.) : run away, get away, escape , get loose.

(19) ner (T.) : to resemble, equal.
niru (J.) : to resemble, be alike.

(20) nukku (T.) : to break in pieces, grind, powder, crush.
nuka (J.) : rice bran.

(21) nunku (T.) : to swallow, devour, drink in a large draught.
nomu (J.) : to swallow, drink,.

(22) nurampu (T.) : mud, mire.
nurumbu (Tulu) : alluvium.
noro (J.) : slime on the seaside, mud, mire.

(23) noy (T.) : to be ill, diseased, be debilitated, wither (as crops).
naya-mu (J.) : to be emaciated, ill, to suffer.

VI. Tam. p. ——— Jap. f

(1) pakavu (T.) : slice, share.
pakal (T.) : dividing, separating.
faka (J.) : share, dividing.

(2) paccai (T.) : greenness, paleness, unripeness.
fasa—wasa (J.) : early ripening rice.

(3) pataku (T.) : small boat.
faseko (J.) : small boat.

(4) patar (T.) : overspread, spread, pervade, expand.
fataru—wataru (J.) : waft over, sweep across.

(5) pati (T.) : to settle, rest (as clouds upon a mountain).
fatu (J.) : to come to anchor, cast anchor.

(6) pati (T.) : step, stair,rung of a ladder.
fasi (J.) : stairs, a staircase, a stairway, steps.

(7) patu (T.) : to perish, die,set.
fatu (J.) : to get to the end, die.

(8) patukar (T.) : ricefield, agricululral tract.
fatake (J.) : ricefield, agricultural tract.

(9) patti (T.) : lawless, unbridled person, theft, prostitute.
fati, fatti (J.) : rompish girl, beggar, menstruation.

(10) pattam (T,) : flat or level surface of anything.
pattai (T.) : bark of tree.
fada (J.) : skin.

(11) pampal (T.) : expanse, spaciousness, luxuriance.
faba (J.) : wide, breadth.

(12) para (T.) : to spread, be diffused, be broad (as a plane surface).
fara (J.) : field.

(13) parappu (T.) : to spread (tr. as grain), diffuse (as odour), expand.
farafu (J.) : to brush off, wipe (tears from one's eyes), clear away.

(14) paral (T.) : pebble, seed, stone of fruit.
fara (J.) : to flutter down like feathers, trickle down.

(15) pari (T.) : to separate, be sundered, break off.
fara-su, bara-su (J.) : to make (do) away with, break to pieces, kill.

(16) pari (T.) : to pluck, crop, pick off with a twist, weed, eradicate, pull out (as an arrow), take by force, rob, destroy.
faru (J.) : to pluck, crop, weed.

(17) paru (T.) : to become large, bulky, plump, swell.
faru (J.) : to become large, bulky, plump, swell.

(18) pal (T.) : tooth.
fa (J.) : tooth.

(19) pallam (T.) : lowland, valley, ditch.
fari-bari (J.) : valley.

(20) parampi (T.) : deceitful, cunning woman.
fara-ta (J.) : false, a lie.

(21) parru (T.) : to grasp, seize, catch, hold, receive, adhere to, touch, be kindled, stick, become joined to or welded together (as metals soldered).
faru (J.) : to adhere to, touch.

(22) pacam (T.) : eye of a needle.
fazami (J.) : peeping through a hole.

(23) pappati (T.) : butterfly.
faberu (J.) : butterfly.

(24) pampu (T.) : snake.
fabu (J.) : smake.

(25) par (T.) : to see, look at, examine, inspect, know, look for.
ma-baru (J.) : to see.

(26) picai (T.) : squeeze or mash between the palms
fisi-gu (J.) : crush, squash, squeeze firmly.

(27) piccu (T.) : bile, madness.
fizu-kasi (J.) : bile.

(28) pitar (T.) : nape of the neck.
fiti (J.) : part of the body, from the neck to the shoulder.

(29) piti (T.) : to catch, grasp, seize, capture.
fisi (J.) : to grasp firmly, tightly.

(30) pinti (T) : flour, meal, powder.
fidi (J.) : dust, dirt.

(31) piri (T.) : to squeeze, express, press out with hands, drip, exude, shed or pour (as rain).
firu (J.) : to press out, drip, exude.

(32) pila (T.) : to be split, cleaved, rent, cracked, gape.
fira-ku (J.) : to open, uncover, lift, undo, unseal.

(33) pir (T.) : sponge gourd.
fisa-go (J.) : gourd, calabash.

Tam. r —— Jap. s

*ural (T.) : pestle.
usu (J.) : pestle.
*pari (T.) : to run.
fasi-ru, fasu (J.) : to run.

*pari (T.) : to be affectionated.
fasi (J.) : to be loved.
*pir (T.) : gourd.
pisa-go (J.) : gourd.

(34) pukalvu (T.) : pride, arrogance.
foko-ru (J.) : to be proud of, take a pride in.

(35) pukai (T.) : smoke, mist, vapour, steam.
foke (J.) : vapour, steam.

(36) puttu (T.) : hole, female organ.
foto (J.) : female organ.

(37) puri (T.) : to desire.
foru (J.) : to wish (for a thing, to do), want (a thing, to do), have a desire for.

(38) pular (T.) : to dawn.
fora (J.) : to dawn.

(39) purai (T.) : hole, tube, entrance, gate, forest path, by-path.
fora (J.) : hole.

(40) purru (T.) : anything scurvy, scrofulous or cancerous.
foro-si (J.) : (an) eruption, (a) rash.

(41) pu (T.) : flower, cock's comb, richness, ear of grain.
fo (J.) : ear, the head, spearhead, ear of wheat.

(42) puttil (T.) : quiver, sheath, basket.
fodari (J.) : quiver, basket.

(43) putai (T.) : to swell, dilate, puff up (as from a blow) ; n. bulkiness, protuberance.
futo (J.) : big, thick.

(44) putai (T.) : to bury, hide, conceal, cover.
futa (J.) : lid, cover, cap.
fusa-gu (J.) : to cover, shut, obtulate, block up.

(45) peru (T.) : to grow thick , large, stout, become numerous.
firo (J.) : wide, broad, spacious, large, big, roomy.

(46) perukku (T.) : to gather, pick up (as stones).
firofu (J.) : to pick up, find, gather up.

(47) petti (T.) : box, chest.
fitu (J.) : chest, coffer, rice tub.

(48) pettai (T.) : female of animals and birds, woman, girl.
fitai-bita, bitai (J.) : vulgarism of woman, girl.

(49) potir (T.) : to pierce.
fodi-ru (J.) : to pierce.

(50) pokkuli (T.) : to rise in blisters.
fukuru (J.) : to blister, bubble, swell at a point.

(51) potir (T.) : to swell, increase.
fotiru (J.) : to blister, be bloated.

(52) pottai (T.) : blindness, blear-sight.
posa—bosa-ma (J.) : blind man.
pota—bota (J.) : simpleton, fool.

(53) pollu (T.) : to bore, make a hole, hew, chisel ; be rent or torn.
foru (J.) : to bore, make a hole.

(54) pottu (T.) : male of animals or birds.
fotu -taka (J.) : male of birds, young birds.

(55) potu (T.) : time, lapse of time.
foto (J.) : lapse of time.

(56) porai (T.) : hole, hollow in tree, cavern.
fora (J.) : cave,cavern.

(57) pori (T.) : to pour forth, shower (as rain).
furu (J.) : to fall, come down, drop.

THE DRAVIDO-ALTAIC RELATIONSHIP-LEXICAL AND SOUND CORRESPONDENCES

JAROSLAV VACEK (PRAHA)

Being aware of the history of conflicting hypotheses concerning the possible links of Dravidian and their present day state and keeping at the same time in mind the controversy concerning the integrity of the Altaic family of languages I should like to present some interesting results of my experience with the two families[1].

It cannot be expected that in a short paper to be read here all the aspects of the problem can be tackled extensively. In an earlier paper of mine I have discussed the morphological analogy between the two language groups (1978a) and I think this needs a complement on the lexical and sound levels. A short remark on the types of lexical correspondences was made by me in Madras (1978b) when I discussed the possible prehistorical links of the Tamils.

While still insisting on a hypothetical character of what was said by me on the topic and what will be said now, I should like to deal with the matter in a systematic manner, i.e. not separating the lexical and sound analysis. As for the validity of the arguments from the various linguistic levels, they were discussed on many occasions by many linguists (e.g. Fahnrich 1971, Katicic 1970). The most acceptable argument, however, seems to be a systematic relationship on all the linguistic levels, starting with sound (phonemic, if you like), morphological and lexical correspondences. This is particularly the case of languages geographically remote where little or no historical evidence exists that at any time they were in contact which would be a justification for a suggestion that they are related and that their an cestors could have parted from a point in space at a point of time.

It would seem that the way to the comparison of the broader North Asiatic language area has been opened and that it cannot be closed any more by now. The Dravido-Altaic relationship may be viewed within this broader context. Illic-Svityc's work (1971, 1976) of a genius analyzes the relations from the point of view of the Nostratic area as a whole, and as can be seen from the largest contribution on the Dravido-Altaic relationship by K. H. Menges (1977) published so far, it bears influence upon the more specialized linguistic studies. K. H. Menges refrained from supplying the etymologies on a broader scale and it is easily understandable. Proposing an etymology is a rather risky matter. Beside establishing a regularity of sound correspondences which cannot deviate much from an agreed phonetic difference, there remains the problem of the semantic relationship of the

etyma, which is a more difficult problem. While the phonetic correspondences may be based on the laws and logic of phonetics – place and manner of articulation - we lack such a reliable basis in Semantics. Perhaps the newly developing discipline of structural semantics may supply such a solid basis.

Without meaning to say that what so far has been done is insufficient, I think that it is time now to dare on the less safe grounds and try to establish a few etymologies and sound correspondences. For such more concrete studies we should make the scope narrower, so that it may be possible to work really systematically. The similarities between the Dravidian and Mongolian languages will be a special and exactly framed case within a broader context of relationships. Then, from a number of analogical spotlighted analyses which are to be done, new results concerning the whole families or broader correspondences may be drawn. This is why I want to concentrate on the relationship between Dravidian and Mongolian, though I am also aware of analogies between Dravidian and Turkish or Dravidian and Tungus, two other important branches of Altaic.

One word about the recently suggested relationship between Dravidian and Japanese (by prof. Susumu Ono, cf. The Hindu, International edition, vol. 6, No. 38, Spt. 20, 1980, p. 2; No. 42, Oct. 18, 1980, p. 3). I think it would fully fit into the system of relationships between Dravidian and Altaic and Japanese and Altaic. These two comparisons do not exclude each other. The same can be said about the Dravido-Elamite (McAlpin 1974, 1975) or Uralian (e.g. Tyler 1968) comparisons. They point into a space which lies very near the possible point of separation of Dravidian and Altaic. For a more concrete suggestion about Dravidian languages having been brought from Central Asia cf. M. S. Andronov (1971 p. 13).

Similarly the comparison with e.g. Wolof (cf. Ndiaye 1977), an African language, may turn out to be complementary to the other comparisons. It would seem that what is needed is a concentrated work on all these lines to be concluded by a later comparison of the final results. Perhaps even some sort of a team work could be organized.

While reserving a more extensive presentation of the material for a later occasion I will offer here a few basic correspondences of vowels and consonants[2]. It will be mostly the first syllables which I will compare, or the CVC – and VC – part of the words. It is because in the non-initial syllables very often a process of reduction of vowels took place in Mongolian, or there may be some more suffixes after the root syllable (mostly in Mongolian, but in a few cases also in Tamil). Such suffixes may possibly be viewed as an innovation in the branch concerned. I have chosen only those correspondences which seem the most straightforward and unproblematic. Also due to the above mentioned difficulty in establishing reliable etymologies I have tried, in the first choice, to present such etymologies which

can bear the most strict criteria: the meaning is practically identical and the form permits the existence of a link on the basis of a phonetic similarity.

2. Phonetic correspondences[3]

2. 1. Mo. a - Dr. a

Mo. amara-, amura- to rest, relax	Ta. amar- to abide, rest, etc. (137)
Mo. aba, abu father, grandfather Kh. av. id.	Ta. appu, appan, father, etc (133)
Mo. anggai- to open the mouth (beside onggoi- "to open" in general)	Ta. anka- to open the mouth (36)
Mo. kar-a black, dark	Ta. karu- grow black, darken (1175) or karu black (1073a)
Mo. ala- joint of the thighs, groin, pubic region, genitals (ref. to a woman)	Ta. alkul side, waist, pudendum muliebre (214)

2. 2. Mo e - Dr. a

Mo. egeci elder sister	Ta. akka, akkaicci, elder sister (24)
Mo. ecige father	Ta. attan father, elder person of rank, cf. Ka. attike elder sister, Tu. attige elder brother's wife etc. (121)
Mo. inege, inige - to laugh, chuckle	Ta. naku - to laugh, smile (2944)
Mo. mede- to know, understand, to find out (to be further compared with medrel-mital - below)	Ta. maruvu- to combine.... meditate upon etc., Te. maragu to become accustomed to, etc. (dial. learn), Pa. mer-to learn, Ga. (011.) mar- to learn (3865)
Mo. eri- ere- to seak, look for, search, inquire	Ta. ari- to know, understand, perceive, ascertain, Kod. ari- to find out (265)

2. 3. Mo. o - Dr. a

Mo. koli- to mix, mingle, blend, alloy, adulterate	Ta. kala- to mix, unite in friendship; copulate (1092)
Mo. modu(n) tree, woods, forest	Ta. maram-tree, wood, timber etc. (3856)
Mo. tolugai head, top, tip	Ta. talai-head, top, end, tip, hair (2529)
Mo. joki- to agree, suit fit, be appropriate	Ta. taku- be fit, appropriate, suitable (2435)
Mo. jodu- to beat, hit	Ta. tattu- to knock, tap, pat, strike etc. (2466)

2.4. Mo. o - Dr. a

Mo. oruge-room, hall, chamber	Ta. arai-room, apartment, chamber (272)
Mo. ori-debt, indebtedness, obligation	Ta. ari-tax, duty (179)

2. 5. Mo. o - Dr. o

Mo. kokere- to laugh heartily	Ta. kokkari- to shout in triumph, cluck etc., other Dr. languages: to laugh etc. (1688)
Mo. koru- to cool off, become cool, to freeze	Ko. korv- to be cold etc. (1802)

2. 6. Mo. e - Dr. i/e

Mo. medel-knowledge, medere- to feel, sense, to acknowledge, admit-mederel; sensation, feeling, etc.	Ta. mital-brain Ko. medl id. etc. (4153)
Mo. kerci- to cut, mince, slice, carve, to make incisions, notch	Ta. cirai-to shave, cut with a sickle Ka. kere- to shave, scrape Kur. khercna-to rub off, scour Malt. qerce-to scrap (1305)
Mo. kele- to utter words, express in words, to speak, say etc.	Ta. cilai- to sound, resound, roar, twang, rage, Ka. kele- to cry or shout with energy etc. (1311) (or Ta. kel- hear, listen, ask kila- express clearly (1676)

2.7. Mo. o - Dr. u/o

Mo. ori, oru-interior; heart, abdomen; coronary artery	Ta. ul-inside, interior of a place, mind, heart Kod. oli-the inside etc. (in some languages there is r- to be found instead of l (600)
Mo. kolde-, koldu - to freeze, congeal	Ta. kulir- to feel cool, be cool, refreshing, get numbed (as in death) (1523) (cf. Mo. koru-under 2.5. above)
Mo. doli, dolu-flame	Ta. tulanku-to shine, be bright, luminous, radiate tulampu - to sparkle, glitter, shine Ka. tolagu-to shine etc. (2763)

2. 8. **Diphthongs (or V/V +y)**

Mo. tui-mer forest or steppe fire, wildfire	Ta. ti, tiy-to be burnt, charred; blighted; fire, lamp, heat, anger (2672)
Mo. oi-mind, intellect, memory oyun intellect, mind, etc.	Ta. ay- to search, examine, select; pluck ayntor wise man (306) to be compared with Ta. ey- to know, understand? (692)
Mo. ki-, Kh. kiy- to do, act, perform	Ta. cey- to do, make, etc. To. kiy- id., Ka. key, kai, gey id. (1628)

2. 9. **Mo. k/k - Dr. k**

Mo. kol-leg, foot	Ta. kal-foot, leg (1238)
Mo. kolere-, kolure- to sweat, perspire kolesu(n), kulusu(n)-sweat perspiration	Ta. kal- to flow (as saliva from the mouth, blood from vein), cf. Go. kalum-sweat (1237)
Plus pairs mentioned above: kar-a koli etc.	karu – black kala – mix

2.10. **Mo. k- -Dr. c-/k-**

Pairs mentioned above:

kerci-	:	cirai, kiri	– to cut etc.
kele-	:	cilai, kele	– to say, utter
ki-, kiy-	:	cey, kiy-	– to do

2.11. **Mo. k/k – Dr. y–**

Mo. kedui (sg.), kedun (pl.) how much, how many	Ta. ettanai, Kol. ette-how much (4228)
Mo. kamig-a-where	Ta. enku, yanku-where (4228)
Mo. ken (sg.), ked (pl.)-who	Ta. yar-who, Kol. e.n, e.nd who, which man, e.r which men, Nk. en (sg.), er, (pl.) who (4228)
Mo. kili-furrow between two fields, border, boundary frontier, limitation	Ta. ellai-limit, border, boundary, measure, goal, extremity (720)
Mo. kulugan-a mouse, rat	Ta. eli-rat, bandicoot Te. eluka, Kol. Nk. elka (710)

2. 12. **Mo. m - Dr. m**

Mo. emune-e before, in front of, earlier, before, prior to; southern	Ta.mun-previous, prior, antiquity, eminence (4119)
Mo. emege-old woman, old wife	Ta. amma-mother, matron, ammai mother, grand-mother (154)
Mo. umarta- to forget	Ta. mara- to forget, neglect, disregard, etc. Te. maracu-forget (3897)

Plus pairs mentioned above:

amara	:	amar	-to rest
mede	:	maruvu/mer-	-to combine....learn, know
modu(n)	:	maram	-tree
medel	:	mital	-knowledge, brain

2.13. **Mo. t- -Dr. t-**

Mo. togusu (n), Kh. tos-dust	Ta. tuci, tucu-dust (2778)
Mo. toguri-, Kh. toir- to go about, circle, to surround, encompass tegerm-e mill (round stone turned by hand)	Ta. tikiri- circle, circular form, wheel, potter's wheel, ? Ko. tayrgan-potter's wheel etc. (2617)

Plus pairs mentioned above:

tolugai	:	talai	– head
tui-mer	:	ti(y)	— wildfire, fire

Besides, there is a correspondence of Dr. t- to Mo. affricates c, j (cf. above 2.3.) which need more material and will have to be treated in the context of Altaic as a whole. It is because in Altaic these correspondences are not completely systematic. Sometimes there are double forms which will have to be explained (they may be due to dialectal interborrowing).

2.14. **Mo. r - Dr. r/r**

(a) **r - r;** pairs mentioned above:

amara	:	amar	– to rest
toguri	:	tikiri	– to circle – circle
kerci	:	cirai/kiri	– to cut
ori	:	ari	– debt, tax

(b) **r - r**

Mo. urug-relatives by marriage relative (on the part of the wife)	Ta. uru- to be, happen.... be joined uravu-relationship uravi-relationship, friendship, love (608)
Mo. unur, Kh. uner-odour, smell, fragrance	Ta. naru-fragrant
Mo. unuri- to smell etc.	naru-to emit smell, etc. (2379)

Plus pairs mentioned above:

kar-a	:	karu	– black
umarta-	:	mara-	– to forget
eri/ere	:	ari	– to know, seak
oruge	:	arai	– room

There are a few correspondences of No. r or d to Ta. retroflexes (cf. 2.3 and 2.7. above). The matter will have to be discussed later on the basis of a greater number of examples.

2. 15. **Mo. d – Ta. r**

Pairs mentioned above:

mede	:	maruvu/mer	– to know, learn etc.
modu(n)	:	maram	– tree
ked(pl.)	:	yar/er (pl.)	: who (see my paper 1978b)

2. 16. **Mo. l - Dr. l**

Pairs mentioned above:

ala	:	alkul	– pudendum muliebre
koli	:	kala	– to mix
tolugai	:	talai	– head
kele	:	cilai/kele	– say, utter
kol	:	kal	– leg
kulugan	:	eli/eluka	– rat

A parallel Mo. l – Ta. l also appears (cf. 2.7. above) and will have to be treated in the context of the other correspondences comprising the retroflexes (cf. 2.14b above).

2.17. **Mo. n - Dr. n(n)**

Mo. nokai-dog	Ta. nay, nai-dog, etc. (3022)
Mo. neme- to add, supplement, increase	Ta. niva- to rise, be elevated, grow, spread, overflow (3091)

Mo. nara(n)-sun	Ta. neram-time, season, opportunity, Ma. neram-sun, day, light etc. Kod. ne.ra sun, time (3128) (nayiru-sun)
Mo. narin-fine, narrow, thin, tight, slender	Ta. ner-to grow thin, lean, be emaciated Ma. ner-thin, delicate-neriya-fine, thin (as cloth, flour) etc. (3125)
Mo. yan (pre-class.)-what	Ta. enna-what, etc. (4228)

To finish with I should like to show two slightly different features–a "prothetic vowel" before nasals and y- in some of the Mongolian roots and a parallel between dipthongs (or V + y) in Tamil and the VgV or VgV sequences in Mongolian (mostly final).

2.18. **Prothetic vowel**

Mo. uya- to tie, bind; hold up, delay oyu- to sew	Ta. ya- to bind, tie, dam up, confine, compose (as a poem) Malt. eye- to tie, etc. (4227)

Plus pairs mentioned above:

umarta	:	mara	– to forget
inege	:	naku	– to smile, laugh
emun-e	:	mun	– before, in front
unur	:	naru/naru	smell, to emit smell

These correspondences seem to be genuine, but it remains to establish, by way of further comparison, whether the vowel belongs to the original form and was lost in Dravidian or whether it is an innovation in Mongolian (a "prothetic vowel"). Intuitively it would seem that the former explanation is to be preferred.

2.19. **Mo. VgV/VgV -Ta. dipth. (or V+y)**

Pairs mentioned above:

emege	:	amma/ ammai	– mother
tolugai	:	talai	– head
oruge	:	arai	– room
nokai	:	nay, nai	– dog

This correspondence is analogical with a similar development of the groups with medial velar from Old Mongolian into Middle Mongolian (in cases where the two vowels were different, otherwise there appeared a long vowel). It is also to be found in Dravidian together with an alternation of intervocalic -v- and -k, g-

(which alternate in Mongolian and Turkish as well!): e.g. 2201b: Ta. uvar to taste saltish, Ma. or, Ka. ogar, Tu. ubaru, ugaru; 2140: Ta. ci-to scrape, Ka. civu, siguru, sibaru etc. It obviously reflects a regular development in Dravidian, at least as far as the final position is concerned.

3. Implications

The correspondences mostly need no more comment. Only the correspondence of Ta. a to Mo. a, o, e, ō (2.1. - 2.4.) may recall a similar set of correspondences of Sanskrit a and a, e, o, of the other IE languages (Burrow 1973, p. 102f.) and also of Tamil and some other Dravidian languages (Zvelebil 1971, p. 41f.) Perhaps we are facing here an important typological parallel which would explain one of the many features typical for the Indian linguisitc area - the prevalence of syllables with a, ā in both Sanskrit and Tamil[5] which again tallies with the manner of writing of the Indian syllabic scripts from the oldest times.

The Dr. i/e and u/o correspondences (Nos. 2.6; 2.7) have obviously to do with the i/e, u/o alternation in SDr. which was described by T. Burrow (1940-42) (cf. Zvelebil 1971, 65f.).

In the consonant correspondences I have chosen such examples which give sound to sound relations. There may also be etymologies where the initial consonant was lost (e.g. p-, s-, k-). To be able to accept such correspondences would need a broader outline with more material and will be done in a later analysis.

As far as the lexical material is concerned, it includes what is roughly called the "basic" vocabulary of a language (though it may be very difficult to give an exact definition) – important verbs, kinship terms, parts of the body, words for the immediate material surroundings. As it was mentioned by me earlier (1978a), there are some important classes of words where no similarity can be established – personal pronouns (possible exception may be the oblique case of the 1st personal pronoun in Mongolian: na-d) and numerals. Especially the numerals may to some seem very important, if compared e.g. with IE comparative linguistics, where numerals played an important role. But in Altaic itself the numerals vary in the individual branches. Together with other inconsistencies of the Altaic family this inspired a suggestion that the Altaic branches are remoter from each other than it was in the case of the Old IE languages. I think that this suggestion could also be applied in the case of the Dravidian and Mongolian relationship.

Since I have presented only some 50 items, any suggestion concerning the type of the relationship may be considered as premature. This is why I refrain from an extensive interpretation of the material. Only on the basis of the whole corpus of the data we may be able to decide whether we would vote for a prolonged contact at an early period rather than common origin or vice versa. Anyway, the material

presented here and elsewhere does not allow a conclusion that these analogies belong to haphazard similarities which may be found between any two languages.

For the further course of work I can see analogies with the development of IE comparative studies. After the first hints at lexical similarities with Sanskrit, more elaborate studies of morphology were undertaken and only then, on the basis of a broader corpus of etymologies, regular correspondences could be established. This course of work seems to me of practical importance, because though regular sound correspondences are taken as the best proof of a relationship, they cannot be elaborated in extenso on the basis of the first lexical similarities. The grammatical correspondences, at least in some points of the grammatical structure may be more easy to grasp and the sound correspondences may in detail be elaborated only in the course of a longer and systematic etymological research.

The early suggestions (R. Caldwell) about the relationship of Dravidian to Altaic were based mainly on a number of lexical correspondences which could be found, but due to the scarcity of them, they were not accepted as a proof. There are some morphological correspondences presented by K. H. Menges, besides some typological similarities, and some morphological parallels suggested by myself (1978a). If these parallels, together with the present draught, are accepted as a good background for an establishment of a relationship between the two families, then the search for further etymologies and elaboration of a broader and more systematic outline of sound correspondences may be facilitated. Its results, I am sure, will in turn confirm the argument presented up to now.

NOTES

1. The relation e.g. between Turkish and Mongolian is subject to a controversy due to a number of mutual borrowings which cannot always be interpreted without any doubt. I am primarily concerned with Dravidian and the Mongolian branch of Altaic, it is true, but I am aware of some correspondences of Dravidian to other branches of Altaic as well and thus if a word later on is found to be Turkish and not Mongolian or vice versa, this would not change the argument that Dravidian can be in some way or other connected with Altaic.

2. The correspondences have in a crude form been mentioned already in some of my lectures during my stay at the Indian Universities in spring 1978. In what I am going to present here, there are rough analogies with the Table of correspondences offered by K. H. Menges (1977, p. 150-1) who, however, refrains from concrete examples. He speaks about 177 Dravido-Altaic etyma which he promises to publish later.

3. The material is taken from DED (Burrow-Emeneau, 1961; only the numbers of the etyma are given in brackets without the abbreviation DED) and from Lessing 1973. Mo. = Classical Mongolian, Kh. = Khalkha Mongolian. In Mo. there are two alophones of the voiced and voiceless velar stops: k + front vowels, k + back vowels; g + front vowels, g + back vowels. Some of the etymologies presented here might have already been suggested by R. Caldwell and a few by K. H. Menges or V. M. Illic-Svityc.

4. Such a specialization of meaning of the kinship terms which in fact is a change of meaning is quite often. There are many examples of that to be found in DED and also between e.g. Mongolian and Turkish.

5. For OIA the number of sounds was counted several times: Whitney (1880), Renou (1952, p. 21), T. Ya. Yelizarenkova (1974, pp. 103.-4, 108). In all the counts *a* stands in the first place reaching almost 20 per cent of all the sounds in the counted text. A quick reference to the Tamil index of DED will show that in the Tamil etyma the vowel *a* prevails, cf. my article from 1969 (pp. 99).

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE SPOKEN TAMIL OF HYDERABAD AND MADRAS

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The aim and scope of this study

The Tamils living outside Tamil Nadu live in a different linguistic, sociological and cultural environment. But they are very fond of their mother tongue Tamil and they are very particular about speaking and improving it in the midst of their responsibilities and duties. Their mother tongue when they speak it reveals many changes brought about without their knowledge due to environmental influences. This phenomenon is natural for every language and these changes are worthy of record. A language which functions in the midst of other languages of the same family or of other families borrows many words and also assimilates alien sounds suiting to its natural structure and thus becomes a powerful living functional language. It becomes a powerful mode of communication. Hence for this study a careful recording and an analytical study is required taking full account of the various details available. This short paper which deals with a few points is only a part of the study which can be further pursued. To understand the reasons for such linguistic changes, the history and the environment of the people concerned have to be considered.

The Origin and History of the Hyderabad Tamils

When the Britishers were ruling Madras from Fort St. George, they came in contact with the local people and sought their help for their own activities. The people who were willing to help them came forward and they employed them to prepare their food, to keep their houses clean and to look after their horses. In every activity they needed local help. Therefore employing such people for their families became a necessity. When their sphere of activity widened and when they moved to other places along with their families, the people they employed also moved from place to place and these localities now remain as Cantonment areas in our country. One such Cantonment area is Hyderabad-Secundarabad. In this cantonment area there are about 10 villages having a Tamil population which settled here as long ago as 1870.

Along with the British Officers the people working in their offices and the people working as translators from English to the local language and from local languages into English also migrated from Tamil Nadu and settled in Hyderabad

and Secunderabad nearer to the offices they worked in. During His Highness the Nizam's rule some high officers were selected from various parts of the country and those who were selected from Tamil Nadu such as high ranking officials, lawyers, doctors and educationalists settled in Hyderabad and Secunderabad. For a very long period the premier institution, Nizam's College was affiliated to Madras University. Mahboob College High School and some convent schools which were popular in teaching through the English medium also employed a large number of teachers from Tamil nadu and they also settled in the area. After the reorganisation of states on linguistic basis Hyderabad became the capital of Andhra Pradesh. When the offices were shifted from Madras city the employees whose mother tongue was Tamil came and settled in Hyderabad. When the Railway Zonal office was located at Secunderabad some more people came here. The employees of Industries, Banks, Commercial undertakings and the Central Govt. and also others settled in Hyderabad and Secunderabad. Thus the Tamil population of Hyderabad now consists of varieties of Tamil people hailing from various parts of Tamil land. This analysis is based upon the language spoken at present by the Tamil people who settled earlier in Hyderabad-Secunderabad and Cantonment areas. The language they speak contains some ancient Tamil forms and other forms influenced by Urdu and Telugu with special features relating to accent, intonation and stress and with borrowings.

The above factors are enumerated as under:-

1 – 1. Retention of ancient forms due to environmental influence

The ancient word to denote cart in panhdi. This word is available in Sangam works also. Ancient Tamils used the word panhdi instead of vanhdi. Like this there are many words used by ancient Tamil people which were not used later in Madras and Tamil nadu. But the Hyderabad Tamils retained some ancient Tamil words which were in use in Telugu also. Some of them are mentioned hereunder:

Ancient Tamil Form	**Modern Tamil form in Madras**	**Hyderabad Tamil**	**Telugu**
Banhdi	vanhdi	Banhdi	Bandhi
Mukil	Meekam	Mogilu	Mogilu
ceRu	vayal	ceRu	ceRuvu
adavi	kaadu	adavi	adavi
angaadi	angaadi	angaadi	angaadi

1-2. Among the deities that the Tamil people worship the goddess ThulakkaaNamma is one. The festival for this goddess is celebrated at the beginning of the ilhaveeNil season. During this season the trees have tender leaves particularly the mango tree. The tender leaf is called in Tamil as 'thulhir'. This is a very

beautiful season when cuckoos sing and the gentle breeze theNTal spreads its beauty and fragrance all over the South. The amman's name was thulhir kaanh ammaN which in the spoken language of these people became 'thulakkaNamma'. These people celebrate this festival by offering kuuL to all the poor people. In this connection it may be noted that these people retained in their speech the ancient word kuuL as kuulu which does not mean only liquid form of food but any form of food either solid or liquid.

1–3. In Hyderabad Tamil palatal voiced short retroflex /L/ is changed as Alveo palatal voiced lateral short continuant /l/ (Madras Tamil /lh/ Alveo palatal voiced retroflex short flap).

Literary form	**Hyderabad Tamil**	**Madras Tamil**
paLam	palam	palham
kuLampu	kolampu	kolhampu
vaaLaippaLam	vaalappalam	vaalhappalham
maarkaLi	maarkali	maarkalhi

1–4. In Hyderabad Tamil /L/ is changed as palatal voiced short continuant y.

Literary form	**Hyderabad Tamil**	**Madras Tamil**
vaaLaikkaay	vaayakkaa	vaalhakkaa
kuLanhthai	koyantha	kolhantha
koLunthiyaar	koyinthiyaaru	kolhunthiyaaru
maLai	maya	malhai
viLukiTathu	uythu	vilhthu
paLam	payam	palham
kuLampu	koyampu	kolhampu
vaLi	vayi	valhi
kooLi	kooyi	koolhi
kiLamai	keyama	kelhama

1–5. The influences of English and Telugu on Hyderabad Tamil.

English	**Hyderabad Tamil**	**Telugu**
milhagudhaNNi	molhthaNNi caaTu	caaTu
rice (cooked rice)	raicu cooTu	cooTu
egg	eggu guddu	guddu

1–6. Back dental voiced short nasal /nh/ and alveo palatal voiced short nasal /N/ in Madras Tamil changed to mid palatal voiced short nasal /nj/ in Hyderabad Tamil.

Madras Tamil	**Hyderabad Tamil**
vanhthicci	vanji
peNcil	penjcil

1–7. In Hyderabad Tamil palatal retroflex voiced short nasal /nh/ becomes /N/

Madras Tamil	**Hyderabad Tamil**
thanhnhi	thaNNi
thinhnhu	thiNNu
thunhnhu	
vanhnhaa	vaNNaa
kanhnhaalam	kaNNaalam
ponhnhu	poNNu
thunhi	thuNi

1–8. In Hyderabad Tamil palatal voiced short continuant /y/ is added.

Madras Tamil	**Hyderabad Tamil**
poNNu	poyNu
pallu	payillu
aththa	ayththa

1–9. Some special features in Hyderabad Tamil.

Literary form	**Madras Tamil**	**Hyderabad Tamil**
irukkiTaaN	ikkaaTu	ikkuTu
irunhthathu	inhthicci	injci
pooyiTTu	poocci	piidcci

1–10. Influence of Urdu on Hyderabad Tamil.

Urdu	**Hyderabad Tamil**
aajkal	iNNikki nhaalhikki
beejaar	beecaaraayicci
thooththi	thooththi
gammiicu	gammiicu
nhashthaa	nhashththaa
theekcaa	theekcaa

1–11. Changes in Kinship terms.

Literary form	**Hyderabad Tamil**	**Madras Tamil**
oorakaththaalh	orakaththi	ooravaththi
maiththuNi	macciNci	macciNacci
muuththaar	muththaaru	muuththaaru

1–12. Back dental voiceless short stop /th/ becomes alveo palatal voiceless short stop /T/ in Hyderabad Tamil.

Literary form	Hyderabad Tamil	Madras Tamil
miththaanN	meTiccaa	methiccaa
mithiyadi	meTuvadi	methiyadi

1–13. Common features available in Hyderabad and Madras Tamil

Madras Tamil	Hyderabad Tamil
kaththiTikkaa	kaththiTikkaa
thuddu	thuddu
panham	panham
pillu	pillu

1–14. The initial mid back unrounded short vowel /o/ in Madras Tamil becomes Mid front unrounded short vowel /e/ in Hyderabad Tamil.

Madras Tamil	Hyderabad Tamil
collu	cellu
coNNaa	ceNNaa

1–15. Peculiar uses in Hyderabad Tamil

Literary form	Hyderabad Tamil	Madras Tamil
vanhthathu pooyiTTu	vanj peedci	vanthu poocci
irunhthathu pooyiTTu	inj peedci	irunhthu poocci

1-16. /e/ becomes /o/ in Hyderabad and Madras Tamil.

Literary form	Hyderabad Tamil	Madras Tamil
penhcaathi	ponhcaathi	ponhdaathddi
penh	poNNu	ponhdaaddi

1–17. Some new forms available in Hyderabad Tamil.

Madras Tamil	Hyderabad Tamil
Krishnasamy	kisda
Govindasamy	kooyinjcaami
Munusamy	munjcaami
kooyil	koyilu

1–18. Change of final vowel in Hyderabad Tamil.

Literary form	Hyderabad Tamil	Madras Tamil
pukai	puke	poke

pukaiyilai	poyila	pooyila
vadai	vade	vada
erumai	erume	eruma
karuveeppilai	karippile	karuvappila
kallaTai	kalTe	kallaTa
eNNa	eNNe	iNNaa
yaNai	aaNe	aaNa
pudavai	podave	podava

1–19. High back rounded short vowel /u/ becomes the Highfront unrounded short vowel with y colouring /i/ and /i/ becomes mid front unrounded short vowel with Y colouring /e/.

Literary form	Hyderabad Tamil
puli	pili
nilaa	nelaa
picaacu	pecaacu

1–20. /lh/ becomes /l/ in Hyderabad Tamil.

Literary Tamil	Hyderabad Tamil
kilhi	kili
velhakku	velakku

1–21. Some changes in Hyderabad Tamil.

Literary Tamil	Hyderabad Tamil
kaTpuuram	kappiTam
caampiraanhi	caampraanhi
uuthupaththi	uuthapaththi
(paruppu) caampaar	pappucaaTu
panhiyaaram	paNiyaaram
viyaaLakkiLamai	vicaayakkiyama
ciththirai	ciththura
aadiviLaa	uurkkudippuujaa
cadai	Joodi

1–22. In Hyderabad Tamil the final consonant is dropped.

Literary form	Hyderabad Tamil
aappam	aappa
athiracam	athirasa
kuthikkiTaalh	kuthikkiTaa
kudhikkiTaaN	kudhikkiTaa
thulhlhuTaalh	thulhlhuTaa
nhadcaththiram	nhadcaththira
mayaaNam	mayaaNa

1–23. Idiomatic usages in Hydrabad Tamil

1.	vayi vaaykkaallaame peecaTaa	(Speaking without Reasoning)
2.	thamthuunhdu koduththa	(she gave little)
3.	vayakkaalikkuppuuddu vanhtha	(came from latrine)
4.	noTukkuththiiNi	(eating much)
5.	pasthool	(bag)
6.	pangaalhi viidu venthaa eungaNla thanhnhi konhdu pooTaa	(Increasing trouble to Pangaalhi)
7.	thaadi paththikiNu erinjcu piidikku neruppu keeddaaNa	(Making profit while others suffer)
8.	cooththa navuththikkiddu pooyiddaa	(He ate much)
9.	celavu collu	(show me the way)
10.	viidu kuudTathu	(she came of age)

1–24. The village deities that the Hyderabad Tamils worship:

1. thulakkaaNammaa
2. karumaariammaa
3. muththiyaalammaa
4. perumaalh kooyil
5. civangkooyil
6. Sarasvathi kooyil
7. Ranganaathar kooyil
8. Rangkar kooyil
9. theNNurangkar
10. Baala theecika nhaayaNaar camaathi
11. kanhnhaadi caamiyaar camaathi
12. veelhaangkanhnhi ammaa

1–25. Hyderabad spoken Tamil due to the influence of Urdu and Telugu, remains gentle and musical. This Tamil like Telugu ends with vowels. The following examples are given to establish this.

1. vaangkoo okkaarungoo caappudungoo nallaakkuriingkalha (come, sit eat, are you well)
2. vaanhaango canhda vaaNaa (no not necessary to fight)
3. panhaththe kodukkaleeNNaa Nakku rompa koovamaa varalaamungoo (If money is not given I will be very much annoyed)
4. ongko viruppanhnhaa nhaa eNNaa colTathu (If it is your wish what I can say).

The above passages are samples to show the gentle and the musical features available in Hyderabad Tamil dialect. Thus the Hyderabad Tamils speak a language containing ancient Tamil words as well as the language influenced by environment.

LANGUAGE USES IN A MULTILINGUAL SITUATION

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This paper is an attempt to present some interesting observations on children in a multilingual situation as a result of which the mother tongue acquisition shows some different patterns.

The author has had an ideal opportunity to watch children who are bilingual by birth and trilingual or multilingual by environment. Observations show that their backgrounds and social patterns decide their language patterns and competence.

Observations have been made of (1) children whose parents spoke different languages belonging to the same family, (2) of parents speaking languages belonging to different language fam ilies, (3) of parents who used between themselves, a common or link language like Hindi or English, and (4) of parents speaking the same language. In the first three cases cited above (1) The children developed better control in the mother's or father's language whichever was more dominant (i.e. that which enjoyed a prestigeous position inside and outside home), (2) The children did not care to learn even if it's the mother's language if she did not make it obligatory but only optional (i.e. when one of the parents switched over to the other's frequently and gave a choice to the children, they did not bother to learn the language of choice), (3) But when equal importance was given, i.e. when each parent insisted on speaking to the child *only* in his or her own language, the children had no problem in coping up with both the languages, whether the languages had any relationship or not, and they showed an astonishing degree of fluency in both languages, and the capacity to instant translation and switchover. As their language use and response were very strictly connected with the interpersonal relationship of the speakers, the children kept very strict rules regarding their responses to their respective speakers.

The case of children whose mother Dravidian (Tamil) and father, Indo Aryan (Oriya) has been under the direct observation of the author. She has noticed, how, even as early as the 12th month of their age the children resented any attempt on the parents' side to change their languages. That is to say, the children refused to be talked to, in Oriya by the mother or Tamil by the father.

As early as two years their competence in both the languages were not only equally good (they could be identified as native speakers by the respective speech

communities), but they could also make fun of the father's Tamil and mother's Oriya. It took them no time to bracket, the multilingual visitors they used to have, properly into Dravidian and Non-Dravidian pigeonholes. But as for the communication between these children who knew both languages equally well, the language, chosen was Oriya - perhaps because it was the language in which one more person talked to them – a residential servant.

Such bilingual children, like other monolingual children could learn the regional language too, if it is another language – when the other members of the society demand it. But they learnt it not because it was talked by everyone around them, but only when they were themselves talked to directly. (The bilingual children discussed so far, for example, had heard all along, English as the only language spoken by their parents, but they never picked up any English, until they were put into an English medium school where it became their language of communication.)

In a cosmopolitan city like Calcutta, confrontation with multilingual situations is a natural phenomenon. For all Non-Bengalis who have contacts with the society outside their home, learning the regional language, Bengali, to various degrees of proficiency of course, is a MUST. Hindi, of course, has made itself a link language and is usually resorted to, when the outsider does not feel at home with Bengali through his Hindi is no better. Many Bengali speakers, particularly the traders, try Hindi with Non-Bengalis though neither speaks Hindi with any semblance of grammatical acceptability.

As for children whose mother tongue is not the regional language, Bengali has to be learnt as the third language in the school (after the fourth class) and also as a means of communication with the people outside home. If neither Hindi nor Bengali is their mother tongue then they have it as first or third language in the school. So, a non-Bengali child whose medium of instruction is English at school has to learn English, Bengali and Hindi also, besides his mother tongue or tongues at home. Usually where South Indians live in immediate neighbourhood, it is not unusual to find Tamil used as a link language between the Malayalam, Telugu or Kannada speaking people communicating with Tamilians. So these people, children as well as adults, might be using four link languages – English at school, college or office, Bengali with Bengalis, Hindi for Non-Bengalis and Tamil among the South Indians. Besides all these they might probably have a mother tongue or tongues different from all these four.

This paper presents some interesting observations about the language uses of these children in such multilingual situations. In the case of such children who, by birth and-or of necessity, have become multilinguals language acquisition presents varied angles. Each language they learn start at various stages and

undergoes different kinds of development. Even under identical conditions of background and development, factors like age, sex, topic of conversation etc. play significant roles in shaping their languages patterns.

Observations of school children (whose mother tongue is not Bengali) in the age group of 8 to 15 years, all of whom happen to have for their mother tongue Tamil, Telugu or Malayalam, show some strikingly uniform behaviours regarding their language uses.

Usually school boys, regardless of their fluency in speaking English resort to Bengali as their means of communication with their class mates, even if all of them share a common mother tongue like Tamil or Telugu. Even two brothers of a Tamil speaking family might use Bengali at home between themselves and automatically switch over to the mother tongue while talking to the other members of the family. But their Bengali may be containing a mixture of mother tongue/link language/ and English Nouns, Verbs etc. It is not that they use only Bengali at home or with their classmates, but use of Bengali is as natural for them as usings their mother tongue.

But the school girls usually use English among themselves or switchover to their mother tongue if it is common or to a link language like Tamil. So in an English medium school the boys address other boys in Bengali or occasionally in their common mother tongue or a link language. They address their girl classmates (even of the same mother tongue group) in Englih or mother tongue but never in Bengali. The girls also do not use Bengali with them.

Their knowledge of Hindi remains rather bookish in the sense they do not try to learn any more than just what is necessary in the class. But in higher classes say, nineth upwards, if the Hindi speaking students are in a very considerable number then Hindi becomes another link language too. Films, radio, and T. V. help this process. But otherwise in the lower classes, if the student population is dominantly Non-Hindi, and Non-Bengali Hindi, does not grow up to be a natural medium of conversation as Bengali does.

The following table is a result of studying the language uses of about 60 school children, boys and girls, of the age group 10 to 15 over a period of two years.

Boys

Nos.	**Name of school**	**Sex**	**Age**	**Mother (M.T,.) Tongue**
13	National High School, boys	Male	10 to 15	1. Telugu 2. Tamil

9	Swarna School Co-education	Male	Tamil Telugu Kannada
25	Andhra Association school Co-education	Male	Tamil Telugu Malayalam

As the language uses of all the above mentioned are uniformly related to the situations, except that the girls differ in one or two situations, the details of such situations are commonly quoted below.

At home	**Situations**
with brothers	Respective mother tongue/Bengali with a heavy mixture of English/M.T. lexicon
With all other members of the family	Mother tongue
School	
Teachers	English
Classmates (Boys)	Bengali and occasionally common mother tongue or link language (like Tamil)
Classmates (Girls)	English; Mother tongue/Link
Neighbours	
Bengalis	Bengali
Non-Bengali Non-South Indian }	Hindi
South Indian	Link language or common mother tongue

All the above statements apply to girls too except that they do not address their classmates (boys) in Bengali, but in English or their common mother tongue/link language. They address their girl classmates also only in English and occasionally in Mother tongue/Link language.

As for boys, Hindi becomes a link language only in higher classes like the 10th or 11th, and that too if their environment is dominated by Hindi speakers. Their competence in Hindi or Bengali depends on their exposure to the native speakers.

That topic of conversation also has a direct relation to the language use is evident from the following table taking two bilingual children of the same family – the boy of twelve years and the girl, ten years old.

	Topic of conversation	Language spoken
With father	School, Study, Sports	English
	All other matters	Oriya (M.T.)
With mother	All matters	Tamil (M.T.)
Sister Brother	School, Studies, Discussions, fights	English
-do-	Family matters (Food, religion, entertainment)	Oriya
Relatives		Respective mother tongue

Coming to the question of mother tongue of children in such a multilingual situation we face two categories.

(1) Those children who learn only their mother tongue first, which is further strengthened by a speech community around them and/or further settled by continuing in that language as a school subject.

2 (a) Those children who learn their mother tongue simultaneously with other language/languages which have no less impact on their language systems or

2 (b) Children whose mother tongue learning is not further emphasized by continuing it as a school subject.

Those belonging to the first category have no difficulty in acquiring the same speech characteristics–their parents have, as far as the mother tongue is concerned.

It is the second category which shows certain deviations which cannot be generalised as each case depends on the particular kind of clashes it has met with.

The following are some observations on the mother-tongue pattern of a multilingual child whose use of it is restricted to limited situations and not continued as a school subject. As there is no formal study of the language she is not exposed to the written variety of Tamil at all.

1. That there are separate forms for Inclusive and Exclusive pronouns. is not realised.

(na : ga) — the exclusive is used for both
(na : ga) and na : mbo (Inclusive)

2. The Numeral 'one' is not differentiated from the numerical adjective.
[oru – Numerical adjective
[onnu] Numeral 'one'

But the girl uses sentences like
[innoru kudu] give me one more instead of [innonnu kudu]

3. That the nouns ending in [0] have an oblique form different from the nominal base is not known.

In Tamil, the nouns ending in /0/ take /tw/ as the oblique suffix before the case suffixes. Similarly nouns ending in /rm/, /dw/ also have different oblique suffixes. But the rest of the nouns. take the case suffixes directly without an intermediate oblique suffix. (With only a morpho-phonemic addition).

e.g. [nari] + [0 : de] — [nariyo : de]
'fox' 'genitive' suffix of the fox
but [maro] + o : de [marato : de]
tree – gen. suf. of the tree

So the multilingual child treats all classes of nouns under the major category of noun + direct addition of case suffix

/maro/ + /o : de/ [maroo : de]

4. Conversely the oblique forms of the nouns ending in /rue/+/due/ are wrongly identified as nominal forms.

e.g. [ka : tu], [vayitu] etc. are
oblique forms of nouns [ka : du]
'forest' and /vay: ru/ stomach etc.

But they are taken as the nominal forms and used in isolation.

e.g. [onaku periya vayitu]
to-you big stomach
your stomach is big.

5. **Wrong allomorphs are used**

Pronouns

I person singular has two allomorphs /e/ before a vowel and [en] elsewhere and the final [n] of the [en] undergoes different morpho-phonemic changes none of which can be found in the child's Tamil e.g.

[e] + a : le [enna : le] proper use

I. sg. pronoun by [e a : le]–the child's usage. Similarly the second allomorphs of none of the following pronouns seem to occur with their respective morpho-phonemic changes. Either the 'proper' allomorph is not used or the 'proper' morpho-phonemic change is not observed. Instead of [na :/+/ta :] —> na :nda :]
I emphatic it is only me
we find /na :da :/
Instead of /aval/ + /o :de/ /avalo :de/
she with
/avovo :de/ is found.

6. **Wrong Morpho-phonemic ruler**

When two vowels occur contiguously either [y] or [v] is inserted:– [y] after front vowels and [v] after all other vowels.

e. g. [nari] + [a:] [nariya:]

for Interrogative – Is it a fox?

[pasu] + [a:] [pasuva:]

cow + inter Is it a cow?

But the multilingual child does not follow this rule. She says
[pasua:], [naria:] etc.

7. Wrong selection of verbs is another common feature
Instead of [ennayu ku: tindu po:]

me-too take along
(Take me also along with you)

the child says [ennayu kondu po:]

which can be used only in the case of inanimate objects.

Instead of [kadave tara] – open the foor

door – acc. open

[kadave *avwtu* vidu]

(acc). door- open (the knot)

Sentence patterns

8. The influence of Bengali is very obvious in the Tamil sentence patterns of the multilingual child, though borrowing loan words from Bengali is almost nil. English words are borrowed copiously. Use of English verbs with Tamil auxilliary verbs is a very common feature.

e.g. [klaimb panrapo slip a : yi du tu]
'while climbing (I/it) slipped

Repetition of the proper noun in interrogative sentences like where is ram? ram koi ram] is a regular pattern found in Bengali, which is used by the multilingual child in her Tamil.

a. e.g./anna: enge anna:/
where is elder brother?
The use of /to/ in Bengali in sentences like

b. /amar mamar biye holo to ami bombe giechilam/
"I had been to Bombay as my uncle's marriage took place"
The use of /to/ like construction in a Tamil sentence like
[na: kl:le vilundu te:no: lliyo adipatudutu]
"Didn't I fall down? (So) I got hurt"
is rather less acceptable than [na : ki : le vilundute : no : lliyo adana : le [adipatudutu] unless the hearer already knows of the speaker's falling.

c. Instead of using the relative participle in sentences like
[na: po:na ve: le mudiyale]
I rel. participle of go work did not finish
She uses [enda ve: leki na: po:ne:no: anda ve:le mudiyale]
For which work I went that work did not finish

Some deviations can be easily explained as the influence of the other languages the child uses, but that cannot explain everything.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE JAFFNA TAMIL VERBAL SYSTEM

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There are over two and a half million speakers of Tamil in Sri Lanka, speaking several dialects, of which Jaffna Tamil represents a major variety, with approximately 700, 000 speakers.[1] Other varieties include the estate Tamil largely centered in the tea growing areas of the upcountry, which as a result of migration in the 19th and earlier twentieth centuries has more affiliation to Indian varieties; the East coast varieties with the population centers of Trincomalee and Batticalao; an undetermined number of varieties of Muslim Tamil; and the Tamil still spoken in several pockets among the fishing communities of the West coast. There is, in fact, more dialect variation within Tamil in Sri Lanka than there is within the majority (Indo-Aryan) language Sinhala (Sinhalese), spoken by 70% of the population, or approximately 10 million people. As yet this variation within Sri Lanka Tamil remains largely unstudied in detail, despite some initial attempts (esp. Zvebeil 1959, 1959-60, 1960, 1966; Suseendirarajah 1973a, b, 1970, 1978; Thananjayaraja singham (1973).

In any event, Jaffna Tamil, located in the northernmost part of the country, notably the Jaffna peninsula, is the variety commonly thought of as the one most "characteristic" of Sri Lanka Tamil, primarily because of the preponderance of Jaffna people among Tamil professionals, civil servants and educators in Sri Lanka, owing in large part to the long well established and effective educational system created in Jaffna largely through the efforts of American missionaries. In addition, Jaffna has a strong sense of cultural identity, of which the local variety of Tamil is one mark, as well as a tradition of valuing education highly, for both its own sake and as a means of professional advancement.

Jaffna Tamil has been sufficiently isolated from the Indian forms of the language for it to have developed a distinct character, so much so that Indians encountering it for the first time are likely to think that they are hearing some other Dravidian language such as Malayalam (Suseendirarajah 1967, 5). Contributing to this distinct character are a number of features of the verbal system, which it will be the primary task of this paper to present in a largely descriptive fasion. This paper may thus be considered a preliminary attempt to isolate and describe a number of characteristics of the verbal system that may be of interest to scholars of Tamil dialectology, since they represent differences from mainland varieties with which we have any familiarity, particularly from what Schiffman and others

have called "Standard Spoken Tamil" (Schiffman 1980 and references therein). Though some individual features may be found in other dialects, the system as a whole appears to have a unique character. In any event, we would like to know the extent to which they appear elsewhere, since that would in itself be of no little interest in placing Jaffna Tamil more precisely within the range of Tamil varieties.

There are dialect differences within the Tamil of the Jaffna area, but the phenomena dealt with here seem to be generally characteristic of it, at least of the language of the Ve:La:la community. They have been found in the speech of informants from points as relatively widespread as Myliddy (Kankesanturai), Sudumalai, Point Pedro and Chavakachcheri, and they are represented in the dramas written in Jaffna Tamil by the late Dr. Kanapathi Pillai. We will first briefly describe a number of features of the verbal system, some of which represent retentions of features or distinctions generally lost elsewhere, and then concentrate on one that strikes us as a particularly important innovation: the formation of a subsystem of finite, agreeing verb forms based on a combination of the verbal adjective form (often referred to as the relative participle), both present and past, with the personal pronouns. As far as we know, that subsystem as a whole, together with the corresponding negative forms, constitutes a major difference between Jaffna Tamil and the Indian varieties of the language.

Lexical Features: We will not attempt to deal with lexical differences between Jaffna Tamil and other varieties, though they exist in the verbs as elsewhere, but leave that for fuller dialectal study, mentioning only a few. One interesting fact is that Jaffna retains the distinction between the two verbs 'give', *tar-* and *kuTu-*, using the former only when either speaker or hearer is a recipient of the action. Similarly, verbs like *katai* (*kku*) 'speak, converse", or *veLikkiTu-* 'set out' appear to be characteristic of Jaffna Tamil and detailed comparisons with other dialects would undoubtedly unearth many more.

Person-number Affixes: The person-number affixes of Jaffna Tamil are as follows. The forms following slashes are those used with future tense forms where they differ from the present and past. Forms separated by commas are variants. Pronouns appropriate to the forms are given in parentheses for reference.

Person	Singular	Plural
1	(naan) -en	(naanKaL) -am
2 polite	(niinkal) -iyaL, iinkaL	(ninkaL) -iyaL, iinkaL
2 intermediate	(niir) -iir	
2 non-polite	(nii) -aay	
3 masculine		
polite	(avar) -arr/-ar	(avai) -inam
non-polite	(avan) -aan/an	(avanKaL) -aankaL/ankaL

3 Feminine		
polite	(avaa) -aa	(avai -inam
non-polite	(avaL) -aaL	(avaLavai) -aLavai
3 Non-human	(atu) -utu	

In Jaffna Tamil as in other varieties, the second person plural is used as the second person polite form. The *-iyaL* affix characteristic of Jaffna Tamil appears to be giving way to the *iinkaL* form perhaps under the influence of Colombo Tamil, and, more indirectly, Indian Tamil. As the table shows the second person has a further two degrees of respect in the singular. The second person intermediate respect also has a distinctive imperative affix - *um;* hence *niir vaarum* 'you come'. The third person has distinct affixes for two degrees of politeness, as shown in both singular and plural. The feminine affixes *-aa* polite and *aaL* non-polite are particularly interesting. Unlike some other dialects, Jaffna Tamil does not drop final *L* (or *l*). Thus not only are the affixes distinct, but the forms with reminiscent sandhi before clitics found in some Indian varieties; i.e. *avaLaa* 'is it she' *vantaaLaa* 'did she come', would be interpreted as non-polite forms in Jaffna Tamil, the polite forms being *avaavaa* and *vantaavaa.* The third person actually has three degrees of politeness like the second, but the intermediate respect form does not have a distinct affix; the otherwise non-human in *-utu* being used for it for all genders and numbers. In Jaffna Tamil as in other varieties, there is no singular/plural distinction in non-human verb forms. Note also that the third person plural masculine *-ankal-aankal* is a non-polite form in Jaffna Tamil, the polite form being - *inam* in both genders. This affix occurs with the inanimate stem in the present; i.e. the stem without *r* (ற்). Hence *paTikkirankal* 'they (masc.) study' non-polite; *paTikkinam* 'they (masc. or fem.) study' polite. Though some of these affixes appear to occur in some mainland varieties as well, the resultant system as a whole appears to be distinctive to Jaffna.

Negative: Like other dialects of Tamil, Jaffna Tamil has negatives in *illai* and a future negative in *maaTT-*. However, it also is more conservative in its negative system than the other spoken dialects with which we have any familiarity. For one thing, it retains a distinction between *illai* used existentially and to form a negative with the infinitive of other verbs, and a negative *alla* used primarily in equational sentences.[2] Thus:

paal illai 'There is no milk'
itu paal alla 'This is not milk.'

Also, Spoken Jaffna Tamil retains an inflectional negative, in finite forms, formed by adding the person number affixes directly to the root of the verb or in three forms (e.g. second, person plural and the third person non-human and plural), following a negative affix *-aa-*. (There are, of course, some morpho-phonemic complications, but they do not concern us here.) Hence *varen* 'I won't go', *varaar*

'he won't go', *varaa* 'she won't go', *varaatu* 'it won't go', *varaayaL* 'you won't go', *varaayinam* 'they won't go', etc.

This direct negative has a generally future sense like that of the *maaTT* negative, but may be stronger and more definite, i.e.., *naan ceyya maaTTen* 'I won't do (it)'; *naan ceyyen* 'I *won't* do it.'

Causative: Jaffna Tamil resembles other dialects in having a periphrastic causative, formed with the infinitive plus any of the verbs *vai-*, *cey-*, or *paNNu*. However, it also preserves, in its spoken variety, an affixal causative in *-vi-* or *-ppi*. Thus *ceyvi-* 'cause to do', *tirappi-*' 'cause to open', etc. Interestingly, the affixal causative appears to be the one most commonly used in Jaffna Tamil.

Pronominal Verb Forms: Perhaps the most interesting innovation within the Jaffna verbal system is the development of a subsystem of finite verb forms made by combining the verbal adjective form, (often called the relative participle) with the personal pronouns. Though sequences of the same form may occur in other dialects, they do not, as far as we are aware, form a finite subsystem in the same way as those in Jaffna Tamil, with the same uses. There are both present and past pronominal verb forms, each with its corresponding negative. The past forms are the most clearly innovative, and we deal with them first.

In Jaffna Tamil, as in other varieties, verbal adjectives may occur with either noun or pronoun heads to form the equivalent of relative clauses:

naan caappiTTa	palakaaram	
I eat-past-adj	food	
'The food that I ate'		
ennaik-	kuuppiTT(a)	avar
I-dat	call -past	he
'The one who called me'		

In Jaffna Tamil, however, there are frequently occuring sequences of verbal adjective plus pronoun that cannot be interpreted in that way. Note, for example, the three examples in the following brief interchange from the opening scene of K. Kanapathi Pillai's play *Poruloo Porul*, (1952, 1) set in Jaffna. The forms in question are italicised in the accompanying phonological representation of the passage in the translation:

மங்கையர்க்கரசி : என்ன கமலி, என்னை நீ வரசொன்ன தெண்டு
தாமு வந்து சொன்னான். எப்ப வந்தனி கொளும்பாலே ?
எனக்குத் தெரியாது நீ வந்தது.
கமலவேணி : காலமைதான் வந்தனான்..கதைக்கிறதுக்கு
வீட்டிலே ஒருத்தருமில்லே. அதுதான் உனக்கு ஆளனுப்பினனான்.

Mankaiyarkkaraci: enna kamali, ennai nii varacconnatenTu taamu vantu connaan. eppa *vantanii*[3] kolumpaalai? enakkut teriyaatu nii vantatu.

KamalaveeNi: kaalamaitaan *vantanaan*.... kataikkiratukku viiTTilai orutarumillai. atutaan unakku *aaLanuppinanaan.*

Mankaiyarkkaraci: Well, Kamali? Tamu came and asked me to come. When *did you come* from Colombo? I didn't know you had come.

Kamalaveni: *I came* in the morning. There is no one to talk to in the house. That's why *I sent* someone to you.

There are several reasons for considering such verb-pronoun sequences to be parts of verb phrases rather than noun phrases. First, it is clear that the semantic interpretation that would be required by construing these forms as verbal adjective plus pronominal head in the usual fashion, *i.e.* as relative clauses, would be highly inappropriate. That is, they cannot be interpreted in context to have meanings such as 'you are the one who came from Colombo when' (even ignoring the placement of *kolumpaalai* 'from Colombo' outside the clause[4]); 'I am the one who came in the morning'; or 'I am the one who sent someone to you'. Rather, they are obviously closer in meaning to the usual past finite forms found in other dialects as well as Jaffna Tamil, i.e. *vantaay* 'you came', *vanten* 'I came', *anuppinen* 'I sent'.

Thus, in more strictly linguistic terms, it would be extremely difficult to interpret the first example as an equational sentence with the following structure. (We have provided the implicit subject in parentheses and placed the adverb within the clause for simplicity; leaving it outside would, of course, make the interpretation even more difficult, since we would have to deal with an adverb extraposed from a relative clause over a noun head.) Jaffna Tamil, of course, like other varieties, has no overt copula in such sentences.

$$[_{S}([_{NP}{}^{\text{nii}}])\,[_{NP}\,[_{S}{}^{\text{eppa kolumpaalai vanta}}]\,[_{NP}{}^{\text{nii}}]]]$$

$$[_{S}[_{NP}{}^{\text{you}}]\,[_{NP}\,[^{\text{when Colombo-from came}}]\,[_{NP}{}^{\text{you}}]]]$$

The adverb *eppa* 'when' poses a particular problem for such an interpretation. If we include it in the relative clause, as in the bracketing above, the required interpretation 'you are the you who came from Colombo when' would seem to be highly inappropriate in context. On the other hand, if we take *eppa* to be a sentence adverb, with the entire remaining sentence in its scope and a bracketing something like:

$$[_{S}([_{NP}{}^{\text{nii}}])\,[_{ADV}{}^{\text{eppa}}\,[\,[_{NP}[_{S}{}^{\text{kolumpaalai vanta}}]\,[_{NP}{}^{\text{nii}}][$$

the required reading would seem to be something like 'when were you the one who came from Colombo', which would also be inappropriate in context, though perhaps less so than the previous interpretation.

On the other hand, if we interpret the sequence *vantanii* as a finite verb with a past sense in a verb phrase, i.e. in a sentence with a structure like:

[S([NPnii]) [VP[ADVeppa] [Vvantanii] [ADVkolumpaalai]]]

the natural interpretation 'when did you come from Colombo' fits the context perfectly. Note also that we need not move *kolumpaalai* as we were forced to in the noun phrase interpretation so as not to leave it stranded, since there is ample precedent for such right-moved adverbials in verbal sentences. (Under the VP interpretation, it would of course be possible to interpret it as a sentence adverb rather than within the VP as we have it here, but that would be quite irrelevant to the present argument, since in either case the problems of interpretation that we encounter under the NP analysis would not occur).

Similar arguments are easily constructed for the other examples. For instance, *atutaan* 'therefore' in the third example constitutes a problem like *eppa* in the first. Under an NP NP interpretation, if we analyse *eppa* as occurring within a relative clause, we require a reading like 'the I who sent someone therefore'. If we take it to be outside a relative clause, we obtain something like 'therefore (I am) the one who sent someone to you'; both inappropriate. If, however, we interpret it as part of a verb phrase with a finite verb *anuppinanaan* '(I) sent'. i.e. in a sentence with a structure like

[S([NPnaan]) [VP[ADV Atutaan] [NP(Dat) unakku] [NPaaL]
[Vanuppinanaan]]]

parallel to a similar sentence with the ordinary past tense *anuppinen*, we obtain the appropriate reading 'that is why I sent someone to you.'

The possible substitutability of pronouns provides another motivation for treating these verb sequences as finite verbs rather than nominals. In equational sentences, i.e. NP NP, with a pronoun-headed relative clause as the predicate noun phrase, we may get a pronoun agreeing with the subject in person, but we need not. We may, instead, find the third person pronoun with the appropriate gender and number. That is, both of the following are possible with essentially the same meaning:

(naan) kaalamaitaan vantanan
naan kaalamaitaan vantavan
I morning-EMPH came-I/he
'I am the one who came in the morning.'

However, it is not possible to substitute a third person pronoun in examples such as these with which we have been dealing. Thus, adjusting for the appropriate feminine gender, we could not replace the three examples with *vantavaa* 'She who came' (for *vantannii* and *vantanaan*) and *anuppinavaa* 'she who sent' in context.

In the third person, of course, pronominal verb forms of the type we are discussing will be identical in form with pronominal headed relative clauses, and we do in fact find the ambiguity we would expect to result. Thus

capaapati	kaalamai	vantavar
Sabapathy	morning	came-he

could be either 'Sabapathy came in the morning', or 'Sabapathy is the one who came in the morning'.

In Jaffna Tamil, as in other dialects, there is an action verbal nominal formed by adding the third person inanimate pronoun *atu* to the past verbal adjective. Thus *vantatu* 'the having come', *paTiccatu* 'the having studied', etc. It forms nominal clauses, i.e. *naan puttakattai paticcatu* 'my having studied the book' *niinkaL koLumpukkup poona kiLamai vantatu* 'your having come to Colombo last week'.[5] These can, as in other dialects, be negated with the existential *illai;* thus *vantatillai* (– *vantatu* + *illai*) 'The coming was not', etc. In Jaffna Tamil, these negatives serve as the equivalent negative to the past tense pronominal forms that we have been discussing. That is, they appear to have the same tense and aspectual implications as the verb-pronoun sequences and can thus be considered to be the negative member of a verbal subsystem with them. Thus

niinkaL	neettu	incai	vantatuillai (or vantatillai)
you	yesterday	here	coming not

'You didn't come yesterday.'

serves as the negative of

niinkaL	neettu	vanta	niinkal
you	yesterday	came-ADJ	you

'You came yesterday'.

The semantic equivalence of these negatives with the pronominal verb forms might tempt us to interpret them syntactically as negated NP VP sentences parallel to their positive counterparts, i.e. something like:

[S[NPniinkaL][VPnee*ttu* incai vantat(u) [NEGillai]]]

However, we do not know at present of any compelling *syntactic* reason for not continuing to interpret them as nominalized caluses with an existential negative i.e., as follows:[6]

[S[NP[NPniinkaL] [VPnee*ttu* incai vanta] atu] [V(NEG) illai]]

That is, we have no convincing motivation for concluding that their entering into a semantic subsystem with the pronominal verbs has led to a syntactic change by which they require rebracketing. In any event, however, they cannot be analysed as equational sentences, i.e. NP NP, since the pronoun is always third person

inanimate, regardless of the subject of the verb in the adjectival form. Also, Jaffna Tamil, as stated earlier, retains the distinction between negatives *illai* and *alla*, and nominal equational sentences require the latter. Hence we have contracts such as:

naan	yaaLppaaNam	poonatillai
I	Jaffna	went-NOM-NEG

'I have not gone to Jaffna'

versus

naan	yaLppaanam	poonavan	alla
I	Jaffna	went-ADJ-he	not

'I am not the one who went to Jaffna'

If these were NP NP sentences, they would require *alla*, not the *illai* that in fact appears in them.

Furthermore, Jaffna Tamil has the negative verbal adjective formed with *-aata*, such as *pookaata* 'not going' 'not having gone'. As expected, this may modify pronouns, as in

ankai pookaatavai (incai varuvinam)
there go-NEG-they (here come-they)
'Those who didn't go there (will come here)'

Such forms, unlike those with the verbal noun plus *illai*, cannot function as the negative of the pronominal verbal forms. They may occur in the predicate, but have a quite different sense, as in

capaapati ankai pookaatavar
Sabapathy there go-NEG ADJ-he
'Sabapathy is (the') one who does not/didn't go there'

Thus, though it is not entirely certain whether we should analyze the negation with verbal noun plus *illai* as negated noun phrase or verb phrase, an equational NP NP interpretation is not possible, so that they lend no support to an analysis of their positive counterparts as equational sentences.

There are, as we have seen, strong resons for treating such verb-pronouns sequences as those illustrated in the quoted passage as finite verbs. They are, as the passage exemplifies, frequent in spoken Jaffna Tamil, and in our experience clearly constitute a feature of that dialect that appears unusual, if not startling, to speakers of other dialects. While these sequences have a generally past meaning, they also clearly involve a contrast in meaning with the ordinary past inflected forms (in terms of their occurrence in other dialects) such as *vanten* (vs. *vantanaan*) and *anuppinen* (vs. *anuppinanaan*). While this meaning contrast has not yet been analysed in sufficient detail, it is generally true that the pronominal past forms emphasize the completion of an action or the fact of its having taken place., and

they have been called the "emphatic past" for that reason (Gair, Suseendirarajah and Karunatilaka 1978: 291, 170). Actually, it appears that we are witnessing the birth of an aspectual category distinction in Jaffna Tamil; namely, a perfective/imperfective contrast. This is, incidentally, in addition to the definite/indefinite distinction based on the past participle plus inflected forms of the verb *viTu-*, found in Jaffna Tamil as in other dialects. In fact, the latter distinction appears to crosscut the aspectual category in question, with the categories operating independently. Thus all of the following are possible: *paTiccen*, past 'I studied'; *paTiccuviTTen* or *paTicciTTen*, past definite; *paTiccanaan*, past perfective (or emphatic); *paTivci-T Tanaan* past perfective definite, leading to a very rich set of distinctions within the general category of past.

Jaffna Tamil also has present tense pronominal forms, based on the present tense verbal adjective plus personal pronouns, i.e. *vaara naan* 'I come', *paTikkira naan* 'I study', etc. The same general considerations that lead us to interpret the past tense sequences as finite verb forms apply here as well, and we can deal thus with the present forms briefly. They do appear to imply a different semantic distinction from the past forms however, generally having a habitual sense. Thus:

naankaL	cooru	caappiTura	naankaL
we	rice	eat-PRES-ADJ	we

'We eat rice (generally)'

appaa	munti(k)	kuTikkiravar
father	before	drink-PRES-he

'Father used to drink.'

Note that the action described in the second example is past, and in fact completed, so that these forms convey the habitual aspect rather than present time, though they are present tense forms in terms of their inflection.

There is a corresponding negative for these forms as well, formed by adding *illai* directly to either the present verbal adjective, or to the present action verbal noun formed from the present verbal adjective plus *atu:*

avar	incai	vaareellai (– vaara + illai) vaaratillai (– vaara + atu + illai)
he	here	come-ADJ not come-VBL NOUN not

'He doesn't come here.'

This negative formation, or at least that with the verbal noun, occurs in other dialects as well, also with the habitual sense. Jaffna Tamil, however, appears to be unique in having developed a specifically marked positive counterpart for it, i.e., the non-negative habitual form with the verbal adjective and personal pronoun.

To recapitulate, what Jaffna Tamil has developed is a subsystem of finite verbal forms based on the combination of the verbal adjective with personal pronouns, each with its corresponding negative forms. With the past tense forms this exemplifies a perfective/imperfective or emphatic/non-emphatic distinction *vis-a-vis* the regular inflected forms, and with present tense forms, the distinction is habitual/non-habitual. This subsystem is summarized in the following table, using first person forms of *var-* 'come' and *paTi-* 'study' as examples.

	Present (Habitual	**Past (Perfective)**
Pronominal Form	Verbal adjective + personal pronoun *vaaranaan* *paTikkiranaan*	Verbal adjective + personal pronoun *vantanaan* *paTiccanaan*
Negative	Action verbal noun or verbal adjective + *illai* *vaareellai, vaaratillai* *paTikkireellai, paTikkiratillai*	Action verbal noun + *illai* *vantatillai* *paTiccatillai*

These forms contrast, as we have noted, with the more usual present and past tenses, i.e. with *vaaren, paTikkiren; vanten, paTiccen*, etc.

Further investigation of the semantic implications of these forms may reveal that a single category distinction is involved within both tenses, corresponding to the obvious morphological parallels but this is by no means an obvious conclusion, and will require examination of a much wider range of data exemplifying the use of these forms than we have been able to carry out as yet.

We also cannot at present offer an explanation buttressed by sufficient historical evidence for how and by what stages these pronominal verb forms came about. It would not seem unreasonable, however, that they began as relative clause formations involving an intermediate stage by which the pronoun head was permitted to have an indefinite interpretation, thus allowing it to be modified by a restrictive relative clause while serving as the predicate of an equational sentence, that is, something like "(I am) an I (who did such and such)". The predicate could thus serve to assign an attribute (or more strictly, membership in a class) to the pronominal subject, parallel to 'I am one who does such and such', rather than an identification ('I am he who etc). From this, it would seem a short step to the present senses of these forms, and there is ample precedent elsewhere for the similar transitions from nominal to verbal forms.[7] It would also seem probable that the indefinite interpretation of the pronoun with which such a line of development

commenced could occur most easily in the third person and spread to the other, but all of this must remain speculation until clear historical evidence is found.

For present purposes, it is enough to note that this subsystem as a whole contributes to giving the Jaffna Tamil verbal system a distinctive character, even though some of its individual features may be found in other dialects. If our presentation is of interest to students of Tamil dialectology and ultimately contributes to establishing the place of the Jaffna variety within the broad spectrum of Tamil dialects, we will have more than accomplished our purpose.

FOOTNOTES

[1] We would like to thank those who served as informants for Jaffna Tamil, especially Ratnamalar Periyathamby, Parvaty Kanthasamy, V. Subramaniam and others too numerous to name individually. Part of the work presented here was carried out in Sri Lanka by J. W. G. under U.S. Office of Education research grant (1969-70) and a Fulbright lecturing grant (1976-77).

The transcription used here for Jaffna Tamil should be sufficiently self-explanatory, but a few points reflecting differences from other dialects require mention. t, t and T are respectively dental, alveolar and retroflex stops, generally voiceless initially and when geminate and voiced when single inter vocalically and (usually) after nasals. Initial T is an exception in being voiced. (Tamil scholars should note that while this three way distinction is reminiscent of an earlier one in Tamil it does not represent a straightforward survival of that earlier situation, with t in particular having several etymological sources.) *r* is a voiced post-alveolar retroflexed trill. *L* is a retroflex voiced lateral. (In Jaffna Tamil, it represents a merger of earlier l (ள்) and l (ழ்). In the transcription used here, we do not distinguish n (ந்) and n (ங்) from n (ண்), since that has only graphemic relevance. For further details on Jaffna phonology see Gair *et. al.* 1978, Suseendirarajah 1966, 1967, 1973a, M. Shanmugam Pillai 1962, and Thanajayarajasingham 1962, 1966.

The most recent published census of Sri Lanka (1971) does not give language statistics. However, rough estimates can be made from figures on community and ethnic origin. Thus the Ceylon Tamil population of Jaffna in 1971 was 665, 857, and for the adjacent districts of Mannar and Vavunia (39,977 and 58,431 respectively). Allowing for population increase, our estimate for Jaffna Tamil thus seems reasonable.

[2] *alla* is used with emphasized constituents, as in *kaTaikku alla, viiTTukkuppoonkoo* 'Dont go to the shop, go home'.

3. It may be noted that Kanapathi Pillai writes *vantani* (னி) rather than *vantanii* (-னீ) as we have rendered it, indicating a shortening of the *nii* (நீ) pronoun in that position in the dialect represented. That shortening does not, of course, adversely affect our argument here, but actually furnishes additional justification for treating these forms as inflected verbs originating in verb-pronoun sequences.

4. The instrumental case is used also as an ablative (source) in Jaffna Tamil. This appears to be another unusual feature of the dialect, and one which it shares, interestingly with Sinhala.

5. These action nouns contrast with identical sequences representing relative clause formations with a third person non-human pronoun as head, as in *vantatu* 'the one that came' or the'coming', *paTiccatu* 'the one that was studied' or 'the studying', etc. For a justification of analysing the action nouns and the relative formations as distinct but homonymous, see Lindholm 1972.

Note that the third person non-human past pronominal form of the verb will also be formed from the same sequence of verbal adjective and pronoun, and thus be homonymous with *both* the relative clause with a third person non-human pronoun as head *and* the action verbal noun allowing a three-way ambiguity. Thus the sequence *inta pas yaaLppaNattaalai vantatu* 'this bus Jaffna-INST came-ADJ PRONOUN (3 sg. non-human)' can be in the proper context: (1) an equational sentence with pronoun-headed relative formation as predicate, 'this bus is the one that came from Jaffna'; (2) a sentence with a past pronominal verb, 'this bus came from Jaffna'; or (3) a deverbalized nominal clause, 'the coming (past) of this bus from Jaffna'.

6. Here and in the previous example, irrelevant internal bracketing within the VP has been omitted. We have not labelled *atu* in this second bracketing. Though it clearly serves a nominalizing function, whether or not it should be treated as a complementizer leads to a number of syntactic complexities that, however interesting, are not necessary to deal with here.

7. Professor Jay Jasanoff has pointed out to us the parallel with the Sanskrit periphrastic future, also based on a nominal form.

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CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF JAPANESE PARTICLES AND TAMIL VEETTUMAI URUPU

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Among the languages of the world Chinese and Japanese are considered to be the difficult ones. Probably this is why the number of students offering these languages in Indian Universities and other educational institutions is rather small compared to that offering the European languages. It is not that the foreigners alone hold this view; the Japanese themselves, even today, say that their language is something unique and it is difficult for foreigners to comprehend it. There is no denying the fact that the writing system of the language is difficult; but, it does not mean that the structure is beyond comprehension. A lot of research on teaching Japanese to foreigners, from the point of view of grammar, vocabulary and phonetics has been and is being conducted in Japan and the West. However most of the work pertains to contrasting Japanese with English.

With my limited experience in teaching Japanese to the Indians at the university of Delhi, I would say that the structure of Japanese language does not pose any problem for Indians. The writing system, of course, demands patience and hard work on the part of learners. In brief, I would say that structurally Japanese language is easier than European languages.

Of late, Japanese scholars have been studying the possibility of establishing genetic relationship between Japanese and the Dravidian group of languages. In this context, Tamil – the most representative language of the Dravidian family – and Japanese have the following two points in common:

1. Both these languages use post-positions;
2. The adjectival clause in both the languages precedes the noun clause;

This essentially means that the predicate comes at the end of the sentence and there is no relative pronouns in these languages.

Apart from the script, according to Japanese language teachers the foreigners find the use of Japanese particles very difficult and that is why they commit many mistakes in speaking and writing the language. Here again, I would say that this may be true of those foreigners whose mother-tongue is English as they

do not have the use of post-positions in their language. The particles should not pose any problem for Indian students, particularly Tamilians. In order to drive home this fact, I thought of contrasting Japanese language particles with their counterparts viz., VeeTTumai urupu in Tamil.

Japanese particles and Tamil veeTTumai urupu have no meaning by themselves but play a most important grammatical role in combining words or showing the relationship between them. Since it would not be possible to deal with all the particles in a single paper, I intend to take up only such case-particles without which the basic structure cannot be understood. However, as this paper is written from the point of view of Japanese, at times, other "idaiccol" may also have to be dealt with in addition to "veeTTumai" urupu". The method followed here is that simple Japanese sentences are taken, their Tamil equivalents framed, and then the function of the particles analysed.

Though I have stated that I would restrict my discussion to case-particles, strictly speaking I have to start with particle 'wa' which is not a case particle. This is because in teaching or learning Japanese the first particle one encounters is this "wa". Though it is not equivalent to nominative case, I propose to discuss it under this head.

I NOMINATIVE CASE

'wa' and 'ga'

The typical use of 'ga' in a Japanese sentence is as a nominative case, it governs the principal idea or the main subject. For example,

1.	Tookyoo	*ga*	nihon	no	shuto	dearu.
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	tookyo		cappaan	in	talainakar	aakum
	1		3	4	5	6
	(Tokyo		Japan	of	capital	is)

Also, 'ga' governs the subject of an action or state, as the nominative case. Such an example will be:

2.	Hana	*ga*	saite	iru
	1	2	3	4
	puu		malarntu	irukkiTatu.
	1		3	4
	(Flower		bloomed	is)

In addition, 'ga' can govern the object in the following types of sentences.

3.	banana	*ga*	hoshii.
	1	2	3

	vaaLaippaLam		veenhdum		
	1		3		
	(banana		want)		
	1		3		
4.	mizu	*ga*	nomitai		
	1	2	3 4		
	tanhnhiir	kudikka	virumpukiTeeN.		
	1	3		4	
	(coldwater		drink	desire)	
	1		3	4	
5.	nihon	no	tabemono	*ga*	sukida.
	1	2	3	4	5
	cappaan	in	unhavu		pidikkum
	1	2	3		5
	(Japan	of	food		like)
	1	2	3		5
6.	nihon	no	kotoba	*ga*	wakaru
	1	2	3	4	5
	cappaan	in	moLi	puriyum.	
	1	2	3	5	
	(Japan	of	language	understand)	
	1	2	3	5	

The following example shows the use of 'ga' as a replacement for particle 'no'.

7.	watashi	*ga*	yonda	hon
	1	2	3	4
	naaN	paditta	puttakam	
	1	3	4	
	(I	read	book) (the book that I read)	
	1	3	4	

In all the above seven sets of sentences, we observe that there is no equivalent of 'ga' in Tamil.

Now let us see the usage of 'wa' one by one; first of all let us see the 'statement' sentences:

8.	nihon	*wa*	shimaguni da.
	1	2	3 4 5
	cappan	oru	tiivunaadu aakum
	1	?	3 4 5
	(Japan		island-country is)
	1		3 4 5

9.	Indo	*wa*	atsui	
	1	2	3	
	intiyaa	veppamaaNatu		
	1	3		
	(India	hot)		
	1	3		
10.	ashita	*wa*	yasumi	da.
	1	2	3	4
	naalhai		vidumuTai aakum	
	1		3	4
	Tomorrow		holiday	is)
	1		3	4
11.	watashi	*wa*	indojin	da
	1	2	3	4
	naaN	oru	intiyan	aaveeN.
	1	?	3	4
	(I	Indian		(is) am)
	1	3		4

For the time being let us leave aside the question whether 'wa' is 'zero' in Tamil or not. Let us, first of all consider the Tamil 'oru' in sentences 8 and 11. From the point of view of meaning it corresponds to Japanese word 'oru' which can be translated in English as 'a certain', 'one, named' i.e., indefinite meaning. For the purpose of clarity, if we literally translate the Tamil sentence 11 into Japanese it will read:

"watashi wa aru indojin da."

Probably this Tamil 'oru', which can be treated as a numerical adjective indicating singular, has no other function but 'identification'. Because, while the Tamil sentence 11 has 'oru' as a part of it, in the following sentence which has a subject in plural this 'oru' does not occur:

12.	watashitachi	*wa*	indojin	da
	1	2	3	4
	naangkalh	intiyarkalh	aavoom	
	1	3	4	
	(We	Indians	are)	
	1	3	4	

Let us see more examples with 'wa' and 'ga' and see what happens to them in Tamil:

13.	kore	*wa*	hon	da.
	1	2	3	4

itu	oru	puttakam	aakum
1	?	3	4
(This	book	is)	
1	3	4	

It is needless to say that the above sentence is a statement.

Now, if we ask a question:

14.	dore	*ga*	hon	da	ka
	1	2	3	4	5
	etu	puttakam	aakum.	(puttakam etu may be more appropriate in Tamil)	
	1	3	4		
	(which	book	is)		
	1	3	4		

the answer should be:

15.	kore	*ga*	hon	da.	
	1	2	3	4	
	itu	taaN	puttakam	aakum.	(aakum will be dropped normally)
	1	?	3	4	
	(this	books	is)	(This exactly is the book)	
	1	3	4		

Of course, the situation for such a question and answer must have the pre-requisite that the speaker has many things on his table such as journals, magazines, books etc., before him, and he is unable to identify as to which among them is a book.

Similarly, the following two Japanese sentences,

16.	watashi	*wa*	iku
	1	2	3
	naaN	pooveeN	
	1	3	
	(I	go)	
	1	3	
17.	watashi	*ga*	iku
	1	2	3
	naaN	taaN	pooveeN
	1	?	3
	(I	go)	(It is I who will go)
	1	3	

with their Tamil versions show that 'go' though nominative, does not become 'zero' in Tamil.

Next, let us take up such sentences where both 'wa' and 'ga' occur in the same sentence. This will be very useful as most of the Japanese sentences–so to say the simple conversation style – are of this type. While putting the Japanese sentences into Tamil may be easy (as we have seen 'wa' and 'ga' usually become 'zero' in Tamil), to carry on a conversation in Japanese, one should know, where to put 'wa' and where 'ga'.

18.	Zo	*wa*	hana	ga	nagai.	
	1	2	3	4	5	
(a)	yaaNai	+ku	tutikkai	niilhamaaNatu.		OR
	1	?	3	5		
(b)	yaaNai	+in	tutikkai	niilhamaaNatu.		
	1	?	3	5		
	(Elephant	trunk	long)			

However, if we re-translate the Tamil sentence (a) into Japanese it will be:

19.	Zo	ni	wa	hana	ga	nagai
	1	?	2	3	4	5

If we assume that in Japanese this 'ni' has vanished while 'wa' retains its positio n or, in other words, 'wa' has the latent function of 'ni' as well, the sentences 20 and 18 (a) conform.

Further, if we translate the Japanese

20.	Indo	*wa*	jinko	ga	ooii
	1	2	3	4	5
	intiyaa	+il	caNattokai mikuti.		
	1	?	3	5	
	(India	population large)			
	1	3	5		

Again if we put the Tamil literally back to Japanese it will be:

21.	indo	ni	wa	jinko	ga	ooii
	1	?	2	3	4	5

In short, while we have two different Japanese sentences meaning the same, there is only one Tamil version. It is pertinent to note that type 18, 20 is more popular in Japan, while type 19, 21 is not grammatically wrong, though not used frequently. It is also necessary to mention that the use of 'ni' in 19 and 21 is not the same. Let us see more examples of type 19:

22.	kodomo	ni	*wa*	kore	*ga*	niau.
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	kuLantai	+ku	itu	poruntum.		
	1	2	4	6		

	(child	to	this	suits)		
	1	2	4	6		

23.	kodomo	ni	*wa*	kashi	*ga*	kiniitta.
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	kuLantai	+ku	padcanham	pidittatu		
	1	2	4	6		
	(child	to	sweets	palatable)		
	1	2	4	6		

If we accept that the 'ni' in 21 functions as locative case marker, then it conforms to Tamil locative case marker 'il'. More of such examples are:

24.	nihon	(ni)	*wa*	mizuumi	*ga*	takusan	aru.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	cappaaN	+il	eerikalh	eeraalham	irukkiNTaNa.		
	1	2	4	6	7		
	(Japan	in	lakes	many	are)		
	1	2	4	6	7		

25.	nihon	(*de*)	*wa*	samusa	*ga*	taegatai.
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	cappaan	il	kulhir	taangamudiyaatu.		
	1	2	4	6		
	(Japan	in	cold	unbearable)		
	1	2	4	6		

26.	kono	umi	(o)	*wa*	oyoidakoto	*ga*	aru
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	inta	kadal	il	niintiyatu	unhdu.		
	1	2	3	5	7		
	(this	sea	swimming	*experienced*) *koto ga aru.*			
	1	2	3				

The particles 'ni' 'de' 'o' in sentences 24, 25, 26 respectively are locative case markers. From the Tamil sentences we can observe that the Tamil language has only one veeTTumai urupu 'il' which corresponds to all the three locative case markers in Japanese viz., 'ni' 'de' 'o'. These particles are dealt with in greater detail under the head "Locative Case" below. The purpose here is to prove that 'wa', in addition to having its own function, performs the function of other particles as well. That is why these particles, which are latent in 'wa' do not come on the surface of Japanese sentences. The following sentence shows 'wa' performing the additional function of object marker 'o' i.e., accusative case:

27.	kono	hon	(o)	*wa*	yomu.
	1	2	3	4	5

inta	puttakam	+ai	vaacippeeN
1	2	3	5
(this	book	read)	
1	2	5	

From the foregoing discussion, we may conclude that *generally*:

(a) the 'ga' occuring in Japanese sentences (1, 2 etc.) is 'zero' in Tamil;
(b) the 'wa' occurring in copular sentences too is 'zero' in Tamil; and,
(c) while the 'wa' occurring as topic-marker too becomes 'zero' in Tamil, the additional function of this 'wa' which remains latent in Japanese sentences becomes explicit in Tamil sentences through various veeTTumai urupu.

II LOCATIVE CASE

'ni' 'de' 'o'

One of the functions of 'ni' is to govern the location of existence of things, and state; and the location where an action takes place. For example:

28.	hon	ga	heya	*ni*	aru*	* inanimate
	1	2	3	4	5	
	puttakam	aTai	*il*	irukkiTatu.		
	1	3	4	5		
	(book	room	in	is)		
	1	3	4	5		
29.	haha	ga	ie	*ni*	iru*	*animate
	1	2	3	4	5	
	amma	viidu	+*il*	irukkiTaalh.		
	1	3	4	5		
	(mother	house	in	is)		
	1	3	4	5		
30.	kami	*ni*	kaku			
	1	2	3			
	kaakitam	+*il*	eLutuvatu			
	1	2	3			
	(paper	on	write)			
	1	2	3			
31.	sora	*ni*	hoshi	ga	mieru.	
	1	2	3	4	5	
	aakaayam	+*il*	nadcattiram	terikiTatu.		
	1	2	3	5		

(sky	in	star	visible)
(1	2	3	5

Further, in Japanese the particle 'de' governs the location where an action involving motion takes place. For example,

32.	kodomo	ga	niwa	*de*	asonde	iru.
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	kuLantaikalh	tooddam	+*il*	vilhaiyaadikkondu	irukkiTaarkalh.	
	1	3	4	5	6	
	(children	garden	in	playing	are)	
	1	2	3	4	6	

33.	gaikoku	*de*	ryoko	suru
	1	2	3	4
	velhinaadu	+*il*	payanham	ceyvatu.
	1	2	3	4
	(foreign-country	in	travel	do)
	1	2	3	4

As seen above, this 'de' also has to be rendered as 'il' in Tamil.

In addition to these 'ni' and 'de', particle 'o' also governs the location where an action takes place.

Such examples are:

34.	hikoki	ga	sora	*o*	tonde	iru
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	aakaayavimaaNam	aakaayam	+*il*	paTantukonhdu irukkiTatu.		
	1	3	4	5 6		
	(Aeroplane	sky	in	flying	is)	
	1	3	4	5	6	

35.	rojin	ga	koen	o	samphoshite	iru.
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	kiLavar	puungaa	+*il*	ulaavikkonhdu	irukkiTaar.	
	1	3	4	5	6	
	(Oldman	park	in	strolling	is)	
	1	3	4	5	6	

As can be observed, this 'o' has no other equivalent in Tamil but 'il'.

Now, let us consider other uses of this 'ni'.

36.	basu	*ni*	noru		
	1	2	3		
	bus	*il*	eeTuvatu		
	1	2	3		
	(bus	board)			
	1	3			
37.	heya	*ni*	hairu		
	1	2	3		
	aTai	+*il*	nuLaivatu		
	1	2	3		
38.	tomodachi	*ni*	tazuneru		
	1	2	3		
	nanhpaN	+ *idam*	keedpatu		
	1	2	3		
	(friend	enquire)			
	1	3			
39.	ani	*ni*	osowaru		
	1	2	3		
	tamayan	+ *idam*	kaTpatu		
	1	2	3		
	(elder brother	from	learn)		
	1	2	3		
40.	eiga	o	mi	*ni*	iku
	1	2	3	4	5
	ciNimaa	+ai	paarppatu	+*ku*	poovatu
	1	2	3	4	5
	(picture	see(ing)	for	to go)	
	1	2	3	5	
41.	sentaku	shi	*ni*	iku	
	1	2	3	4	
	calavai	ceyvatu	+*ku*	poovatu	
	1	2	3	4	
	(washing	doing	for	to go)	
	1	2	3	4	
42.	kodomo	*ni*	miruku	o	yaru
	1	2	3	4	5
	KuLantai	+*ku*	paal	+ai	koduppatu
	1	2	3	4	5

	(child	to	milk	give)
	1	2	3	5
43.	ie	*ni*	chikai	
	1	2	3	
	viidu	+ku	pakkam	
	1	2	3	
	(house	to	near)	
	1	2	3	
44.	kaze	*ni*	yowai	
	1	2	3	
	kaaTTu	+ku	taangaatu	
	1	2	3	
	(wind	to	weak)	
	1	2	3	
45.	shigatsu	*ni*	hajimaru	
	1	2	3	
	eepTil	+*il*	aarampikkum	
	1	2	3	
	(April	in	starts)	
	1	2	3	
46.	isshukan	*ni*	ichi	do
	1	2	3	4
	oruvaaram	+*il*	oru	tadavai
	1	2	3	4
	(one-week	in	one	time (once)
	1	2	3	4
47.	ichi	ji	*ni*	kuru
	1	2	3	4
	oru	manhi	+*ku*	varuvatu
	1	2	3	4
	(one	o'clock	at	come)
	1	1 2	3	4
48.	nan	ji	*ni*	au
	1	2	3	4
	ettaNai	manhi	+*ku*	cantippatu
	1	2	3	4
	(what	time	at	meet)
	1	2	3	4

It will be observed that the temporal particle 'ni' is rendered as 'il' in certain cases and as 'ku' in other cases in Tamil. Also there is another difference between Tamil and Japanese i.e., while the words denoting the parts of the day viz.,

asa – kaalai (morning), ban – maalai (evening)
hiru – matiyam (noon), yoru – iravu (night)

and also words like:

kyo – INTu (today), kino – neeTTu (yesterday)
ashita – naalhai (tomorrow)
ko toshi – inta varudam (this year) etc.,

will not be governed by 'ni' in Japanese, the respective words in Tamil are governed by 'il' or 'ku'. For example,

49. asa hayaku okiru
1 2 3
* kaalai ciikiram eLuntiruppatu *kaalai + il
1 2 3
(morning early get up)
1 2 3

50. ashita kuru
1 2
* naalhai varuvatu naalhai + ku
1 2
(tomorrow come)
1 2

However, it is relevant to note that in Tamil too these 'il' and 'ku' can be omitted. For example:

51. konban aimasho
1 2
iNTumaalai cantikkalaam
1 2
(this-evening (let us) meet)
1 2

There is yet another difference between Japanese and Tamil in the usage of locative case markers, i.e., while the Tamil words, 'inku, anku, enku' will not be governed by any veeTTumai urupu, the corresponding Japanese words 'koko (here), soko (there), doko (where)' will be governed by the particles 'ni, de, o'. However, if we substitute these sets of words with another set of words with least difference in meaning, the application of locative case in both the languages will conform.

This will be clear from the following examples:

52.	koko	*ni*	aru	kono	tokoro	*ni*	aru
	1	2	3	1	2	3	4
	inku	irukkiTatu		inta	idam+*il*		irukkiTatu
	1	3		1	2	3	4
	(here	(it) is)		(this	place	in	(it) is)
	1	2		1	2	3	4
53.	soko	*de*	neru	sono	tokoro	*de*	neru
	1	2	3	1	2	3	4
	anku	tuunguvatu		anta	idam+*il*		tuunguvatu
	1	3		1	2	3	4
	(there	sleep)		(that	place	in	sleep)
	1	3		1	2	3	4
54.	doko	*o*	aruku	dono	tokoro	*o*	aruku
	1	2	3	1	2	3	4
	enku	nadappatu		enta	idam	+*il*	nadapaatu
	1	3		1	2	3	4
	(where	to	walk)	(which	place	in	walk)
	1	2	3	1	2	3	4

So far we have seen that Japanese 'ni' is rendered as 'il' 'ku' and 'idam' in Tamil. In the following examples we shall see that it becomes 'ai' in Tamil:

55.	mura	*ni*	tsuku
	1	2	3
	kiraamam + *ai*		adaivatu
	1	2	3
	(village	at	arrive)
	1	2	3
56.	tomodachi *ni*		au.
	1	2	3
	nanhpaN	+*ai*	cantippatu
	1	2	3
	(friend	meet)	
	1	3	

From the foregoing discussion we may conclude that:

(a) all the three particles viz., 'ni,, de, o', which govern the location are rendered in Tamil by just one veettumai urupu 'il';

(b) the temporal particle 'ni' is rendered as 'il' or 'ku' in Tamil;

(c) the particle 'ni' which indicates the purpose and the 'ni' which governs the indirect object are rendered as 'ku' in Tamil; and

(d) all other 'ni' which occur in combination with certain verbs are rendered by one of the following: viz., 'il, ai, ku, idam'.

III INSTRUMENTAL CASE

'de'

The particle 'de', apart from being the locative case-marker, governs the instrument or tools with which an action is performed, the material of which something is made, and also the cause or condition due to which something happens or does not happen. Let us see how this 'de' is rendered in Tamil; For example:

57.	pen	*de*	kaku.
	1	2	3
	peNa	+*aal*	eLutuvatu
	1	2	3
	(pen	with	write)
	1	2	3

58.	ki	*de*	tsukutta	ningyo.
	1	2	3	4
	maram	+*aal*	ceyta	pommai.
	1	2	3	4
	(wood	with	made	doll)
	1	2	3	4

59.	hadashi	*de*	aruku
	1	2	3
	veTumkaal	+*aal*	nadappatu
	1	2	3
	(barefoot	with	walk)
	1	2	3

60.	kuruma	*de*	iku
	1	2	5
	vanhdi	+*il*	poovatu
	1	2	3
	(vehicle	by	go)
	1	2	3

61.	abura	*de*	ageru.
	1	2	3

	enhnhey	+*il*	porippatu (enhnhey + aal porippat u)
	1	2	3
	(oil	with	fry)
	1	2	3

62.	byoki	*de*	shinu
	1	2	3
	nooy	+*aal*	caavatu
	1	2	3
	(die	by	disease)
	1	2	3

Further, 'de' also governs mass-media and language.

Such examples are:

63.	rajio	*de*	kiku
	1	2	3
	reediyoo	+ *il*	keedpatu
	1	2	3
	(Radio	to	listen)
	1	2	3

64.	terebi	*de*	miru
	1	2	3
	Television	+*il*	paarppatu
	1	2	3
	(Television	on	watch)
	1	2	3

65.	denwa	*de*	hanasu
	1	2	3
	tolaipeeci	+*il*	peecuvatu
	1	2	3
	(telephone	on	speak)
	1	2	3

66.	eigo	*de*	hanasu
	1	2	3
	aangilam	+*il*	peecuvatu
	1	2	3
	(English	in	speak)
	1	2	3

This 'de' too is rendered as 'il' in Tamil.

From the foregoing discussion we may conclude that:

(a) the particle 'de' governing the instrument, material and cause, is rendered as 'aal' in Tamil; and,

(d) the 'de' governing mass-media, language, and transport is rendered as 'il' in Tamil.

IV ACCUSATIVE CASE

'o' 'in' 'e' (he)

All the three particles 'o' 'ni' 'e' (written as 'he' but pronounced as 'e') govern the object of a verb. The particle 'o' which governs the object of transitive verbs corresponds to Tamil veeTTumai urupu 'ai'.
For example,

67.	kodomo	*o*	yobu
	1	2	3
	kuLantai	+*ai*	kuuppiduvatu
	1	2	3
	(child	call)	
	1	3	
68.	tomodachi	*o*	miokuru
	1	2	3
	nanhpaN	+*ai*	vaLiyaNuppuvatu
	1	2	3
	(friend	see off)	
	1	3	

However, the point of difference between Japanese and Tamil is that in Tamil 'ai' may not govern the inanimate objects or extremely common words; on the contrary, Japanese 'o' does not differentiate between animate and inanimate objects.
For example:

69.	hana	*o*	kau
	1	2	3
	puu	vaanguvatu	
	1	3	
	(flower	buy)	
	1	3	
70.	gohan	*o*	taberu
	1	2	3
	caatam	caappiduvatu	
	1	3	
	(meals	eat)	

71.	oomu	*o*	kau	
	1	2	3	
	kilhi	+ ai	valharppatu	(kilhi valharppatu)
	1	2	3	
	(parrot	pet)		
	1	3		

72.	ushi	*o*	uru	
	1	2	3	
	maadu	+ai	viTpatu	(maadu viTpatu)
	1	2	3	
	(cow	sell)		

As can be seen the veeTTumai urupu 'ai' is optional in sentences 71 and 72.

Though it may not be quite relevant here, still it may be pointed out that while Tamil has the classification of nouns as 'rational' (uyar tinhai) and 'irrational' (alTinhai), Japanese classification is just living and 'non-living'.

Another function of 'o' in governing the object of intransitive verbs, when used in the causative form, conforms to that of 'ai' in Tamil. For example,

73.	kodomo	*o*	nakasu
	1	2	3
	kuLantai	+*ai*	aLavaippatu
	1	2	3
	(child	make cry)	
	1	3	

74.	hana	*o*	sakaseru
	1	2	3
	puu	+*ai*	malaravaippatu
	1	2	3
	(flower	make bloom)	
	1	3	

(Another function of 'o' as substitution for 'ga' has already been dealt with in sentences 3 to 6 above.)

Yet another function of 'o' is to govern the point to origin, course, target period etc., of an action in sentences where the verbs denote action involving motion or direction. For example:

75.	fune	ga	minato	*o*	deta.
	1	2	3	4	5
	kappal	tuTaimukam		+*ai*	viddatu
	1	3		4	5

	(ship	harbour	off	leaves)
	1	3	4	5
76.	karukatta	*o*	totte	iku
	1	2	3	4
	kalkatta	*+ai*	kadantu	poovatu
	1	2	3	4
	(Calcutta	through	pass)	
	1	2	3 4	
77.	yama	*o*	koeru	
	1	2	3	
	malai	*+ai*	taanhduvatu	
	1	2	3	
	(mountain	cross over)		
	1	3		
78.	natsu	yasumi	*o*	sugosu
	1	2	3	4
	koodai	vidumuTai	*+ai*	kaLippatu
	1	2	3	4
	(summer	vacation	spend)	
	1	2	4	

As can be observed, in all the four sentences the particle 'o' is rendered as 'ai' in Tamil.

The function of particle 'e' is to govern the directions of a motion or course, and that of 'ni' is to govern the destination or target of the motion or course. As will be observed from the sentences given below, it is somewhat difficult to bring out the difference between this 'e' and 'ni' in Tamil.

79.	yama	*ni*	iku	
	1	2	3	
	malai	*+ku*	poovatu	
	1	2	3	
	(mountain	to	go)	
	1	2	3	
80.	yama	*e*	iku	
	1	2	3	
	malai	*+ku*	*+aaka*	poovatu)
	1	?	?	3
	(mountain	towards	go)	
	1	2	3	

While teaching Japanese to Tamil students, we may very well explain the difference between 'e' and 'ni' in so many words; but it may not be possible to bring out the difference in a pair of sentences, if the sentence 80 is not grammatically acceptable. However, if it is acceptable then we can conclude that 'e' is rendered in Tamil by a combination of dative 'ku' plus postposition 'aaka'.

From the foregoing discussion we can conclude that:

(a) the particle 'o' which governs the object is rendered as 'ai' in Tamil;
(b) the particle 'ni' governing the target is rendered by 'ku' in Tamil;
(c) the particle 'e' has no single corresponding veeTTumai urupu in Tamil. However, the meaning of this 'e' can be conveyed by a combination of 'ku + aaka' in Tamil.

V. ABLATIVE CASE
'kara'

The function of this particle 'kara' is more or less the same as 'o' in sentence 75. However, 'kara' governs both temporal and locative nouns. For example:

81.	tokyo	*kara*	kita
	1	2	3
	tookyoo	+*iliruntu*	vanteen
	1	2	3
	(Tokyo	from	came)

82.	tomodachi	*kara*	moratta
	1	2	3
	nanhpaN	+*idamiruntu*	peTTeeN
	1	2	3
	(firned	from	received)
	1	2	3

83.	asa	*kara*	itai
	1	2	3
	kaalai	+ *iliruntu*	vali
	1	2	3
	(morning	from	pain)
	1	2	3

84.	ichi	ji	*kara*	matte	iru
	1	2	3	4	5
	oru	manhi	+*iliruntu*	kaattirukkiTeeN	
	1	2	3	3	5
	(one	O'clock	from	wait-ing)	
	1	2	3	4 5	

As has been observed above, particle 'kara' is rendered as 'iliruntu' when the noun is inanimate and 'idamiruntu' when it is animate.

VI. LIMITATIVE (?)

'made'

Like the particle 'kara', particle 'made' also governs both temporal and locative nouns. While 'kara' shows the beginning point, 'made' denotes the limit. For example:

85.	ie	*made*	aruita
	1	2	3
	viidu	*varai*	nadanteeN
	1	2	3
	(house	upto	walked)
	1	2	3

86.	ichi	ji	*made*	matte	ita
	1	2	3	4	5
	oru	manhi	*varai*	kaattu	irunteeN
	1	2	3	4	5
	(one	O'clock	till	waiting	was)
	1	2	3	4	5

Though 'varai' is not a veeTTumai urupu in Tamil, the particle 'made' conforms to Tamil 'varai'.

VII. SOCIATIVE CASE

'to'

It would be better to deal with this particle 'to' in the context of 'mo', 'ya' 'ka', which are not, however, case particles.

One of the functions of particle 'to' is to govern the co-partner of an action. For example:

87.	tomodachi	*to*	hanasu
	1	2	3
	nanhpaN	+ *udan*	peecuvatu.
	1	2	3
	(friend	with	talk)
	1	2	3

88.	kanai	*to*	dekakeru
	1	2	3
	maNaivi	+ *udan*	velhieepoovatu
	1	2	3
	(wife	with	go-out)
	1	2	3

Though the above sentences render sociative 'to' as 'udan' in Tamil the following sentences will show that it is not always the sociative 'udan' in Tamil but the accusative 'ai' in Tamil which conforms to the sociative 'to' in Japanese.

89.	Taro	ga	hanako	*to*	kekkon	shita
	1	2	3	4	5	
	Taroo	hanako	+*ai*	manhantu	konhdaaN	
	1	3	4	5		
	(Taro	Hanoka	married)			
	1	3	5			

Probably, this may be due to the difference in the verb as 'kekkon suru' is an intransitive one in Japanese whereas 'manhappatu' in Tamil is transitive one. However, if we change the sentence 89 to the following form i.e., placing both Taro and Hanako on equal footing, as subject. then the conjunctive function of 'to' will be rendered as 'um' in Tamil:

90.	Taro	*to*	hanako	ga	kekkonshita
	1	2	3	4	5
	taroo	+um	hanako	+um	manhantukonhdaNar
	1	2	3	4	5
	(Taro	and	Hanako	married)	
	1	2	3	5	

The function of 'to' as conjunctive particle though appears to be the same as Tamil 'um' there is a difference in their usage. While Tamil 'um' can join nouns as well as sentences Japanese 'to' cannot do the latter. Let us see a few more examples of this conjunctive function of 'to'.

91.	hon	*to*	kami	ga	aru
	1	2	3	4	5
	puttakam	+*um*	kaakitam	+um	irukkiNTaNa.
	1	2	3	2	5
	(book	and	paper	(there)	are)
	1	2	3		5

92.	kakuno	*to*	yomuno	(to)	wa	sukida
	1	2	3	2	4	5

eLutuvatu	+um	vaacippatu	+*um*	pidikkum.
1	2	3	2	5
(reading	and	writing	like)	
1	2	3	5	

93.

migi	kara	*to*	hidari	kara	*to*	kuruma	ga	Kita.	
1	2	3	4	2	3	5	6	7	
valam	+iruntu	+*um*	idam	+iruntu	+*um*				
1	2	3	4	2	3				
				vanhdikalh		vantaNa.			
				5		7			
(right	from	and	left	from	and	vehicles	came)		
1	2	3	4	2	3	5	7		

It can be observed that while 'to' need not be repeated in Japanese sentences (91), 'um' cannot be omitted in Tamil. Repetition of 'to' does not make a sentence grammatically wrong (92). Repetition of 'to' conforms to that of 'um' in 93. Here 'to' cannot be omitted.

Since we are dealing with Tamil 'um' we have to contrast it with Japanese particle 'mo' as well. While Japanese has two different particles 'to' and 'mo' Tamil has only one 'um' which correspond to both of these. For example:

94.

hon	*mo*	kami	*mo*	aru
1	2	3	2	4
puttakam	+*um*	kaakitam	+*um*	irukkiNTaNa
1	2	3	2	4
(book	also	paper	also	are)
1	2	3	2	4

It can be observed that the Tamil versions of both 91 and 94 are exactly the same, It means that we cannot bring out the difference between 'to' and 'mo' in Tamil. However, from the point of view of meaning, if we have to bring out the difference the latter sentence (94 Tamil version) has to be broken into two as follows:

94.

hon	*mo*	kami	*mo*	aru.	
1	2	3	2	4	
puttakam	+*um*	kaakitam	+*um*	irukkiNTaNa	
puttakam	+*um*	irukkiratu.	hon	*mo*	aru.
1	2	3	1	2	3
kaakitam	+*um*	irukkiratu	kami	*mo*	aru.
1	2	3	1	2	3

Now let us take up the particle 'ya'. As already mentioned, like 'mo', 'ya' is also not a case particle. Probably Tamil has no postposition which corresponds

to this particle 'ya'. However, the Japanese sentences where 'ya' occur usually have the word 'nado' as a part of it. From the point of view of meaning this 'nado' compares favourably with 'mutaliya'. Perhaps, 'mutaliya' performs the function of both 'nado' and 'ya'. For example:

95.

hon	*ya*	jisho	nado	ga	aru
1	2	3	4	ɔ	6
puttakam,	akaraati	mutaliyavai	irukkiNTaNa.		
1	3	4	6		
(book,	dictionary	etc.	are)		
1	2	4	6		

In short, while the particle 'to' has an equivalent in 'um' particles 'mo' and 'ya' do not have such equivalents in Tamil.

Let us again return to 'to' and see its use as a selective particle. For example:

96.

sakana	*to*	niku	*to*	dotchira	ga	sukides	ka.
1	2	3	2	4	5	6	7
miiN	+aa	maamicam	+aa	etu	pidikkum		
1	2	3	2	5	5		
(fish	and	meat	which	like			
1	2	3	4	6			

(Between fish and meat what do you like)

As can be seen, this 'to' does not become 'um' in Tamil but 'aa'. ('dotchira' too does not mean exactly 'edu' as Japanese has got two words, viz., 'dotchira' and 'dore', the meaning of the former being 'between the two which one' and the latter 'among many (several) which one'. The meaning of this 'aa' originally means interrogation in Tamil. In that context, let us see the interrogation in Japanese, though it is not at all a case particle. Although Tamil 'aa' has been contrasted with particle 'to' from the point of view of meaning in the context of selection, it ('aa') too is not a veeTTumai urupu in Tamil. The interrogatory particle in Japanese is 'ka' which again compares well with Tamil 'aa'. For example:

97.

Ikiru	*ka*	shinu	*ka.*
1	2	3	2
vaaLvatu	+aa	caavatu	+aa
1	2	3	2
(live	or	die	or)
1	2	3	2

However, there is a small difference in the use of particle 'ka' and Tamil 'aa'. In an interrogative sentence in Tamil, if the sentence itself has an interrogative word such as 'yaar, engee, etu' etc., this 'aa' does not occur in such sentences; whereas in

similar circumstances i.e., even if the interrogative sentences have the words such as 'dare, doko, dore' etc., the particle 'ka' will occur at the end of the sentence. Leaving the interrogation here, let us revert to sociative 'to' again.

We have already seen the sociative 'to' becoming accusative 'ai' in Tamil(89) and sociative 'udan' in Tamil (87, 88). Since the accusative 'ni' in Japanese also is rendered in Tamil through the accusative veeTTumai urupu 'ai,' we cannot bring out in Tamil, the difference in the following pair of Japanese sentences.

99.	tomodachi	*to*	au.	100.	tomodachi	*ni*	au
	1	2	3				
	nanhpan	+*ai*	cantippatu		nanhpan	+*ai*	cantippatu.
	1	2	3		1	2	3
	(friend	with	meet)		(friend	meet)	
	1	2	3		1	3	

However, the difference in meaning between the Japanese sentences 99 and 100 is, in the former case the meeting 'with' the friend is rather accidental whereas the meeting in the latter is by appointment or request etc.

Though the following two more uses of 'to' are not those of case particles, yet, let us see as to what happens to them in Tamil:

101.	hana	ga	hoshii	*to*	itta.	
	1	2	3	4	5	
	puu	veenhdum		*eNTU*	coNNaaN	
	1	2	3	4	5	
	(flower	want	that	said)		
	1	2 3	3 4	5		
102.	ame	ga	furu	*to*	samuku	naru.
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	maLai	peyvatu	+*aal*/pootu	kulir	eeTpadum	
	1	3	4 4	5	6	
	(rain	falls	when	cold	become)	
	1	3	4	5	6	

Thus we can observe that the quotative 'to' becomes 'eNTU' in Tamil and the weak causative 'to' becomes causative 'aal' in Tamil.

From the foregoing discussion we can conclude that:

(a) the conjunctive 'to' in Japanese is rendered as 'um' in Tamil. However the difference between 'to' and 'mo' which is very clear in Japanese, cannot be brought out in Tamil.

(b) the selective 'to' becomes 'aa' in Tamil.

(c) the sociative 'to' becomes either 'udan' or accusative 'ai' in Tamil. The difference between sociative 'to' and accusative 'ni' which is very clear in Japanese cannot be brought out in Tamil.

(d) the quotative 'to' is rendered as 'eNTu' in Tamil; and

(e) the 'to' which functions more or less as a conjunction in cause-and-effect sentences may be rendered as 'aal' in Tamil.

One of the most important functions of particle 'no' is to govern the nouns which are attributive of other nouns. The noun preceding this 'no' shows, the possession, location, condition, quality, number etc., of the noun which follows it. However, in Tamil there are more than one correspondence to this 'no'.
For example:

103.	ie	*no*	mae	*no*	michi
	1	2	3	2	4
	viidu	Yin	etiree	ulhlha	viiti
	1	2	3	2	5
	(house	of	infront	street)	
	1	2	3	4	

Here, the relative noun 'mae' (etiree) preceding 'no' indicates the location of michi (viiti), and the noun 'ie' (house) preceding 'no' further qualifies the relative noun 'mae'. It is obvious that the first 'no' is 'il' in Tamil and the second 'no' is 'ulhlha. In the following sentences 'no' becomes 'udaiya' ('which is equivalent to 'in') in Tamil:

104.	dare	*no*	hon	
	1	2	3	
	yaar	+*udaiya*	puttakam	
	1	2	3	
	(who	of	book)	(whose book it is)
	1	2	3	
105.	ototo	*no*	hon	
	1	2	3	
	tampi	+*udaiya*	puttakam	
	1	2	3	
	(younger	brother	of	book)
	1		2	3

As can be observed, while the 'udaiya' in 105 can be replaced by 'in', the same will not be possible for sentence 104.

The words indicating colour in Japanese are sometimes nouns and sometimes adjectives. When such nouns function as attributive, the relation between

the attributive and the attributed is indicated by 'no' in Japanese. For example:

106.	ki	iro	*no*	ha
	1	2	3	4
	manjalh	niTam	+*aaNa*	ilai
	1	2	3	4
	(yellow	colour	of	leaf)
	1	2	3	4

107.	midori	*no*	hayashi
	1	2	3
	pacumai	+*aaNa*	coolai
	1	2	3
	(green		grove)
	1		3

It is needless to say that in Tamil we can just say 'manjah ilai' for 106. But there is no alternative form for the Japanese sentence 106.

When the numerals come as attributives the particle 'no' becomes 'aavatu' in Tamil. For example:

108.	ni	ban	*me*	*no*	heya
	1	2	3	4	5
	iranhdu	numpar	+ *aavatu*	aTai	
	1	2	34	5	
	(two	number	room)	(Room No. 2)	
	1	2	4		

Though it has been stated that 'no' becomes 'aavatu', a little more explanation is required here. As can be observed from 108, 'meno' together has been rendered as 'aavatu'. In Japanese even if one omits 'me', the 'no' cannot be omitted. The function of 'me' is to make the cardinal number into 'ordinal' one. The function of 'aavatu' is exactly the same as 'me'. But, if we see the preference between 'me' and 'no', the latter cannot be omitted whereas the former can be. That is why 'no' is stated to be equivalent to 'aavatu'. Or, we can say 'me' is equivalent to 'aavatu' and 'no' has no correspondence in Tamil. In the following sentence 'no' has no correspondence in Tamil:

109.	shici	ji	*no*	niyusu
	1	2	3	4
	eeLu	manhi	ceyti	
	1	2	4	
	(seven	O'clock	news)	
	1	2	4	

110. konban *no* bangumi
1 2 3
iNTumaalai nikaLcci
1 3
(this - evening programme)
1 3

Though there is no counterpart of 'no' in the Tamil sentences 109, 110, the function of the nouns 'manhi', 'maalai' is that of adjective.

From the foregoing discussion, we can conclude that: though the particle 'no' can be rendered as genitive veeTTumai urupu 'in' 'udaiya', depending upon the context, a selection has to be made from among 'ulhlha, aaNa, aavatu' in rendering the particle 'no'.

(Vilhi veeTTumai is not at all dealt with here as it does not form part of a sentence, in this particular context).

CONCLUSION

Thus, we have seen in great detail, the use of Japanese language particles 'ga, ni, de, o, e, kara, made, to, no' in the context of Tamil veeTTumai urupu. The above discussion can lead us to conclude *in general* that:

(i) certain Japanese case particles like 'ga' has no counterpart in Tamil;

(ii) certain case particles like ablative 'kara', limitative 'made' and instrumental 'de' have corresponding equivalents in Tamil 'iliruntu, varai, all' respectively;

(iii) as against the three Japanese particles of locative case 'ni, de, o', Tamil has only one 'il';

(iv) the Japanese accusative 'o, ni, e' are to be considered in the context of Tamil accusative 'ai' and dative 'ku';

(v) the sociative 'to' has its counterpart in Tamil, 'um', aa, ai, udan, eNTu, aal';

(vi) the Japanese genitive 'no' apart from having its counterpart in Tamil genitive 'in, udaiya' finds correspondence in Tamil 'ulhlha, aaNa, aavatu' also.

Though it is more than two years since I have submitted a Japanese paper on the same topic, I have to accept that there is not much change in the content of this paper. The purpose also does not change in the sense that, when I wrote the Japanese paper in 1978, it was to bring to the notice of Japanese native scholars the existence of similarities between Tamil and Japanese, and now it is to bring to the notice of Tamil native scholars.

This is only a surface study and I do hope that it will contribute towards deeper contrastive analysis in the field of morphology and syntax between Japanese and Tamil.

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THE OBSCURED VALUES OF TAMIL LANGUAGE

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Tamil is a unique language

Of course everyone of the 3500 and odd languages of the World is unique in its own way; but the uniqueness of the Tamil language is exclusively but amazingly singular in character in the sense that it is found to be out and out, a phonemic language of its own origin formed from first principles based on a specific set of simple linear types of ideographic scripts of its alphabet, besides being completely organised, wholly phonetic and highly conceptual.

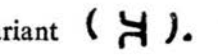
In what way and to what extent this unequalled position is held by Tamil could be fully appreciated only if the linguists come forward to understand and accept the obscured values of the Tamil language, thus far discovered during the last 15 years of my research in the language field, as a hobby, through the process of INDUCTIVE LOGIC.

In all our learning processes, the deductive logic dominates so much that we are hardly used to appreciating the values of learning by inductive logic that brings out the understanding of implied values in any field of knowledge.

It is most fortunate and surprising that the Tamil language of today is still holding so much of evidences through the ages of time that it is enabling, even now, the re-establishment of its pristine state through the process of inductive logic thus being capable of regaining its obscured virginity and putting back the language even much prior to the Tolkappiyam period.

The first and the foremost obscured value that needs to be recognised is that the entire group of the Tamil scripts of its alphabet, as in its earliest form, were conceptually conceived and designed as simple linear types of ideographs.

The earliest Tamil scripts are now seen in carved-out shapes in the rock-caves of Mangulam, Sithannavasal etc. in Tamil Nadu. These scripts pertaining to the Tamil alphabet have been taken up and shown in Fig. (1) to (5) as to how these scripts have been derived as simple linear types of ideographs. The illustrative sketches in the figures, when read with related words in each block, are self-explanatory and do not need any further description in this short article. However, for illustration, a few sample scripts are considered here.

The script of the first long vowel ā of the Tamil alphabet was originally written as: or as a variant  How this symbol ideographically represents the mouth is illustratively shown in fig. (6) – Annexure - I.

In what manner the script of ā, which is surprisingly the first script of alphabets in all the languages, has been developed into the present forms of the alphabets of these languages has also been illustrated in figure (6).

The sound ā is the first sound a new-born baby pronounces invariably by crying to breath, for switching over its prenatal living to postnatal living and triggers the working of its consciousness towards the intelligent system oriented to sense organs. This implied assignment to the first letter ā and its design, cannot be simply brushed away as if it is not an intellectual make up. The reason for accepting this letter ā as the first letter in all the languages of the world, by the concerned intelligentia of those language groups, is something highly commendable.

In Tamil, if all the words of which ā forms a meaningful component are collected and studied in association with either the character of the mouth, or the characteristics of the form of the letter, we can find there existing an amazingly irrefutable correlation, confirming the close relationship between the sense or meaning of the words and the ideographic values associated with the letter.

Since the cry of the sound ā has triggered the child's consciousness to this world, the word ā is logically assigned to mean consciousness or intelligence. Hence the intellectuals are called ā (y) ī r — ā + i r — ā + i i r.

The word 'ā (v) anam' means bazaar where intellectuals of different abilities sell their merchandise.

ā(v) ani is the month in which the lunar asterism of avittam falls on the full-moon day which occasion is used by the intellectuals to renew their sacred threads which symbolises the consciousness (அறிவு) that is conside red as Brahma (the greatest) – confer with the Rik Vedic Statement, "Prajnanam Brahmā": Hence the word ā(v)i also means soul, life, spirit.

The words ārvu; ārga; arundhu; ārdhal; ārththal are all assoicated with the meaning of eating, since ā denotes the mouth.

The meanings of the following words connote meanings associated with the characteristics of the form of letter ā.

ā	—	gaping, desire
ā (v) i	—	gape
a (v) ā	—	crave, desire

ā (v) al	—	longing, yearning; a bend, turn.
ā r	—	the spokes of a wheel
āththal	—	binding
amai	—	am + ai — bamboo
ā(v)am ā+am	—	a quiver

Since an ox, a ruminant animal, has a prominently extended mouth to enable it to chew the cud, easily it is logically called by the very word ā. Hence ā also means a neat, bull, she-buffalo, she-elk, a generic name of the female of beasts.

The five sense organs are also associated with the five elements of nature, ā being associated with water;

hence, ām, ā, am, 'a(y) am' — a+i+am, means
water; compare āmbal — water — lily
āvi — ā + a + i — Tank, Pond.
āvi — Vapour, Steam.

In a similar manner if we group up the words relating to each of the other letters of Tamil alphabet and study carefully their correlation with the ideographic values of letter, we are able to arrive at the common and the specific *Indicative "Sense"*, the letter denotes. Hence we are able to conclude that the basic Tamil words have been developed only on the ideographic values of the scripts and these scripts have been exclusively designed for the Tamil language. To illustrate further on this point let us consider a few more examples.

In Tamil, the general convention is that short syllabic letters may only function as letters or connote as numerals, whereas the long syllabic letters only formulate themselves as words. Hence 'tha' is a letter, whereas 'thā' may also be considered as a word (though it is also written as a letter). The letter 'thā' was written in its ancient form thus: This script ideographically conveys the thought of a person standing on, leaning forward, and stretching his hand in the direction of his leaning as if he is giving something or receiving something. Hence the word 'thā' in Tamil means to receive or to give. Since the meaning of this word and ideographic value of this script concur and correlate exactly, it is evident that this script should have been evolved only for the Tamil language. Since the form of the script of the letter 'ma', written thus: which is derived from the shape of the biggest of the creatures of the world, namely the blue whale fish, also appears like a finger, the word 'mā' earns the meaning of 1/20, as a finger is one of our twenty fingers, ten of hands and ten of toes.

Similarly, because the form of the letter 'ra' written thus: which is ideographically derived from the shape of the flame of a candle, also appears like a snake, the words, 'ara', 'arā', 'aravu', 'aravam' all mean a snake. Since there is a simile between the form of the script of the letter ī, written thus: and the fly because of its large, prominent, compound eyes, the word ī in Tamil connotes a fly. Thus the words thēnī — thēn + ī, and thumbi — thumbu + ī are also developed. Similarly, the elephant is called u(v)ā — u +(v)+ā because 'u' denotes the nose in Tamil and the nose of elephant is prominently large and extended.

All these study goes to conclusively prove that what we call to-day as 'Brahmi scripts' were originally designed as ideographic scripts exclusively for the Tamil language. To consider that its origin is obscured will no more be correct. These initial Tamil scripts later got developed as 'Brahmi scripts' by a secondary group of people. It is evident from these expositions that the manifest kingship of the Tamil scripts with Semitic and Kharoshti alphabets could be considered only as adoptions by the later groups. Taking these newly discovered basic theories and concepts of the Tamil language into account, it becomes quantitatively possible to prove its influence in all other languages on a rational basis. The more one deeply dwells and studies on these points, the greater are the conclusive evidences that get established.

The second obscured value the Tamils have to understand, is regarding the theory and concepts pertaining to the formation of root words and formulation of derived or compound words.

The tables 1 and 2 appended to this article gave the basic root-words in the Tamil language. These are found to be about 100 in number. Like the hundred and odd elements form all the substances in the earth, all the Tamil words may be conceived to form out of these hundred and odd root words on a systematic and a rational basis.

How the Tamils have lost these values and awareness even as early as Tolkappiyam period is something which is inexplicable.

Let us now consider a few words as illustrations for discussion. The word 'elli' surprisingly connotes opposite meanings viz both 'day and night'.. How could that be? The existing scholarship is not able to explain this. But if we apply the rules of word formations as given in annexure II, we are able to get rid of the conflicts prevailing in the meanings of this word.

The word that means 'day' gets formed as el + i = 'elli'. The sense components involved in this root word are el = light; i = be or exist. Since the light exists during the day time, the day is named as el + i —> 'elli'. Applying the Rule of Antonymous Association, el + ī bears the sense "that associated with darkness". Hence the word "elī" means a 'rat', because it is an animal which likes darkness and

lives in darkness. It has an aversion to light. Hence as per the Rule of Antonymous Association and as per Formative Rule-2, the word 'ellī' means night, because there is no light of sun during night.

Similar distinction between 'adī' = base & 'adi' = to strike could be understood. The word 'adī', which means a base, is formed after the Rule of Antonymous Association. Hence ad + i, which bears a sense 'that dependent-not', means a base. The word 'adi', meaning to strike, is formed thus: adu + i; bears the sense 'contact + do' ie. do contacting (with like a stick, hand etc), hence the meaning 'to strike.'

By applying the rule of antonym to the word 'adu' by adding 'āṁ', the word 'adā ṁ' bearing the sense "depend-not" is formed and hence it means obstinacy. We can now understand better, as to why the word 'adāṁ' means obstinacy, by applying the obscured rules newly discovered.

Similarly the word 'arāṁ' <— aru + āṁ, bearing the sense "divide-not" means righteousness. The word 'kalam' <—kā + al + am bearing the sense, 'a thing + spread + not' connotes a 'pot', as it holds water or anything without allowing to spread off. The word 'thalam' <— thā + al + āṁ which bears the sense "materials or things spread-not' means "a place or a centre" where things or people gather together periodically mostly for religious purposes.

Further we can understand and distinguish between nada = walk and nada = to plant. The word nadā = nadu + ā or nad + ā bears the sense "fix-not". Hence it means to go. The word nadu + a or nad + a which bears the sense 'fix + do' means 'to plant'.

Let us consider the word 'alagu' which means the beak of a bird. It is compounded with two words viz 'al + agu' which bears the sense 'spread + diminished'. The beak is spread or enlarged close to the head in one plane and reduced in another plane; at the same time it projects off reducing to a sharp point. Since it is spread as well as reduced in size in different planes, logically it is called by the word "alagu". From this we can understand how the formulation of a meaningful word to a thing like beak has gone into a very deep study of character of the beak itself.

The word 'eṅgu' means a (black) bear. The word components 'el + kū' means 'sesamum + say". Hence it indicates that the bear is "say like the colour of sesamum". Hence the meaning "a bear" is born out of it.

Next consider the word kazhagam <— since kā + azh + agam bear the sense being + fixed + an entity or body, it means a body or entity where 'beings get fixed for a specific purpose.' Thus it may also mean "a registered society" formed for any specific purpose.

The ideographic Values of the ancient Tamil Scripts — Vowels.

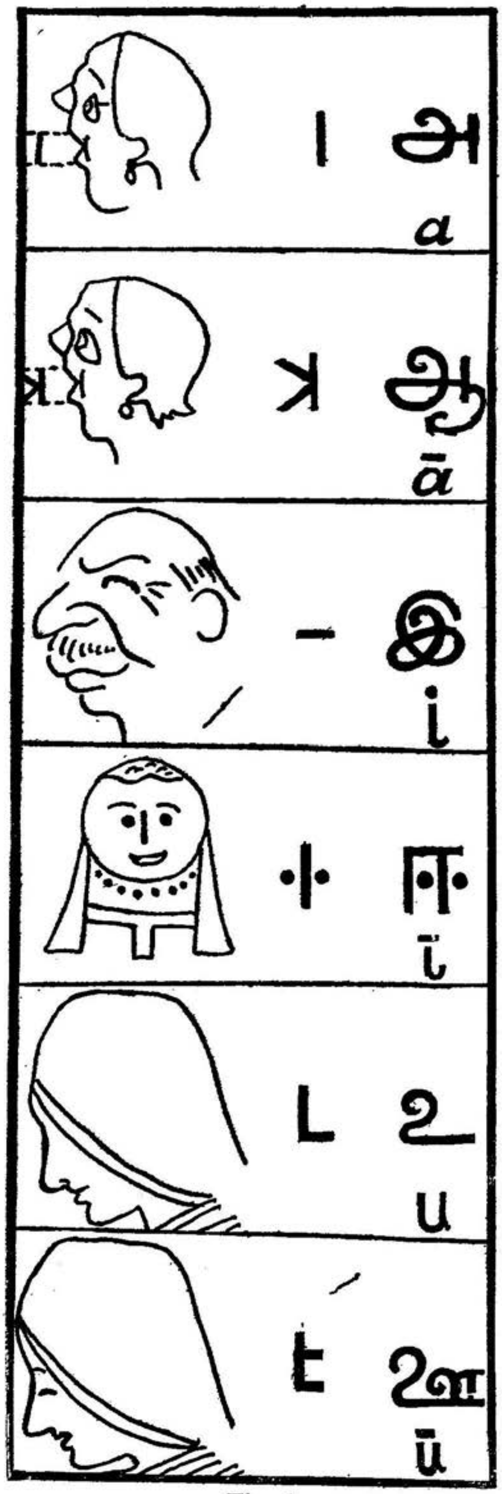


Fig. 1

The ideographic values of the ancient Tamil Scripts — Vowels.

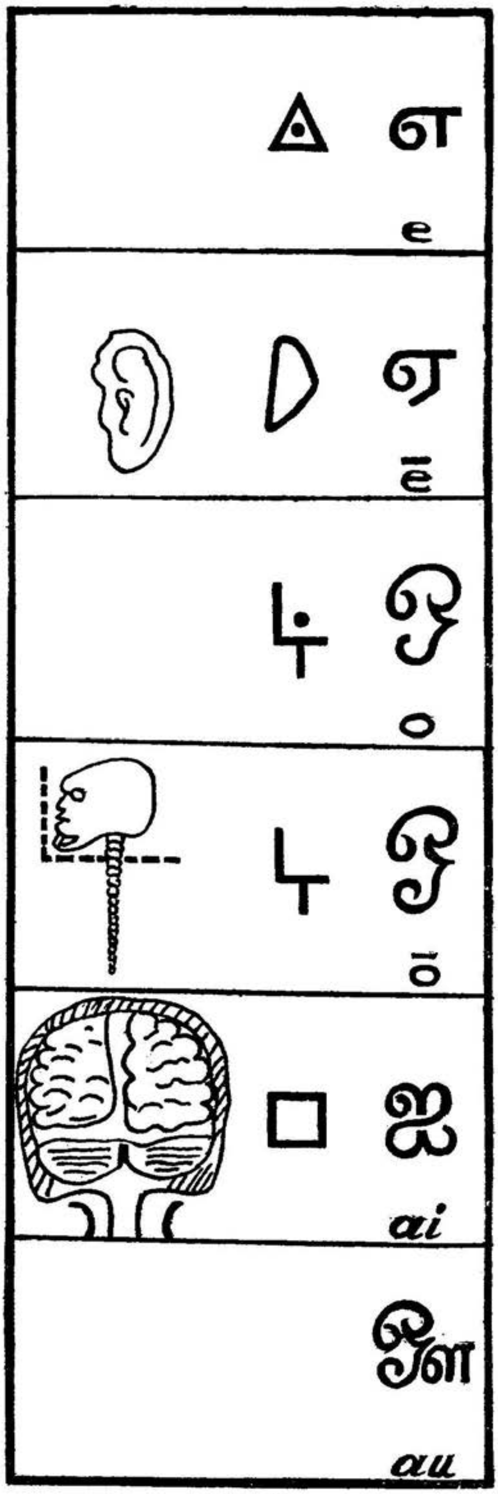


Fig. 2

The ideographic valves of the ancient Tamil scripts — Hard consonants.

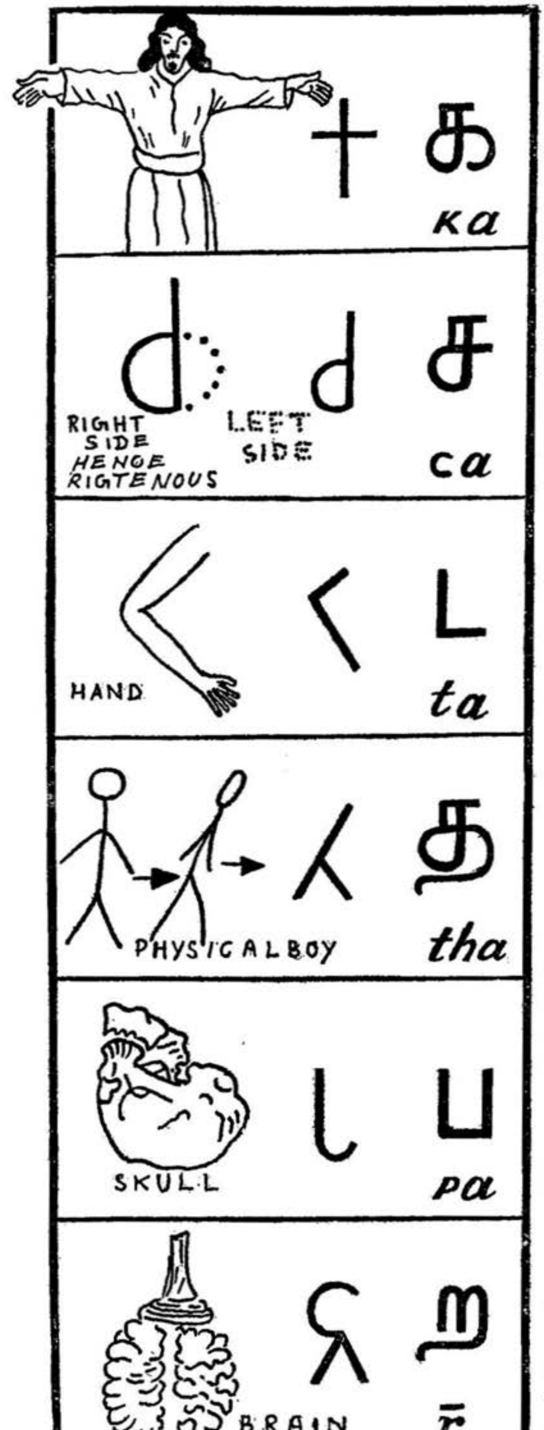


Fig.-3

The ideographic values of the ancient Tamil scripts — Soft consonants.

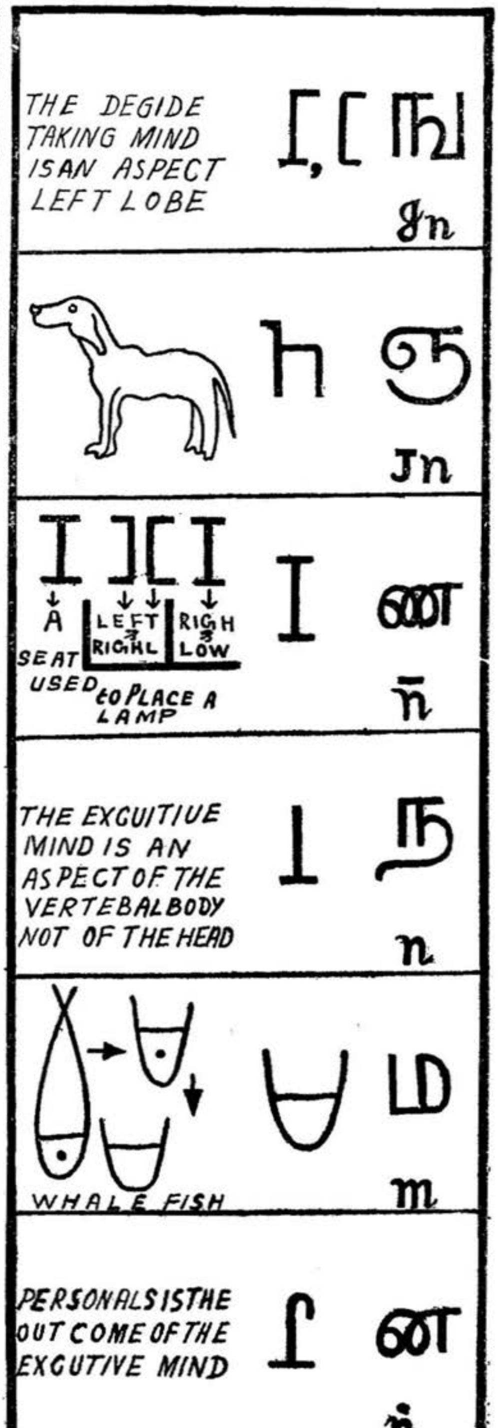


Fig. 4

The ideographic values of the ancient Tamil scripts — Medial consonants.

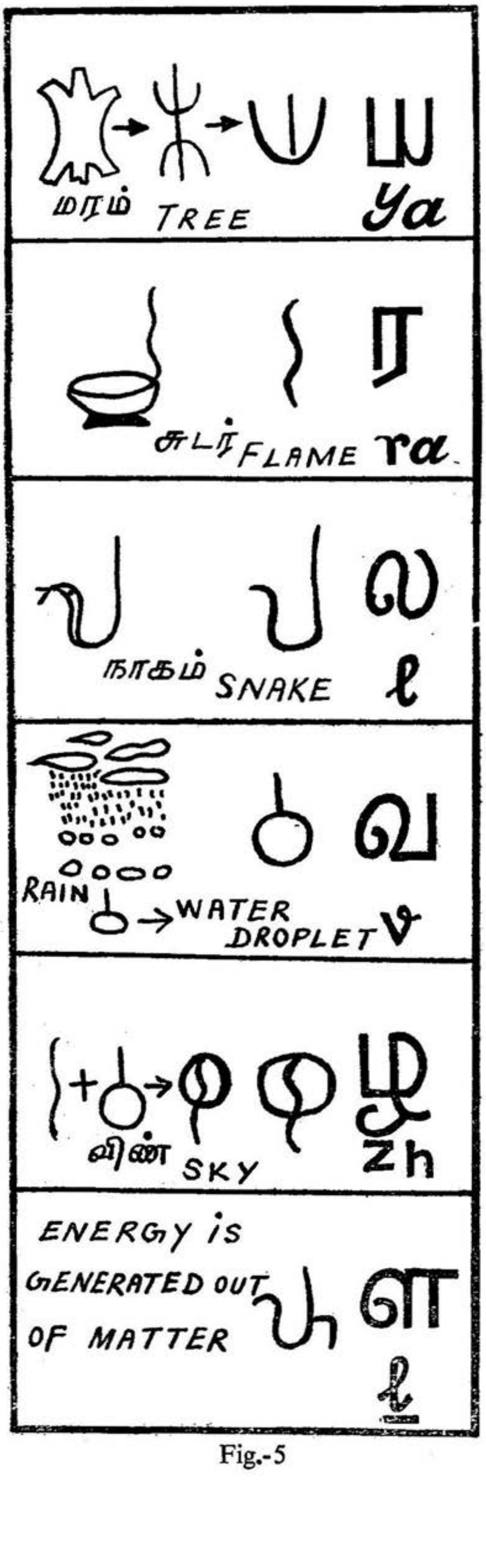
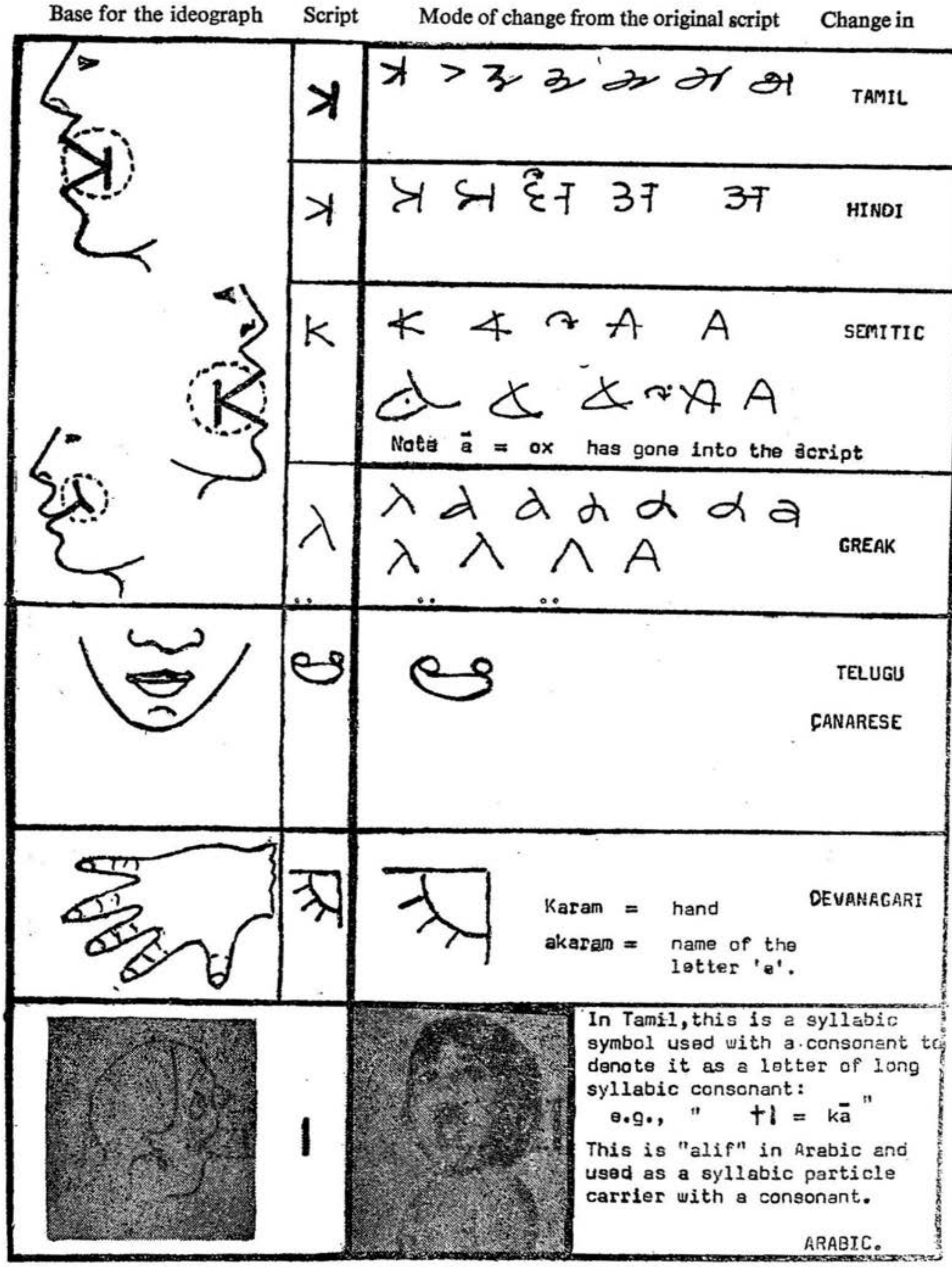


Fig.-5

ANNEXURE I

The following figures show how the script of the first letter "ā (அ)" got developed ideographically from the concept of mouth, in different linguistic areas.



Next consider the word 'Sangam'. Its component words and sense formations are: sa + angu + ām̆, — 'good or fine body or entity. Hence it means "a body for doing some fine or good things". Thus we see in Tamil, the letters of the alphabet as well as the sense or meaning of the words speak together in consonance, in resonance and in a unique intellectual sweetness.

ANNEXURE II

Mono-syllabic root words of Tamil

The Monosyllabic root words of Tamil may be classified into three groups:

(1) Group I: consists of seven long vowels
namely ā, ī, ū, ē, ō, ai, au
Any of the letter in this group may be notationally denoted as
.. .. (v)

(2) Group II: consists of nine long syllabic consonants which alone can take the initial position in a word and they are:
kā, cā, thā, pā (9)
nā, mā,
jhā
vā
yā .. .. ..
Any of the letters in this group may be notationally denoted as (CII)
How 35 more words are formed by the combination of (CII + V) groups to form .. CV class of words are given in Table-I.

(3) Group III: consists of sixty and odd short syllabic roots of consonants formed with the five demonstrative articles namely a, i, u, e & o, as given in Table-II.

The root words of CV group form words as per the three Formative Rules and get their meanings modified as per the Modification Rules.

I The Three Formative Rules:

1. Formative Rule – 1. The basic root words of VC group normally enunciates its meaning by itelf or by taking the dot-vowel u as a neutral suffix to act as an enunciator.
e.g., the root 'ak" + u̇ —> aku̇ or agu̇
The roots ending with m, ṅ, l, and ḻ need not combine with the dot-vowel u̇; e.g., the roots al, il, uṅ, ol and el are themselves considered as words.

2. Formative Rule – 2. The basic root words of VC group enunciates its synonymous meaning by doubling its consonent.
e.g., aku̇ —> akku̇

TABLE I

Mono-syllabic root words of V, CII & CV — Groups

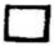
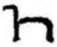
Ido-Graphic Scripts							
	ā	ī	ū	ē	ō	ai	au
	kā	kī	kū	kē	kō	kai	kau
	cā	cī	cū	cē	cō	cai	–
	thā	thī	thū	thē	thō	thai	–
	pā	pī	pū	pē	pō	pai	–
	mā	mī	mū	mē	mō	mai	–
	nā	nī	nū	nē	nō	nai	–
	vā	vī	–	vē	–	vai	vau
	jhā	–	–	–	–	–	–
	yā	–	–	–	–	–	–

TABLE II

Mono-syllabic root words of VC Group

k g	c s	t d	th dh	r	r	rh	m	ṅ	l	ḻ
agu	asu	adu	adhu	aru	aru	azhu	am	aṅ	al	aḻ
igu	isu	idu	idhu	iru	iru	izhu	im	iṅ	il	iḻ
ugu	usu	udu	udhu	uru	uru	uzhu	um	uṅ	ul	uḻ
egu	esu	edu	edhu	eru	eru	ezhu	em	eṅ	el	eḻ
ogu	osu	odu	odhu	oru	oru	ozhu	om	oṅ	ol	oḻ

abu as in thabu or thapu ijn as in urijn

apu dhabu or dhapu in as in uerin

un as in porun a ṅ as in ivan

3. Formative Rule – 3. The basic root words of VC group enunciates its synonymous meaning by infixing its related nasal consonant.

e.g., agû —> angû

II The Three Modification Rules

1. Modification Rule of Synonymous Association:

The root word of VC group combines with brief āī to connote an associated meaning.

e.g., arû means "to divide", "to cut"

arāī means "divided which is or cut," hence the word connotes "a room", "a rock"

2. Modification Rule of Antonym:

The root word of VC group combines with āṁ or a to form ā meaning which is opposite to the root itself.

e.g., maru — changing

maram means "changing not", hence the word connotes "a tree" as it does not change place though it is a living thing.

Adu — to depend upon

Adûṁ — "depend - not" hence the word connotes "independent" or obstinate.

3. Modification Rule of Antonymous Association:

The root word of VC group combines with the dot-letter ī to form a meaning of a thing or object associated with the opposite meaning of the root.

e.g., 'el' means light

but elī means that which is associated with darkness; hence the word connotes "a rat"

ellī connotes "night", as per the Formative Rule (2)

The formated Tamil Words follow the formula given below:

		a		FR			MR
		i		No			No.
	with	u	+	1	C	û	
CII	———	e		2	CC+	āī	(1)
	without	o		3	nā	āṃ	(2)
						ī	(3)

* C denotes a consonant

n denotes a related nasal of the consonant.

Examples on the application of the formula:

(1) a k ú —— akú — Shortened, reduced, diminished.

(2) **i** - **zh** + āī —> i zhai, bears the sense, = '(a thing) extended like', hence it connotes "a fibre".

(3) a ng āṁ —> angāṁ = a body or entity;
note that the word 'angam' means a part or unit of a thing.

(4) thā + ar + ī —> tharī means 'a thing or a device that binds together', hence "a loom."

Considerable scientific investigation is necessary before this subject can enter the realm of reasoning from that of pure fancy—Editor

DIRECT AND INDIRECT SPEECHES IN TAMIL

N. KUMARASWAMY RAJA

There is a saying in Latin, 'Cogito ergo sum', which means "I think, therefore I am". The existence of the ego is thus attributed to thinking. According to this, there is no 'me' without thinking. Thinking is so much interrelated to language that we can venture now to say that the concept 'I' is created by language. The new saying is 'I speak, therefore I am'. When someone says "I came", we automatically understand that the speaker of that utterance did the act of coming, Thus, in order to understand who the 'I' is, we would have to know who uttered the expression 'I'. The following is set up as the deep structure for the Tamil sentence na:n vante:n 'I came'.

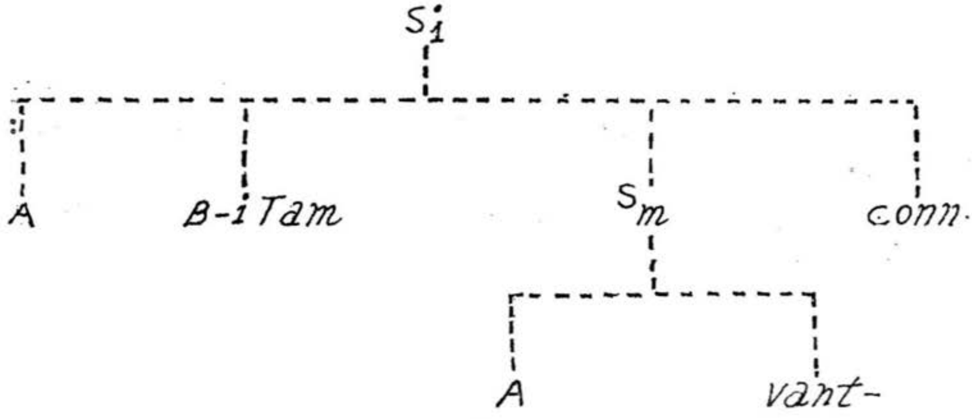


Figure 1.

Since the 'A' in the embedded sentence (Sm) is identical to the 'A' in the implicit matrix sentence (Si) which represents the 'speaker', the second 'A' will become na:n 'I' in Tamil. From this we understand that the expression na:n 'I' refers here to 'A', the speaker.

We propose here that all the first and second person pronouns in Tamil (or in any language for that matter), whether singular or plural can be derived from noun phrases of the type 'A', 'B' or a combination of both, found in the embedded

sentence with a matrix sentence dominating it, containing a verb of communication. We shall now derive the Tamil Sentence ni: vanta:y 'you (sg.) came'.

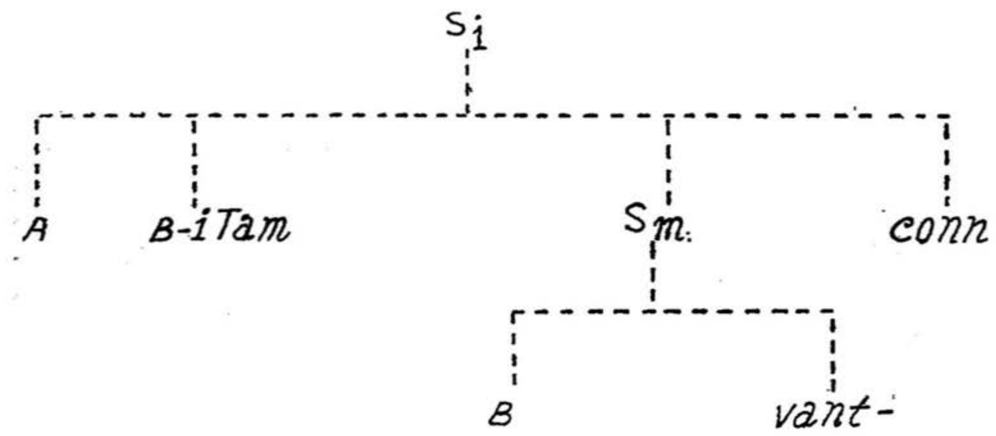


Figure 2.

Since the noun phrase in the embedded sentence is identical to the one in the matrix sentence which represents the 'hearer', it will be converted into ni: 'you (sg.)'.

The following are the sources for the Tamil sentence ni:nkaL vanti:rkaL 'you(pl.) came'.

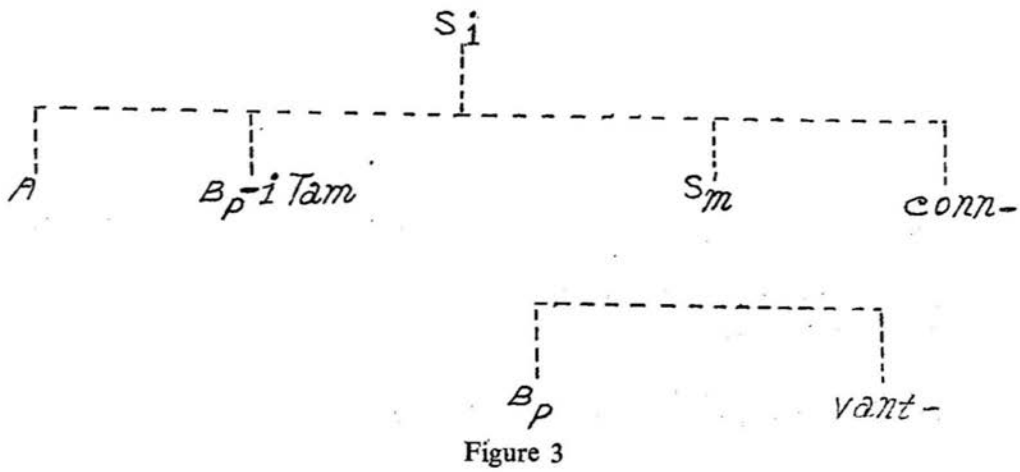


Figure 3

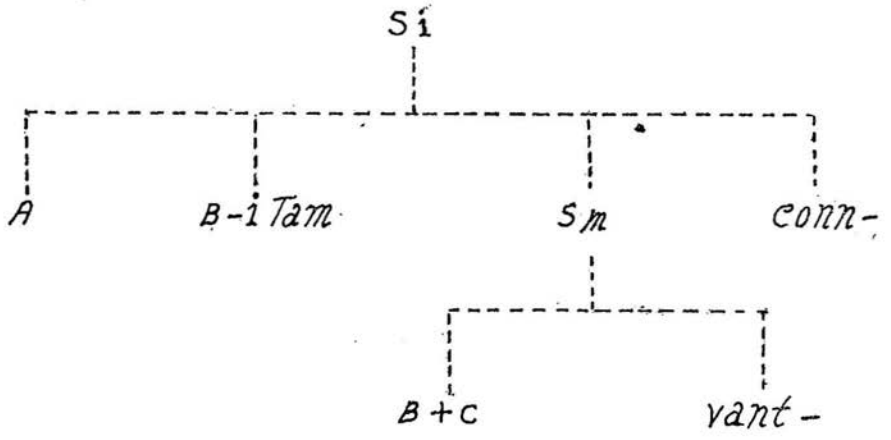


Figure 4

The subscript 'p' under 'B' in Figure 3 indicates that the concerned noun phrase is plural. Since 'Bp' in the embedded sentence is identical to the one in the matrix sentence, it is realized as ni:nkaL 'you (pl.)'.

As the 'B's are identical in Figure 4, the lower 'B' will become ni: 'you (sg.)'. Combining 'C' (a third person) to ni: 'you (sg.)' we get ni:nkaL 'you (pl.)'. There are three more sources for Tamil ni:nkaL 'you (pl.)' which are not represented here for paucity of space. (For details, see Kumaraswami Raja, N. 1975. "On the so-called first and second person plurals", Proceedings of the All India University Tamil Teachers' Association, Nagercoil, Vol. II, pp. 462-67).

We shall, now, present below two out of the five sources (see op. cit.) that the pronoun na:nkaL 'we (not you)' has in Tamil.

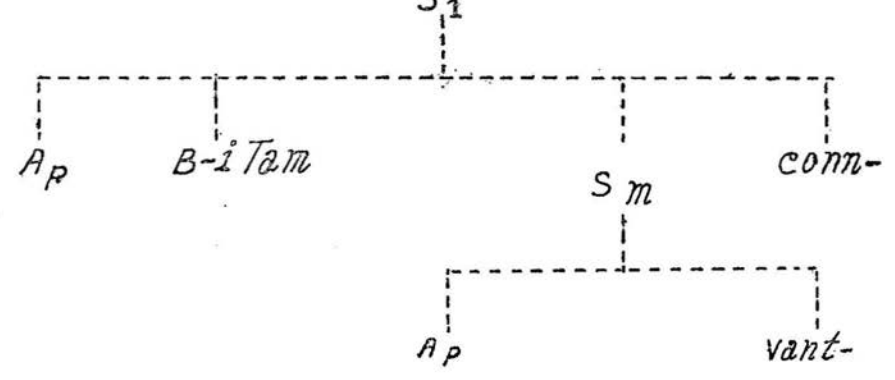


Figure 5

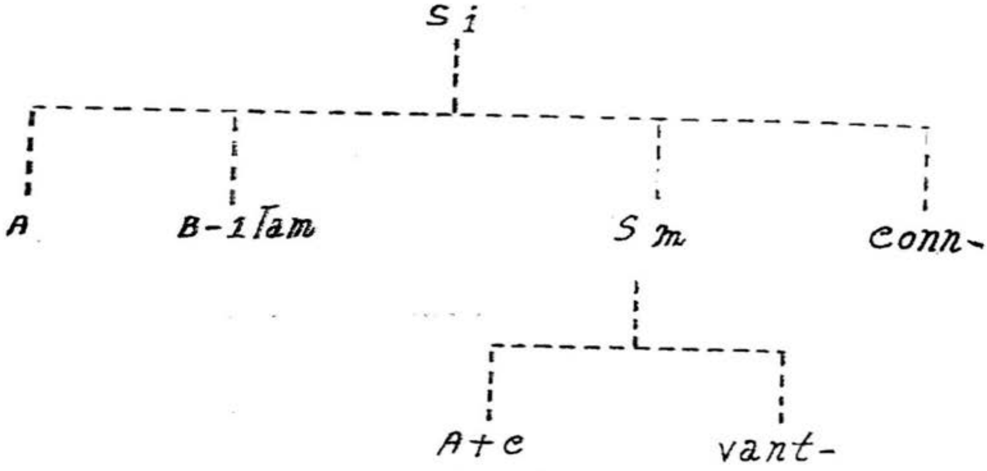


Figure 6

Since the 'Ap' in Figure 5 represents a plurality of speakers, the second 'Ap' is converted into na:nkaL 'we (not you)' which does not include any hearer or third person.

The 'A's are identical in Figure 6 and hence the second 'A' becomes na:n 'I' When 'C' (a third person) is combined, we get na:nkaL 'we (not you)'.

The most complex of the personal pronouns in Tamil is na:m 'we (you too)', which has twelve different sources. (For details, see Kumaraswami Raja, 1975 cited above.) Only two of these twelve sources will be represented below.

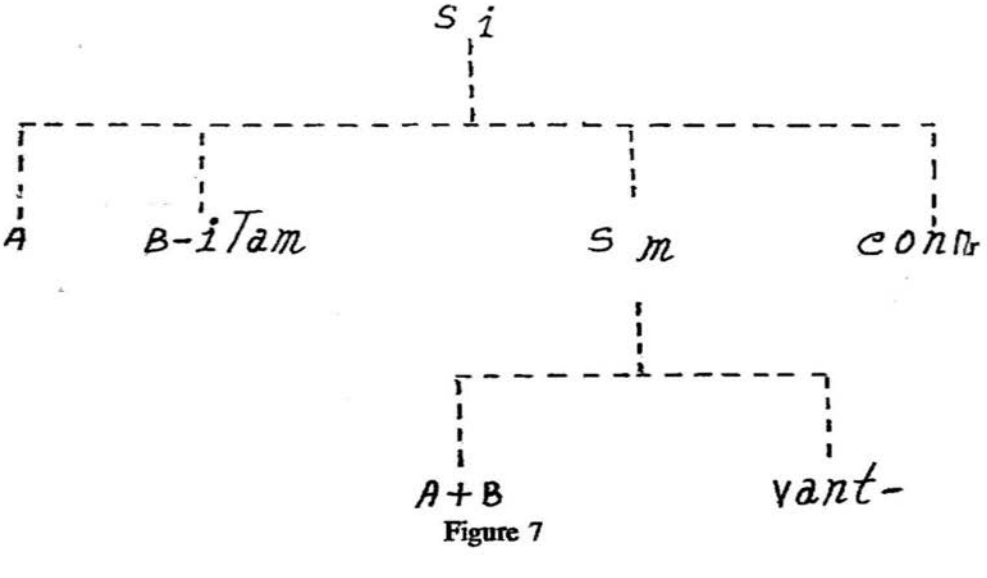


Figure 7

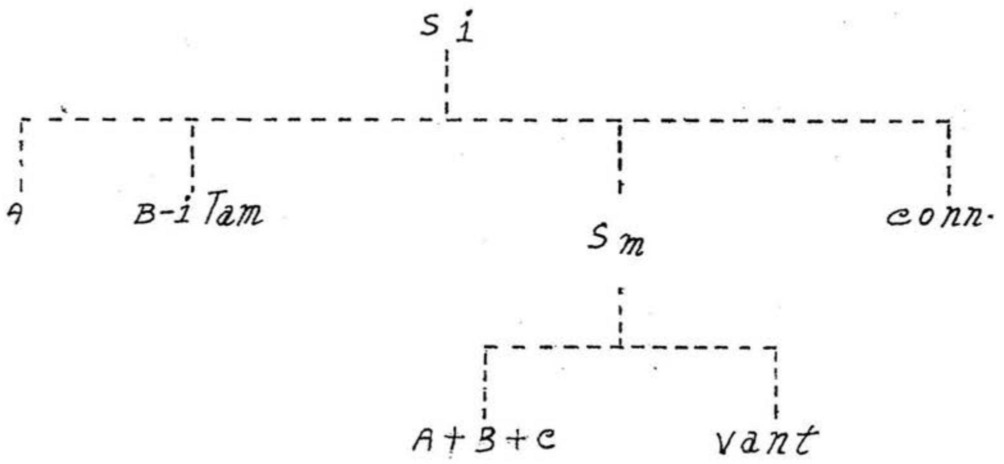


Figure 8

In Figures 7 and 8, the second 'A' and 'B' will become na:n 'I' and ni: 'you (sg.)' respectively, since the 'A's, as well as the 'B's are identical. The combination of the pronouns na:n 'I' and ni: 'you (sg.)' will give rise to na:m. The inclusion or exclusion of a third person like 'C' will not affect the product na:m in any way.

Having said so much about the derivation of the personal pronouns in Tamil, we shall now turn our attention to the relation between direct and indirect speeches in Tamil. The usual practice in any language is to derive the pronouns in the indirect speech from the ones in the direct speech. The second person pronoun ni: 'you '(sg.)' in an indirect speech sentence like ni: vanta:y 'you (sg.) came' can be derived from the first, second or third person singular pronouns. Look at the following set of examples.

(1) (a) "na:n vante:n" enRu ni: conna:y
'you said "I came".

(b) ni: vantat-a: ka ni: conna:y
'you said that you came'.

(2) (a) "ni: vanta:y " enRu na:n conne:n
'I said "you came".'

(b) ni: vantat-a: ka na:n conne:n
'I said that you came.'

(3) (a) "avan vanta:n" enRu na:n conne:n
'I said, "He came".'

(b) avane vantat-a: ka na:n conne:n
'I said that he came'.

The pronoun ni: 'you (sg.)' of the indirect speech sentences is considered as the transformed version of the pronouns na:n 'I', ni: 'you (sg.)' and avan 'he' of the direct speech sentences. The transformation involved here is called pedagogical transformation. Since the direct and indirect speech sentences are nearly synonymous, except for the stylistic aspect, it is better to set up deep structures which are common to both of them. The following is the deep structure representation for the first set of examples that we discussed above, viz.

(1) (a) "na:n vante:n" enRu ni: conna:y
'you said "I came" '.

(b) ni: vantat-a: ka ni: conna:y
'you said that you came'.

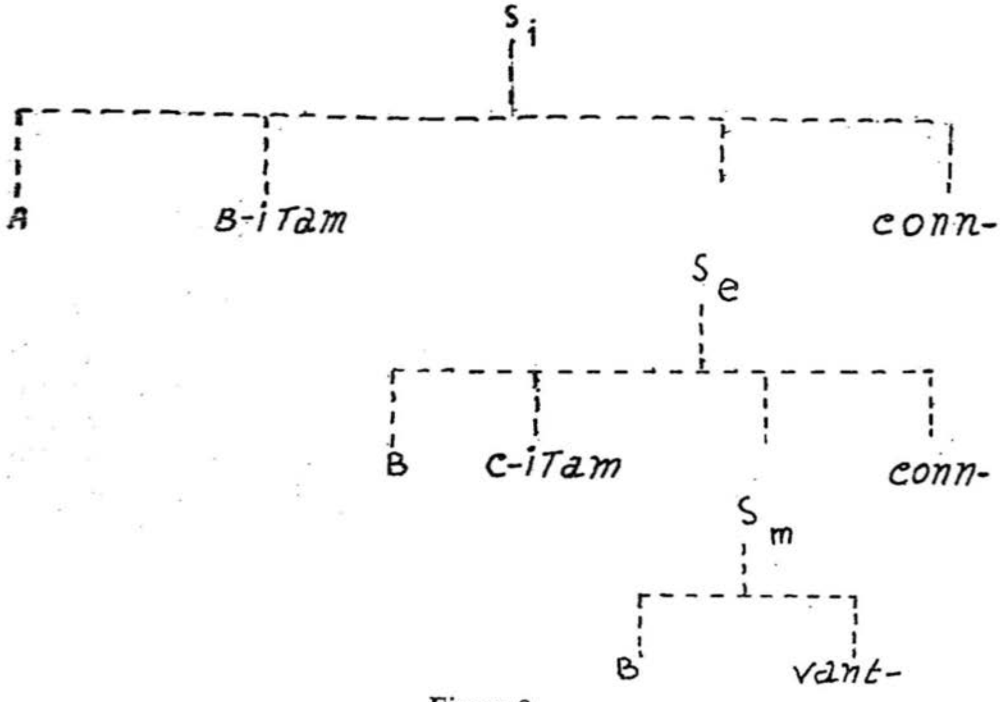


Figure 9

There are three S's in the representation above, where the topmost one (Si) is extremely abstract, in the sense, it has not acoustic manifestation. This implicit matrix sentence has been set up in order to account for the pronominal transformations in the next sentence (Se), viz. the explicit matrix sentence which is embedded in Si and also in the other sentence (Sm) which, in its turn, is embedded in Se.

The first step in deriving the direct speech sentence from the above deep structure is to convert the NP in the lowermost embedded sentence into na:n 'I' since an identical NP is in the speaker slot in Se. The implicit matrix sentence (Si)

has no influence on Sm in direct speech. Only in indirect speech the NP of Sm is converted into ni: 'you (sg.)' since an identical NP is in the hearer slot of Si. The concepts 'direct speech' and 'indirect speech' are thus formally definable as the transformed versions of the lowermost embedded sentence due to the influence of the immediately dominating sentence or of the topmost matrix sentence. The NP or NP's in Se will always be converted into pronouns due to the influence of the NP or NP's in Si.

Let us now derive the direct and indirect speech sentences step by step from their deep structure representation as given in Figure 9.

DIRECT SPEECH

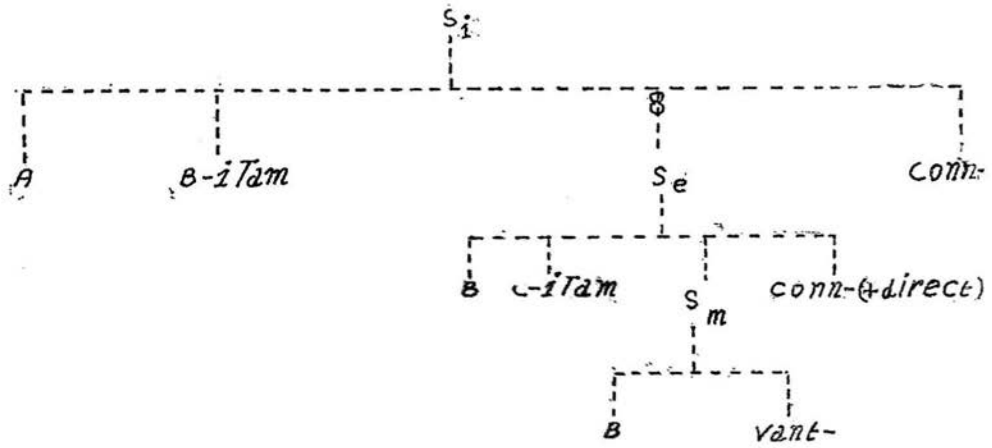


Figure 10

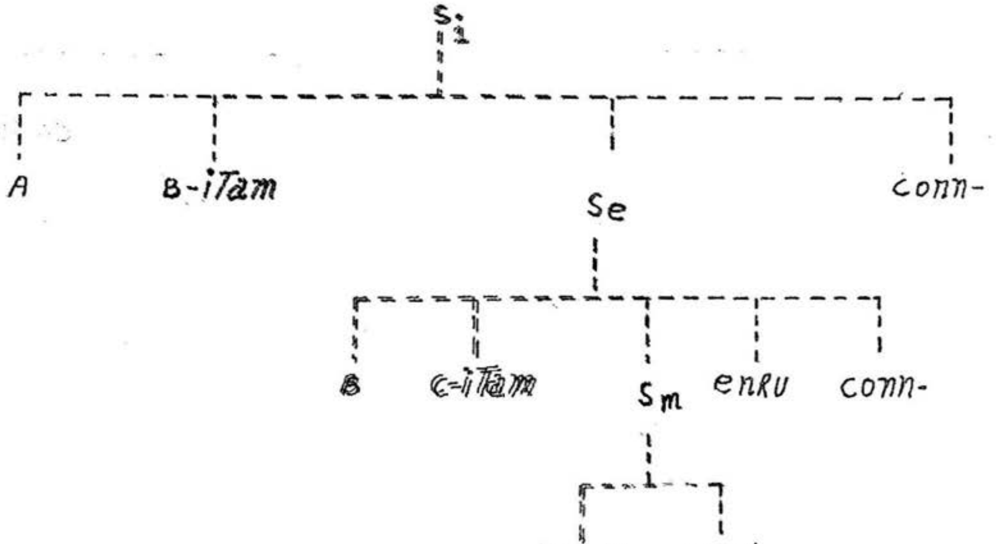


Figure 11

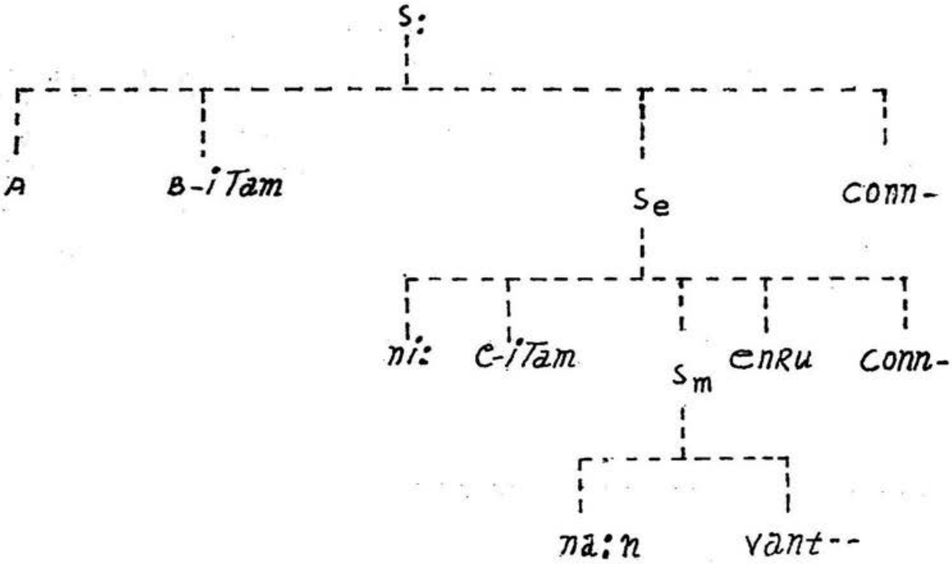


Figure 12

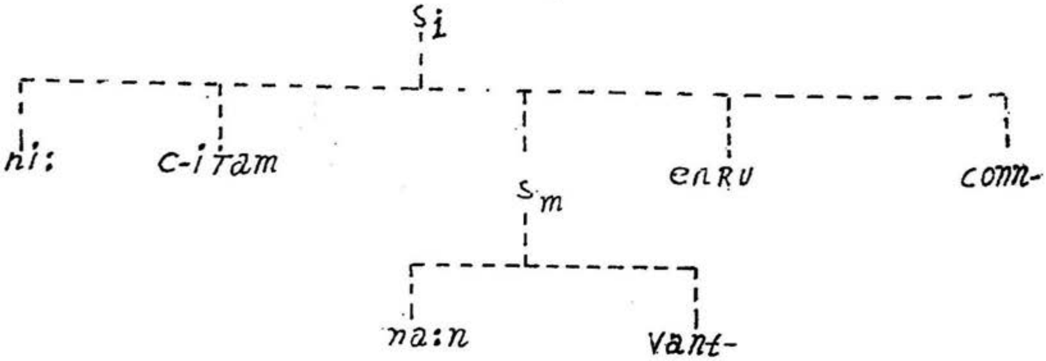


Figure 13

The result is ni: "na:n vante:n" enRu conna:y.
"You said "I came"

INDIRECT SPEECH

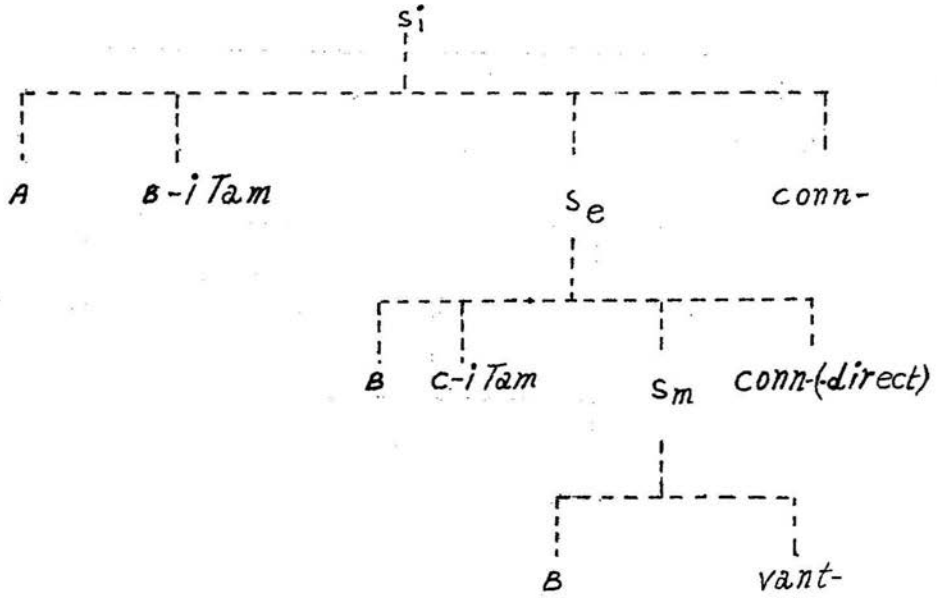


Figure 14

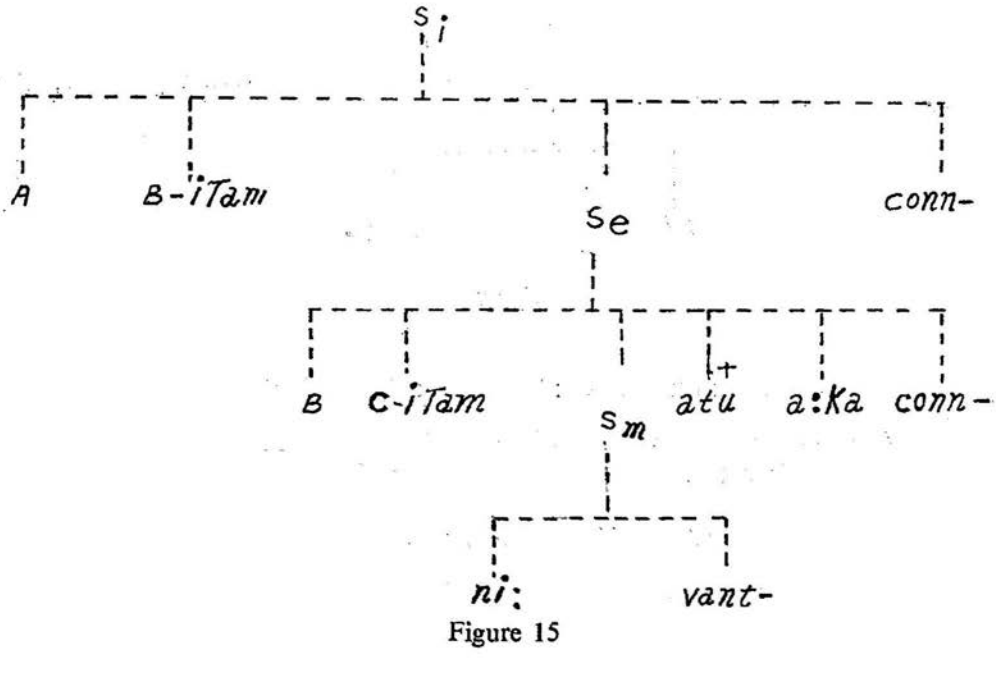


Figure 15

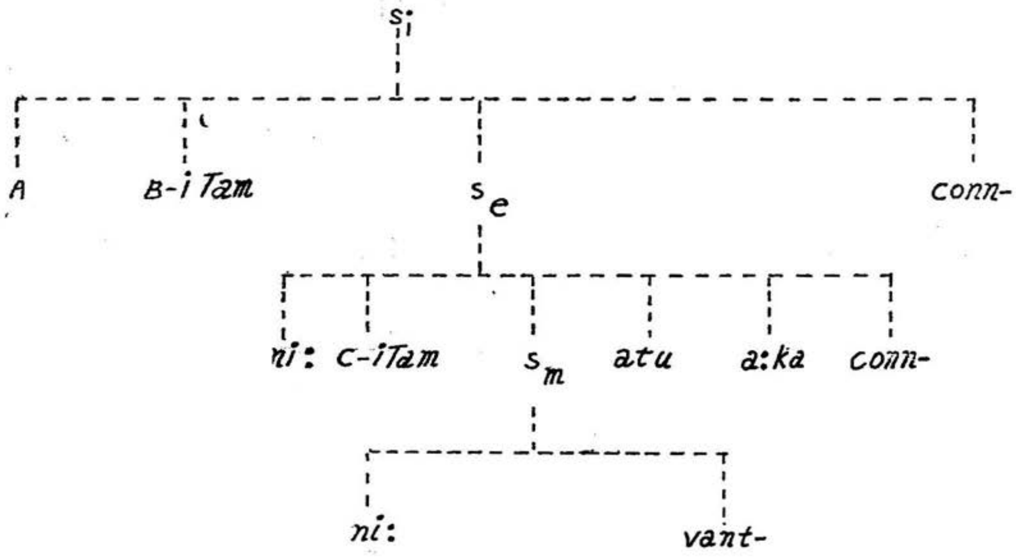


Figure 16

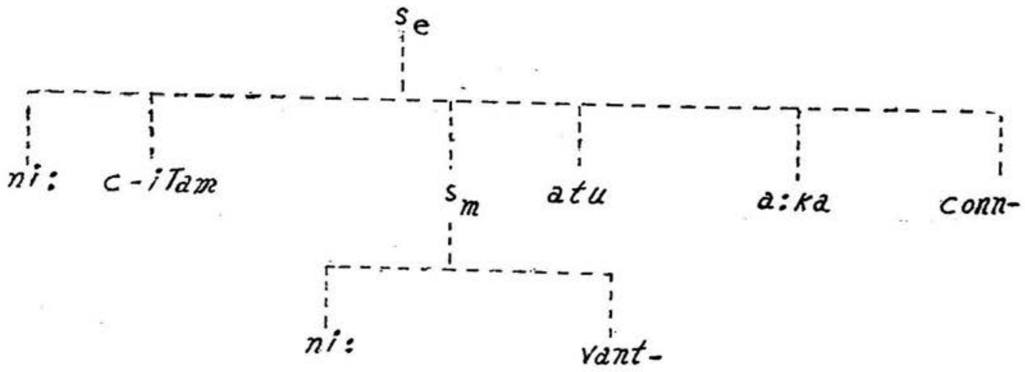


Figure 17

The result is ni: ni: vantat-a: kac conna:y 'you said that you came'.

A slightly complicated set of direct and indirect speech forms is given below.

(4) (a) ni: ra: maniTam "na:nkaL lalita:vai unakkuk ka:TTinom" enRu conna:y

'You said to Rama, "we (not you) showed Lalita to you"

(b) ni: ra: maniTam na:m lalita:vai avanukkuk ka:TTiyat- a:kac conna:y

'You told Rama that we (you too) showed Lalita to him'.

These two share the following deep structure:

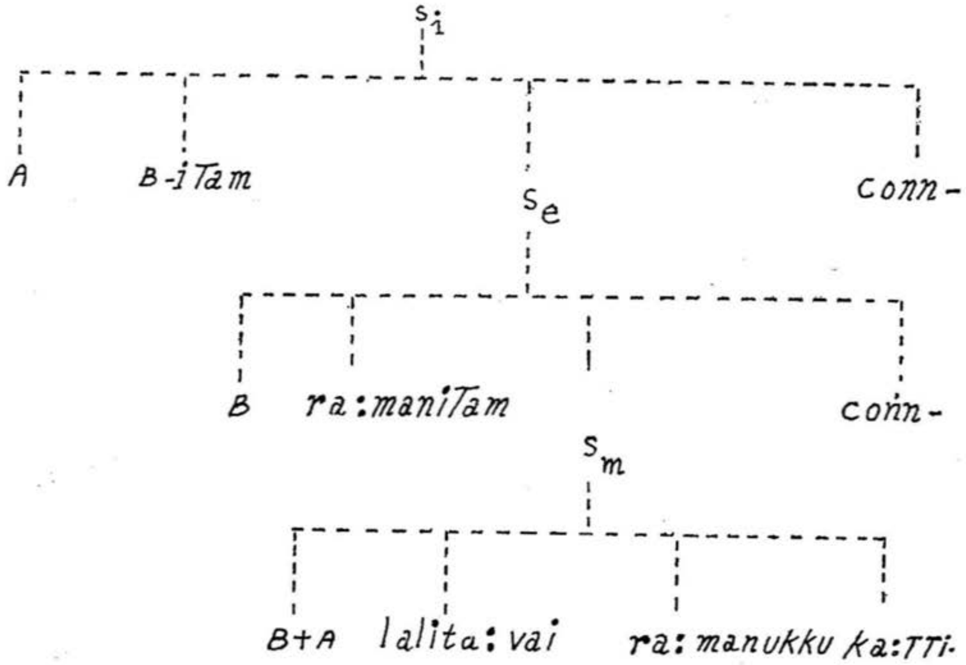


Figure 18

We shall now show how the direct speech sentence is derived from its deep structure.

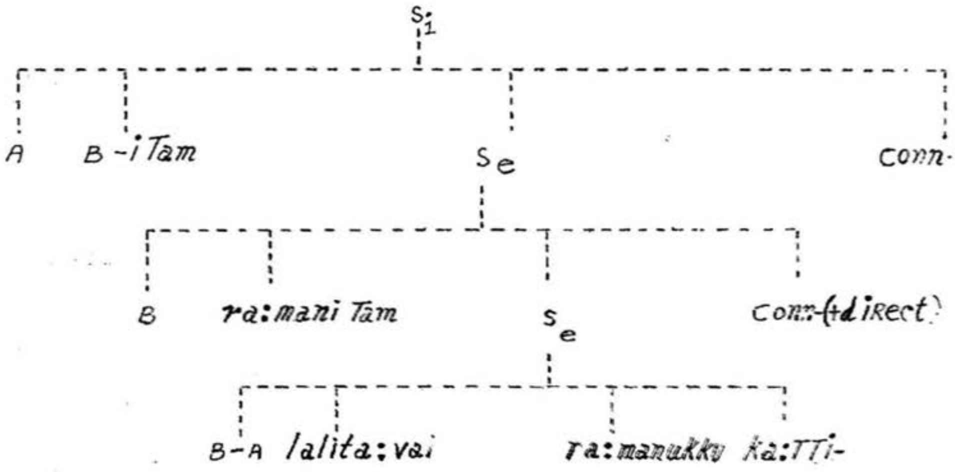


Figure 19

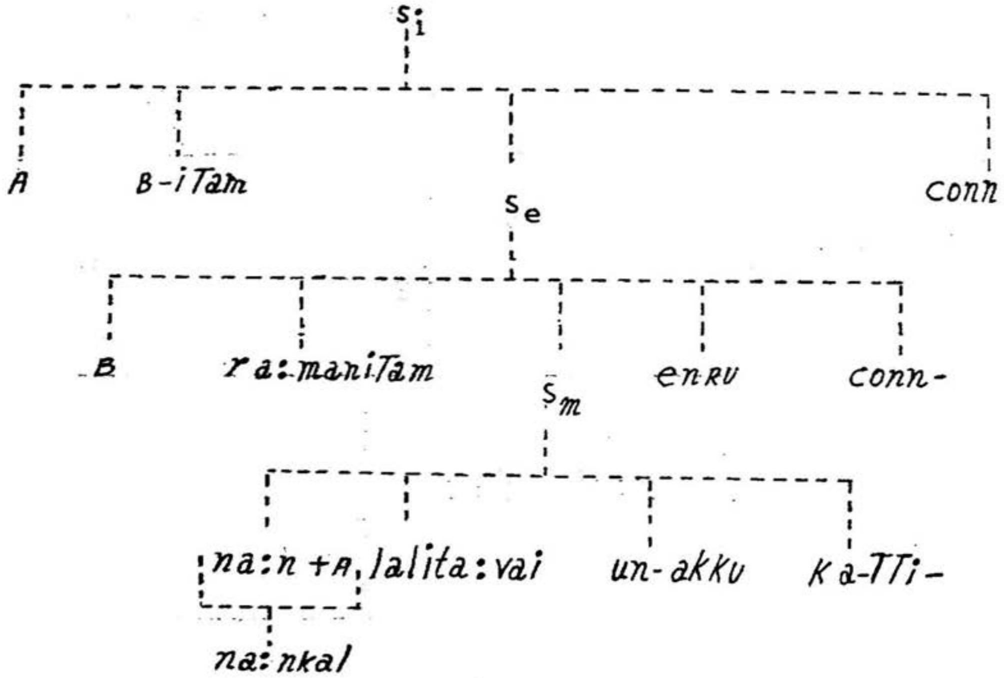


Figure 20

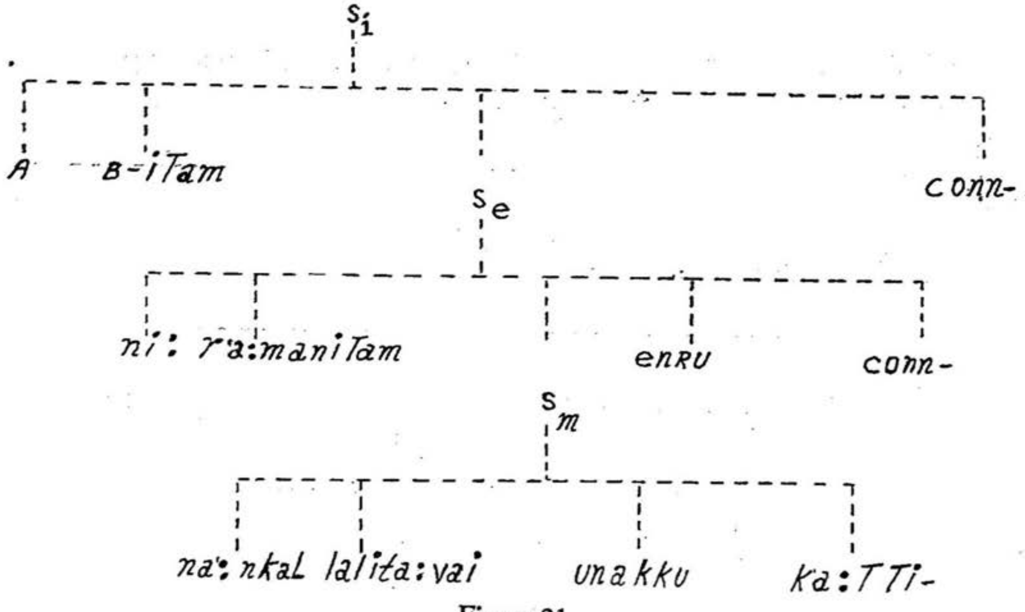


Figure 21

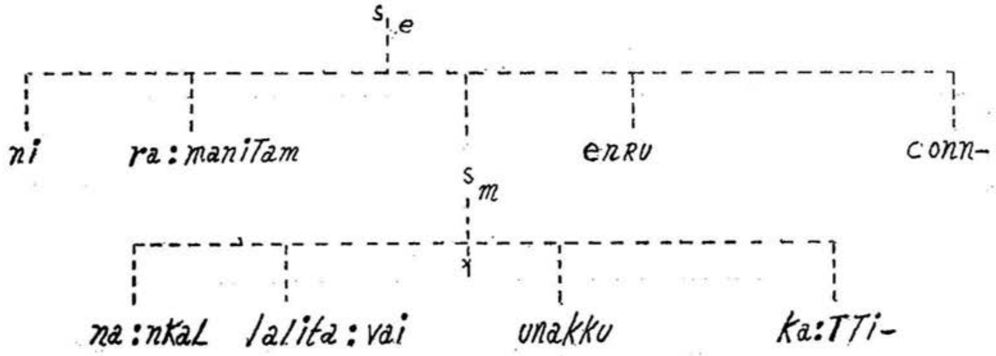


Figure 22

The result is ni: ra:maniTam "na:nKaL lalita-vai unakkuk ka:TTino:m" enRu conna:y 'You told Rama 'we (not you) showed Lalita to you'".

Let us now derive the indirect speech sentence from its deep structure.

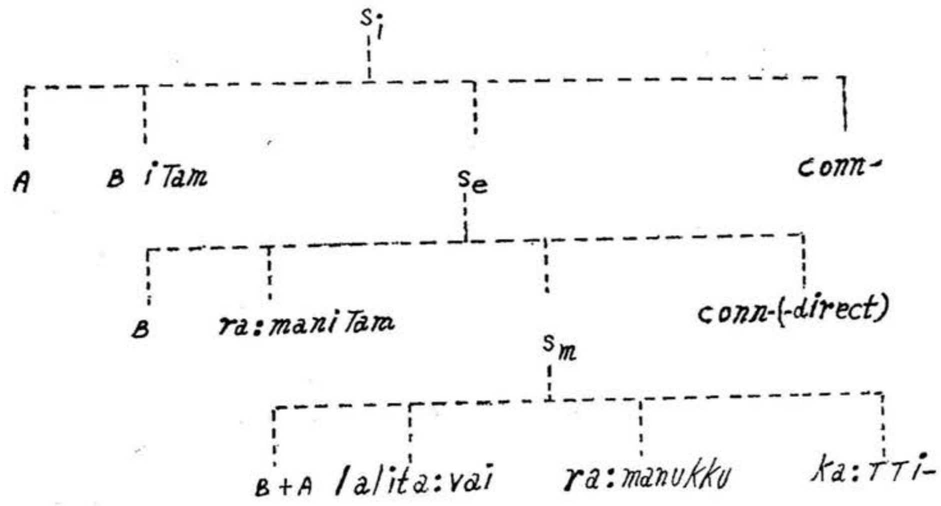


Figure 23

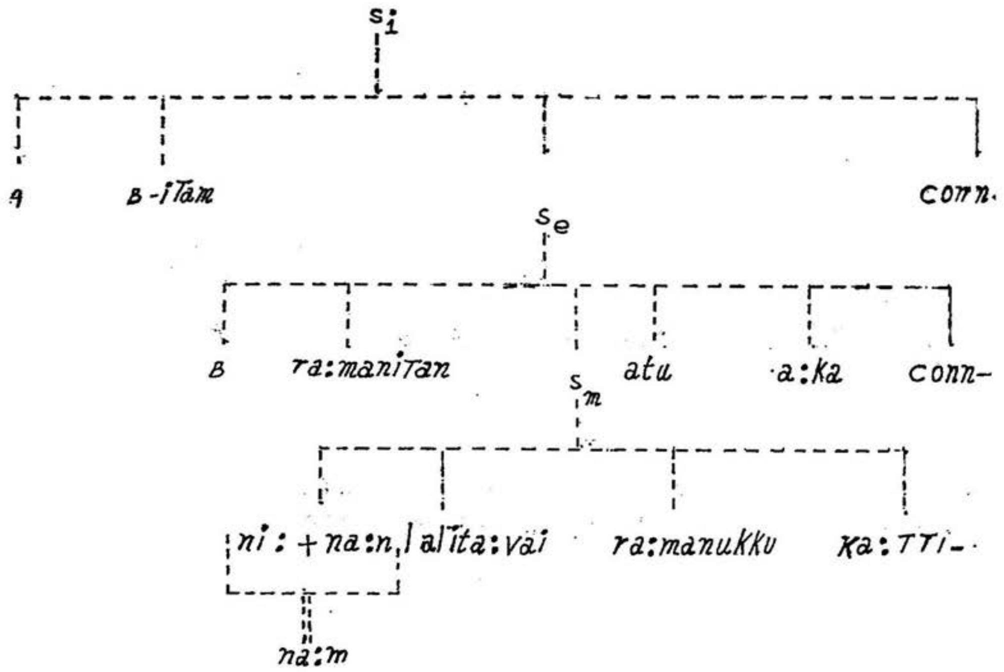


Figure 24

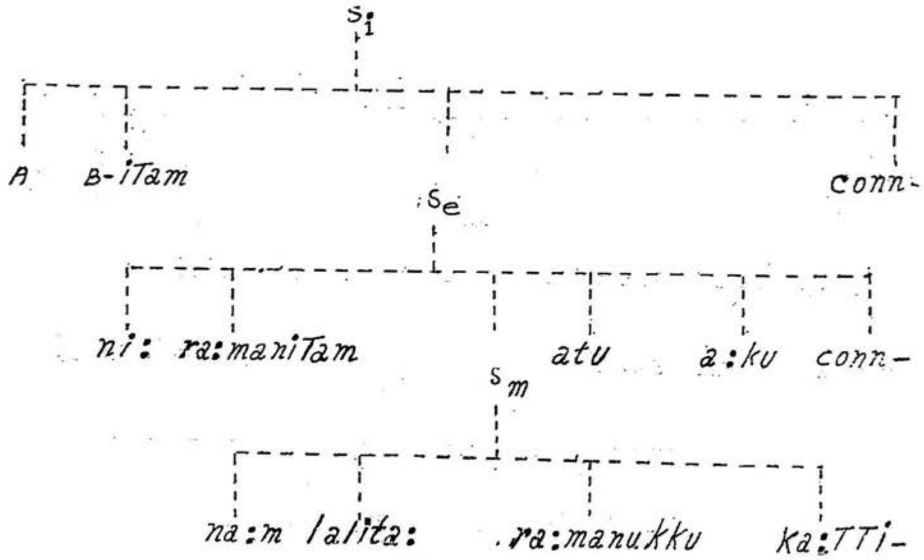


Figure 25

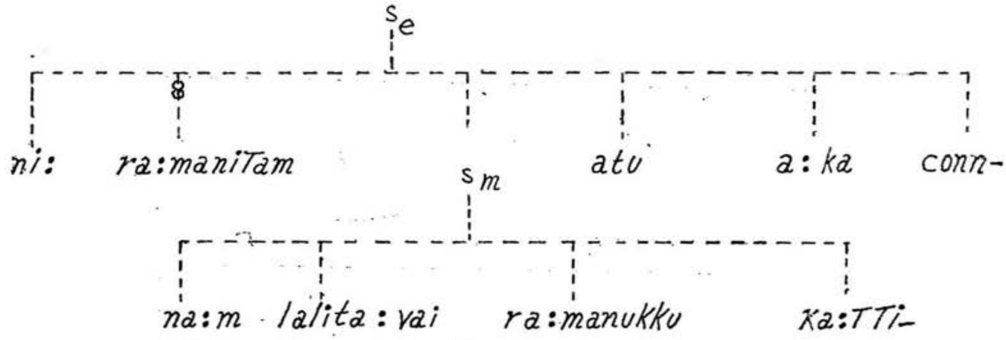


Figure 26

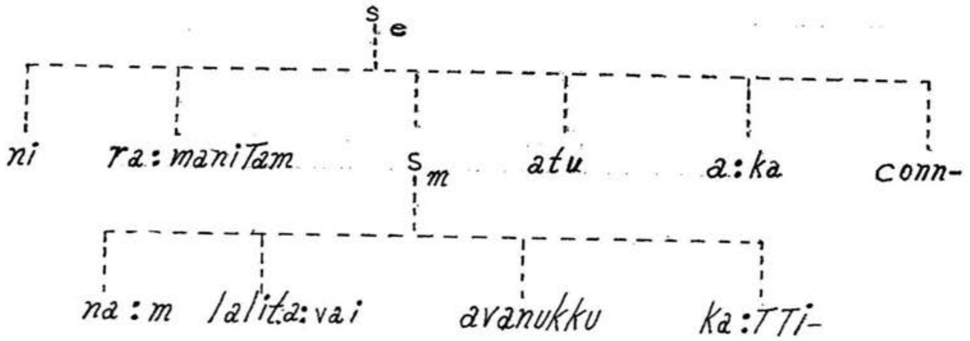


Figure 27

The derived indirect speech sentence is ni: ra:maniTam na:m lalita:vai avanukkuk ka:TTiyata:kac conna:y 'You told Rama that we (you too) showed Lalita to him.'

Sentence 4(a), ni: ra:maniTam 'na:nkaL lalita:vai unakkuk ka:TTinom'. enRu conna:y 'you told Rama, "We (not you) showed Lalita to you" is ambiguous. Figure 18 represents one of its deep structures. The other deep structure is represented below.

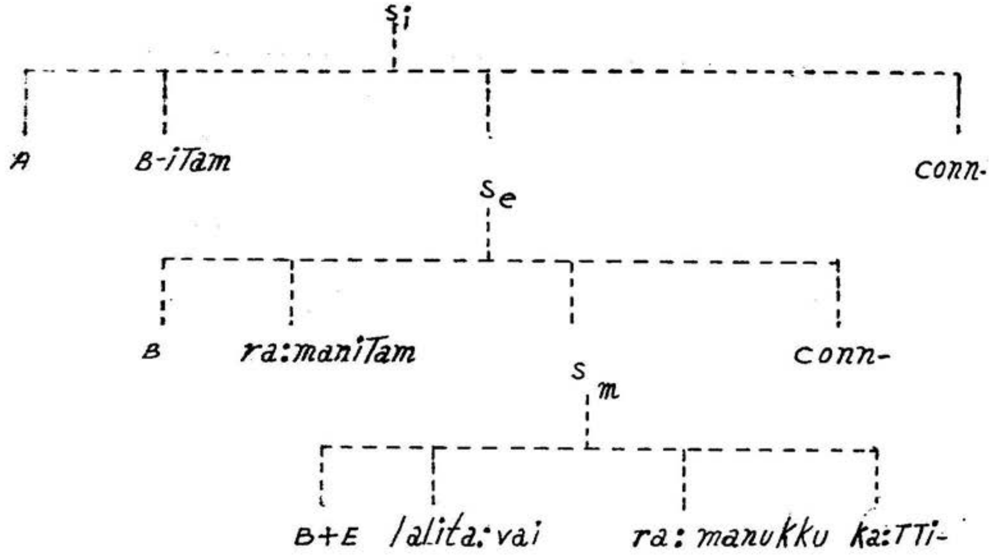


Figure 28

The following is the drivation of the direct speech sentence.

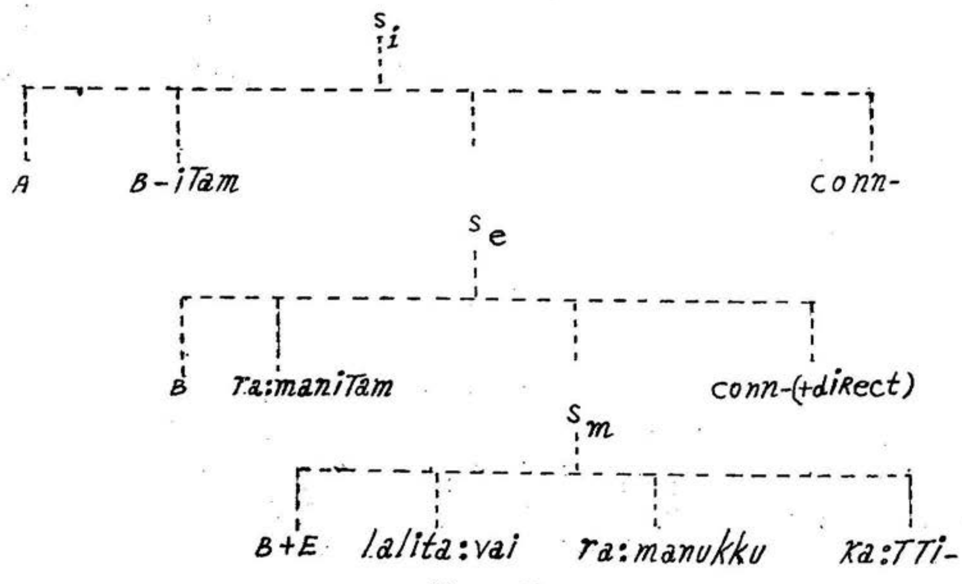


Figure 29

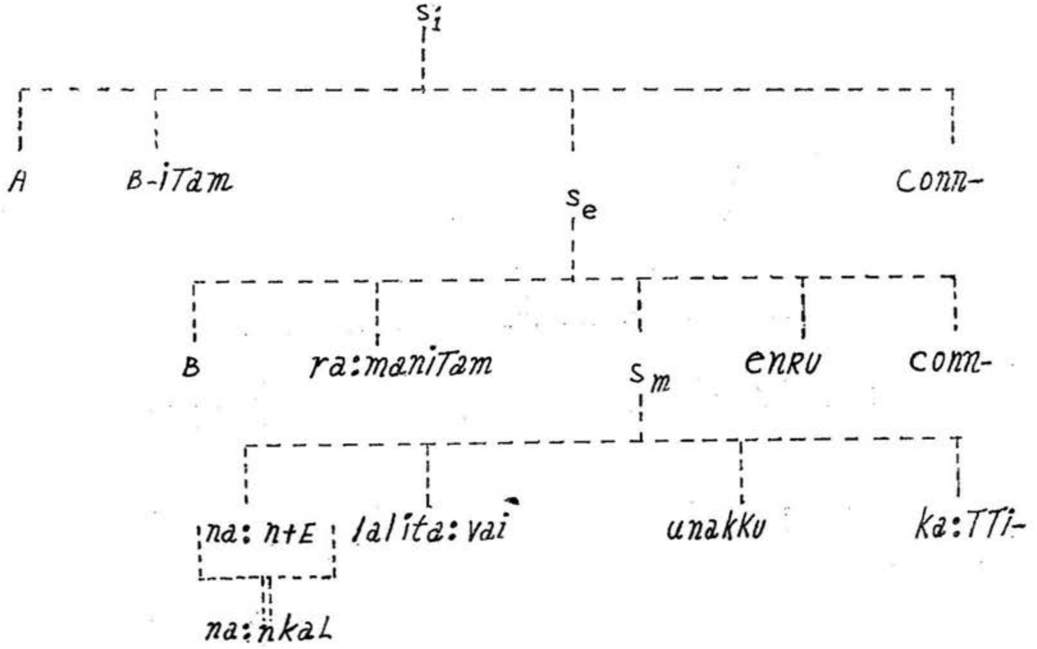


Figure 30

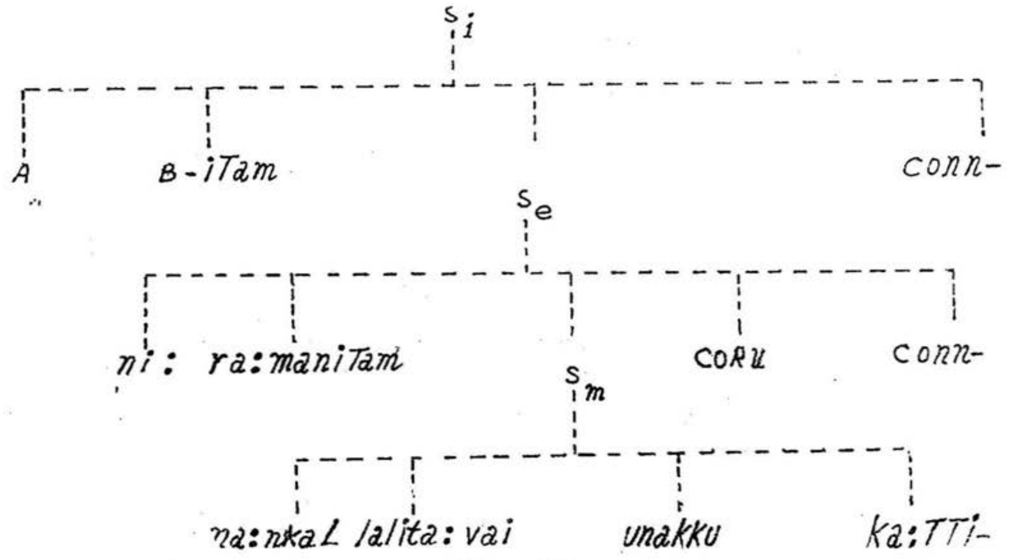


Figure 31

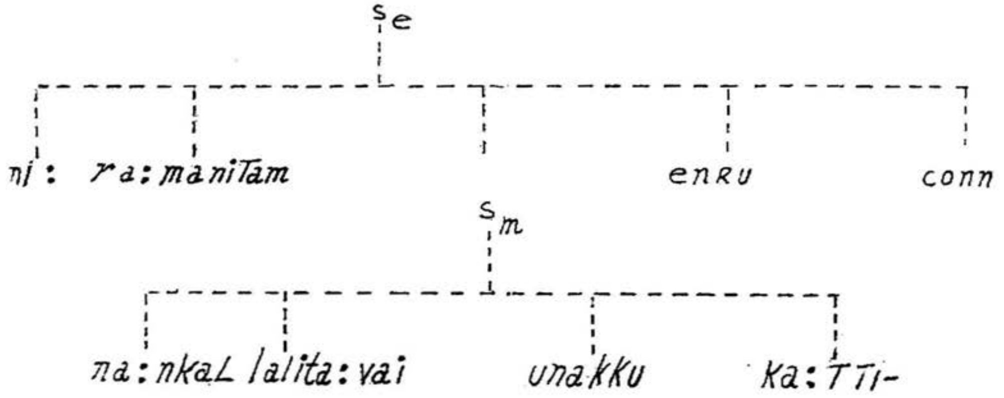


Figure 32

The pronominalization discussed so far (except in Figure 27) shall be designated as speech-oriented pronominalization. In Figure 27, a noun phrase (ra:man) with an identical antecedent is substituted by the demonstrative pronoun avan 'he'. Tamil bears evidence for another kind of pronominalization, viz. subject – oriented, which has been designated by the present author elsewhere as 'tanization' (see Kumaraswami Raja, N. 1972. "Tanization and reflexivization" (abstract). The Third All India Conference of Linguistics, Hyderabad.) We shall demonstrate how a sentence which is given below involving tanization is derived.

5. ra:man go:pa:liTam ta:n vantata:kac conna:n
   'Rama told Gopal that he came.'

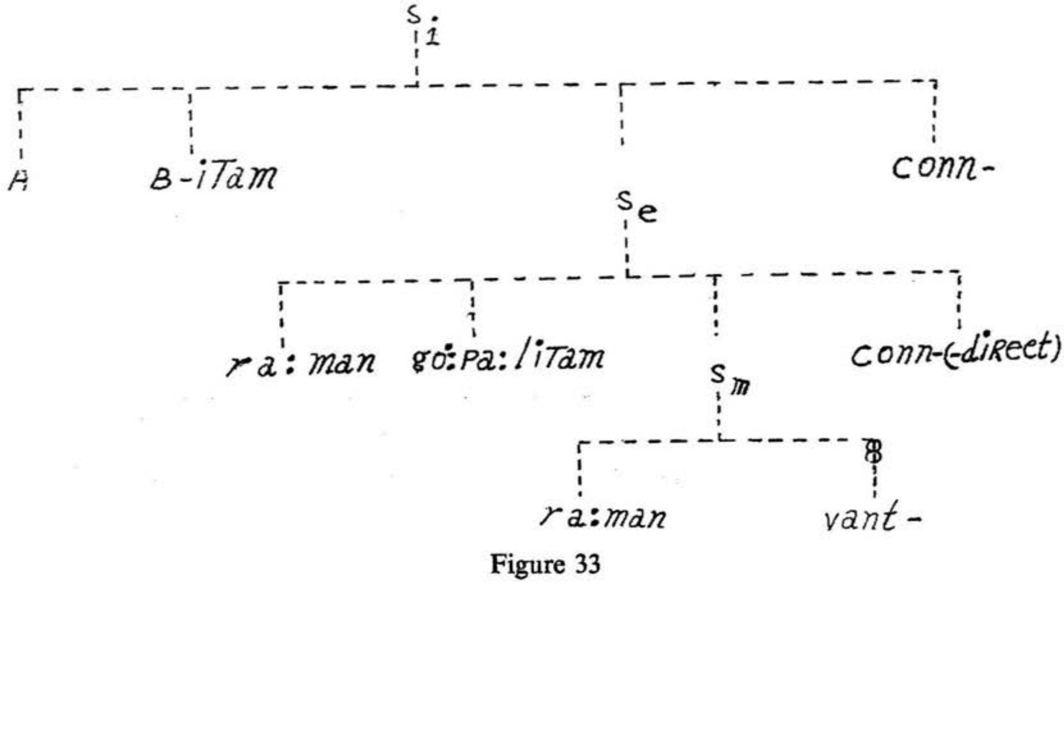


Figure 33

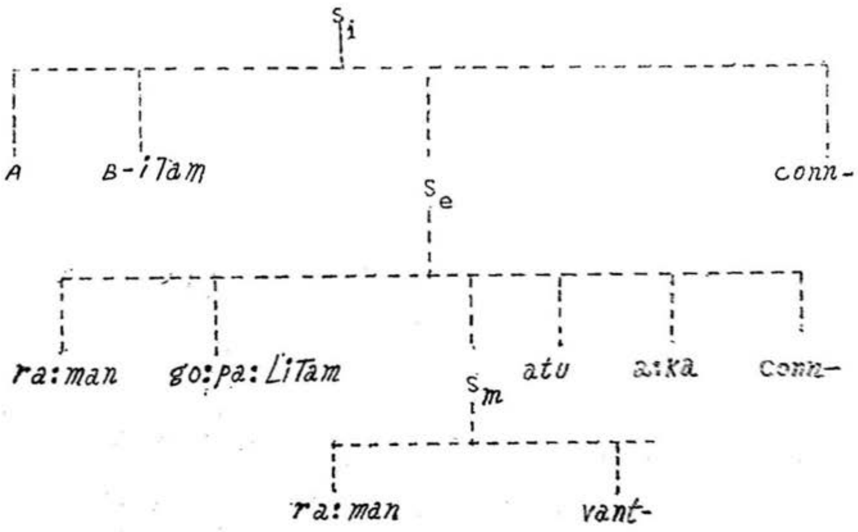


Figure 34

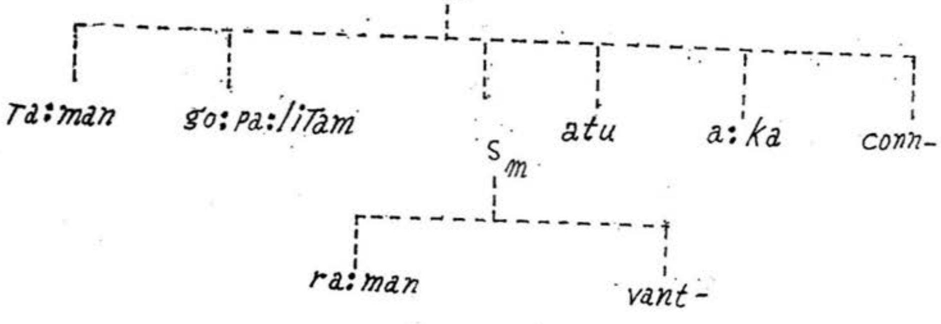


Figure 35

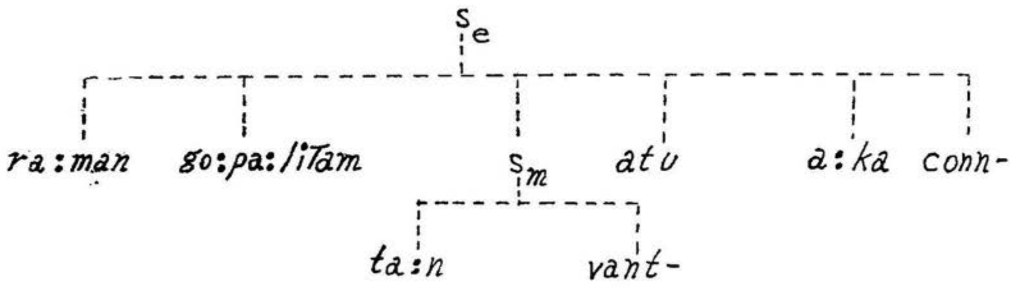


Figure 36

The traditional way of deriving the indirect speech form in this case is through the direct speech. According to this, the pronoun na:n 'I' of the direct speech sentence will be converted into ta:n. Tanization is essentially a subject oriented process and not speaker-oriented and hence the best solution would be to derive ta:n straight from a noun phrase rather than through the intermediary na:n 'I'.

RARE AND OBSOLETE LINGUISTICS FEATURES IN ANCIENT TAMIL

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Every language in the world undergoes constant changes from time to time. In any language some of the features which have had been prevalent in a particular stage would have been gradually lost in the subsequent stages. In Tamil also there is no exception to this phenomenon. Quite a few rare linguistic features which are found to occur in ancient Tamil have become obsolete in the later stages. The presence of these rare and obsolete features in ancient texts marks the characteristics of the ancient Tamil language. Thus the purpose of the paper is to trace and enumerate the significant linguistic features which mark the earliest stage of the Tamil language, on the basis of the extant texts.

The language described in the grammar of Tolkappiyam and the language of Cankam literature are herein referred to as ancient Tamil. The language of Ettuttokai (eight anthologies) and Pattup-pattu (ten idylls) is identified as the language of Cankam literature and the language of Patinenkilkkanakku and of the twin epics is referred to as the languages of post-cankam period. A comparison of the ancient Tamil with the language of post-cankam period and also with that of subsequent stages will evidently reveal the fact that a number of linguistic features which are found to occur in the ancient Tamil language has become obsolete. A few rare features are attested only in Tolkappiyam; some others are found in Cankam texts also; some are attested only in Cankam literature and a few others rarely continue to exist till the post-Cankam period.

These linguistic features are found in the various levels, like phonological, morphological, syntactical, and lexical levels. To a certain extent, the obsolete features can be traced in the semantic components of certain words also. Further the phonetic qualities of certain phonemic representations described in the grammar of Tolkappiyam have changed considerably in Modern Tamil.

An analysis of these festures will help to determine the evolution of the Tamil language in its historical perspective.

Phonology

Phonetic qualities

Tolkappiyar describes the phonetic qualities of all the phonemic representations and of certain phonemic variants enumerated by him. A comparison of them with their modern pronunciation reveals the fact that there were significant distinctions in the phonetic qualities of certain representations in ancient Tamil.

r (ṟ்) which is an alveolar trill in modern Tamil was an alveolar stop in ancient Tamil (TE, 94).

l (ழ்) which is a retroflex frictionless continuant in modern Tamil was almost an alveolar flap in ancient Tamil (TE, 95).

The phonetic quality for y(ய்) described in Tolkappiyam was also different from the one which is ascribed to it now (TE, 99).

The phonetic quality of aytam should have been different from the one ascribed to it in modern Tamil (TE, 36-40; 101). Further its occurrence in the language has now become obsolete.

Tolkappiyar speaks of the occurrence of the shortened u initially, preceded by n in a kinship term (nuntai) and says that it does not contrast with the phoneme u (TE, 67, 68).

Phonemes

Tolkappiyar speaks of the free variation of the phonemes i and y in the final position (TE, 58).

nāy, nāi; āy, āi

Tolkappiyar describes the formations of vowel clusters in ancient Tamil by the combinations of a + i > ai and a + u > au, although he recognizes the nature of the combination a + i > ay being a diphthong (TE, 54-56).

According to Tolkappiyam, ñ is a full-fledged phoneme occuring initially, medially, and finally, although it is found in free variation with n - initially in Cankam literature.

ñamali,	maññai,	uriñ
ñarala	narala	AN, 13, 47)
ñiṇam	niṇam	(NT, 45; AN, 9)
ñanṭu	nanṭu	

Tolkappiyar says that y- occurs initially followed by -ā alone, whereas in Cankam literature it is found followed by - a and -ū in certain borrowed words.

yātu (PN, 286), yāmai (PN, 42), yāl (PN, 64), yavanar (PN, 56); yūpam (PN, 15), yūkam (KT, 43).

However, initial y- is gradually lost even from the Cankam period.

yñru	(AN, 11)	āru	(KT, 20)
yāntu	(PN, 86)	āntu	(PN, 357)
yāmai	(AN, 117)	āmai	(PN, 387)

In ancient Tamil y- is found to occur in free variation with -ñ initially in certain words (TE, 146).

mānyatta	manñātta
ponyātta	ponñātta
yāṅkar	ñāṅkar

Ancient Tamil gives sufficient evidences for a clear-cut contrast between the dental n (TE, 79) and the alveolarṉ (TE, 82).

Tolkappiyam accounts for two words ending with -n (TE, 75, 79, 301) and nine words with final -n whose ending does not freely vary with -m (TE, 82).

verin (TE, 300, AN, 42)
porun (TE, 298, 299)
ukin, cekin, vilan, payin, kuyin, alan, pulan, katan, vayan.
verin "back"; verin "if (you) are afraid of".

Tolkappiyar says that -au can occur finally if it is preceded by k- and v- (TE, 70), but au is not found to occur finally even in Cankam texts.

Tolkappiyar states that -o can occur finally when it is preceded by the consonant n- only.

nopparai (KUT, 172)

The occurrence of -o in the final position is completely lost even from the ancient period.

Of the various consonantal clusters enumerated in Tolkappiyam (TE, 23-28), the following clusters are not even found to occur in Cankam literature.

-lc-, -ly-, -nc-, -nñ-, -ny-, -nv-, -nc-, -nñ, -ny-, -nv-, -ny-, -yc-, -yñ-, -yn-, -re-, -rn-, -ry-, -rn-, -lc-, -lñ-, -ly-, -lṅ-.

Morphology

According to Tolkappiyam the forms ellam, ellir and ellar take nam, num and tam respectively, when they are declined. Thus the declined forms are ellanammaiyum, ellanammotum, etc., ellirnummaiyum, ellirnummotum etc., and ellartammaiyum, ellartammotum etc., respectively (TE, 189-191). These usages are not found even in Cankam literature.

Of the locative markers (TC, 82) enumerated in Tolkappiyam tevakai and car have become obsolete even in Cankam period.

The fifth case marker -in (TC, 76, 76) is described in Tolkappiyam as one denoting the comparative meaning and it is found in Cankam literature as a marker for the comparative case. But in the later period, it is found to denote the ablative meaning.

The case markers -atu and -ku were accepted as free variants, while expressing genitive case relationship in the rational class (TC, 94).

nampi makan, may be expanded as
nampiyatu makan
nampikku makan

In modern Tamil these are found to occur as dialectal variants.

The cariyais -on, -ikku and -akku (TE, 119) enumerated in Tolkappiyam are not found to occur in their full forms in any literature; neither the form -ikku with the changes described in Tolkappiyam is found to occur in any of the literary works.

The -an cariyai described in Tolkappiyam is not actually an inflexional increment (TE, 199, 247, 286, 331). The use of -an even as per the description in Tolkappiyam is also completely lost in the later period.

orupanai etc., (TE, 199)
onpan (TE, 459, 470)
paraniyarkontan
kettaiyarkontan

The cariyai -attu is not generally found to occur in its full form (TE, 119), except it is being described in Tolkappiyam as one occurring with the words nila (TE, 228), pani (TE, 241), vali (TE, 242), malai (TE, 287), vin (TE, 305), veyil (TE, 377) and irul (TE, 402). These uses are not found in any extant literary works.

Quite a few nouns do not take the cariyais, as described in Tolkappiyam.

urin -in (TE, 182)
maka -in, (TE, 218)
panai, ka -in kurai (TE, 167, 169)
onru, etc. -an (TE, 194, 198, 419)

The construction avaiyarrai (TE, 122) formed by avai taking the cariyai varru in inflexion is not also found in any text.

The participial nouns taking the non-past marker -n- have become obsolete in the later-day Tamil.

varunar (PN, 10)
Inar, patunar (PN, 135)

tappuna (PN, 189)
turakkunar (KT, 13)

The first person verbal terminations -ku, -tu, -ṭu and -ru for singular (TC, 203) and -kum, -ṭum, -tum, and -rum for plural (TC, 202) have become obsolete. The terminations -tu, u and -ru are not found even in Cankam literature.

The first person singular termination -al also is rare in ancient Tamil and has gradually become obsolete (TE, 103).

varuval (PN, 23), ventuval (KT, 8)

The rational plural termination -pa and -mar (TC, 7, 207) are also gradually lost in the language.

Ipa (PN, 168), akupa (PN, 218), enpa (PN, 71)
atumar (KT, 92), mutimar (AN, 105)

The verbs with -untu termination (TC, 292) described in Tolkappiyam are found to occur only in twenty seven instances in Purananuru. Recently an instance of its occurrence in Innilai (45.3) is noted by A. Athithan.

Tolkappiyar describes a few of the verbal terminations as expletive particles in Itaiyiyal. They are -miya, -ika, -mo, -mati, -ikum and -cin (TC, 274, 275). miya is not found even in Cankam literature, whereas the others are rarely found only in ancient literature.

The occurrence of -k- as future tense is rare in old Tamil and has now become obsolete.

varukam (AN, 106), kankam (AKN, 199).
malainton allan (PN, 45)
pentirem allem (PN, 246)
piriyalen (KT, 21) cellalam (PN, 101)
cellarka (KT, 56) vararka (NT, 85)

Verbal participles of some of the patterns are also completely lost (TE, 222, 228). They are of ceyyu, ceytena, ceyyiya, ceyyiyar and ceyya patterns. Ceyya pattern of positive and negative verbal participles (TE, 222) which are rarely found to occur in Cankam literature have now become obsolete.

ariya (AKN, 298, NT, 13)
akala (NT, 242; MM, 19.97)

The constructions alankatai (TE, 1, 30, 62, 72; KUT, 339) and ilankatai (KUT, 93, NT, 174) are obsolete even from post-Cankam period.

Quite a few rare types of verbal forms which are found to occur in ancient Tamil have become obsolete even in post- Cankam peiod (TC, 7, 207, 211, 457).

ceym (PN, 48), vam (PN, 180)
cenme (NT, 247), ninme (NT, 300)
ceykuven (PN, 304), arikuvar (PN, 61)
konmar (PN, 15), ellumar (KT, 81)
koyyumon (AN, 252), ariyumon (PN, 225)
patumor (PN, 197), kanumor (PP, 83)
unmar (PP, 24), konmar (Pari, 6)
enmanar (TE, 6,33)

A number of itaiccols enumerated in Tolkappiyam, some of them except being rarely used in Cankam literature are completely lost in the later stages of Tamil language.

ma (TC, 273), anka (TC, 277), ya, ka, pira, pirakku, aro, po, matu (TC, 279), aka, akal (TC, 280), au (TC, 281), otu (TC, 284), erru (TC, 263), man (TC, 252), til (TC, 253), kon (TC, 254), manra (TC, 265), antil (TC, 267), el (TC, 269).

Quite a few particles of comparison are lost in the language; some of them like the following are lost even in the Cankam language (TP, 286-291).

onra, otta, kalla, kayppa, poruva, marra, viyappa, vilaiya, vila, vella.

Syntax

Tolkappiyar says that the interrogative pronoun evan is generally used in questioning the unknown objects to clear the doubts (TC, 31).

evan kai arranai (AN, 201)
inku evan ceytiyo pana (PN, 68)

Here evan refers to the neuter singular objects.

The predicative function of the form evan is also described elsewhere in Tolkappiyam (TC, 219). Tolkappiyar says that the interrogative predicate evan occurs with both the singular and the plural nouns of the non-rational class.

iktu evano (KUT. 158)
ellam evano (KUT. 323)

Tolkappiyar discusses the nature of 'ceyku' pattern first person singular finite verb being followed by another finite verb (TC, 204). In Cankam texts, it is noticed that ''ceyku' pattern finite verb is followed by another first person singular finite verb.

kanku vantanen yane (PP, 88)
maiyalai mato vituku enren (KT, 10)

Tolkappiyar says that the -mar ending finite verb may be followed by another finite verb TC, (7, 207).

nani viruntayarmar ter varum (KUT, 155)
inku ekumar ulen (KUT, 173)

In the above instances the - mar ending verbal forms function as verbal participles.

The agreement of the form penmakan with the feminine singular verbal predicate is described in Tolkappiyam (TC, 194).

penmakan vantal

The occurrence of 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs in agreement with the masculine singular and feminine singular finite verbs is accepted in Tolkappiyam and in Cankam texts (TC, 173, 227).

katalam putalvan alum ini mulaikke (AKN, 424)
tayum manam tiriyum (PN, 183)

According to Tolkappiyam, the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern may indicate the particular singular gender (i.e., masculine or feminine) in the rational class, if they are suited to it (TC, 173,).

cattan yaleluum
catti cantu araikkum

Tolkappiyar describes the use of the same optative verb as the predicates even when the subject consists of both the rational and the non-rational noun, (TC, 45).

avum ayanum celka "May the cow and thecow-herd go"

The form tan occurs as a subject agreeing with the third person singular predicates, whereas the form tam with the third person plural predicates (TC, 184 185).

tan naninan (KUT, 265)
tàn tanniyale (KUT, 84)
tan vantanru (AKN, 134)
tam vantanar nam katalore (AKN, 270)
tam tamkelu takamaiyin alutana (KUT, 4)

According to Tolkappiyam, the common noun ellam occurs as subject in the plural (TC, 174, 186).

ellam vantar, ellam vantir, ellam vantem.

Tolkappiyar adds further that when ellam is used to refer to the rationals its preference is to the first person plural (TC, 187).

ellam vantem

Tolkappiyar indicates the structure of the obligatory verbal formation with the first member being formed from the verbal stems by the addition of the suffix -al and the second member being ventum 'must' (TC, 243).

ceyal ventum (TC, 243)
ceytal ventum (PN, 213)
cultal ventum (NT, 122)

Lexical items (lexemes)

A number of rare lexical items occurring or referred to in Tolkappiyam are not found to occur even in Cankam literature. An attempt is made to enumerate a few most significant ones here.

atoli, itoli, utoli, etoli, (TE, 159), antai, intai, untai, yantai (TE, 159, atan, putan, antai, (TE, 348), appi, ananey (TE, 232, 233), anku, inku, unku, yanku) (TE, 427), atuu, makatuu (TC, 2), av, iv, uv, tev (TE, 81), avvayin, ivvayin, uvvayin, evvayin (TE, 334), avvalan, ammattan, appentu, etc. (TC, 163), kam (TE, 328 329), tan, pen (TE, 351, 352), ucu (TE, 75), niyir (TC, 188), pan, kan, tamarai, vellam, ampal (TE, 393), eltamarai, elvellam, elampal, (TE, 393), tuni (TE, 239), onpan (TE, 199, 437), verin, porun, urin (TE, 79, 80, 297-300), ketavaral, urappu, tuyavu (TC, 319, 347, 368), ukin, cekin, vilan, payin, alan, pulan, kuyin, katan, vayan, (TE, 82), yan, yam, yavan, yaval, yavar, ya (TC, 162), an, ar, otu, ce, vicai, nemai, arai, vetir,val,ya, illam (TE, 229, 262, 278, 281, 283, 303, 304, 313, 336, 362), uvan, uval, uvar, utu, uktu, uv, uvai (TC, 162) .

Semantic Denotation

Tolkappiyar enumerates a number of itaiccols and uriccols with their meanings or usages in his work. A few of them have become obsolete even during Cankam period. Quite a few of them which are found to occur in Cankam texts have become obsolete in their semantic conotation, enumerated in Tolkappiyam. Some of them which have lost their original semantic notation are listed here.

Itaiccol: erru, el, polum, aka-akal, nanre, tancam, anka, amma.

Uriccol: uru, uru, purai, kurppu, olukal, palutu, vampu, vemmai, varitu, pinai, panai, patar, nanru, veruppu, kali, karuvi, ari, paytal, cer, val, nanavu, kati, vai.

Of course, the grammar of Tolkappiyam and the language of the so-called Cankam works mark the earliest stage in the historical development of Tamil language, based on the extant written records. However the chronology of the Cankam works has not emerged from the region of controversy. Most of them are collections or anthologies, and so it is quite possible that the verses in them were composed at different periods. Though the date of composition of each work in the ancient period is a matter of dispute, the postulate that the chosen works

(Tolkappiyam, Ettuttokai, and Pattuppattu) which represent the ancient Tamil are anterior to all other extant works is not disputable.

Note: 1. Regarding the case marker tevakai vide endowment talk, on Ilampuranar published by the Annamalai University.

2. Regarding untu—termination occuring in Innilai: This book is a spurious writing of the 20th century intended to be passed off as a classical piece.

3. The laxical iteems like uvan are however found in later books like. Tirukkovaiyar

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SCRIPT REFORM IN TAMIL

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Introduction

It is now a well established fact that speech is primary while writing is secondary and the former is as old as human beings but writing is only five or six millennia old. At present, seven writing systems, viz. (1) Sumerian (2) Ancient Elamite (3) Mohenjadaro – Harappa (4) Chinese (5) Egyptian (6) Cretan and (7) Hittitte are considered to be most ancient. They are considered to have a common origin in spite of lack of clear historical evidences (Gelb, 1962 : 219) and so the development of the writing system in any language in the later period is taken to reflect cultural contact, if not political and economic domination from outside (Fishman, 1977 : XIV). This means that the creation of a writing system reveals the linguistic knowledge of the creator in particular and that society in general but also the socio-cultural factors or extra code factors of that society.

When the history of the writing system in various languages of the world is studied it is seen that the writing system was revised due to various extra code factors. Hence the study of the writing system is considered to have two aspects, viz. (i) the creation of the writing system and (ii) the revision of the writing system. The revision of the writing system especially in the modern period is a planned development of a language and hence it is popularly known as the script reform.

The script reform does in general, not only include the shape of the script or the graphemes in linguistic parlance but also the other changes like the inventory of graphemes. Therefore the various dimensions of the revision of the writing system is noted first. As already noted, the revision is dictated by the socio-cultural factors and hence the major causes for the revision of the writing is then discussed in general terms.

Dimensions of script reform

The modification of the shape of the graphemes or their allographs, i.e. the so-called secondary symbols is one of the simple changes introduced in any language and it can be simply called 'shape change'. The most extreme type of shape change could be replacement of the present shape by entirely new shapes borrowed from other languages. For example, Vietnamese was using Chinese script till the seventeenth century and afterwards began to use Roman script due to the French

political and cultural influence. There are two types of shape changes, viz. (i) the modification of the shape of the graphemes or simply the modification of the shapes and (ii) the replacement of the old shapes by the new shapes or simply the replacements of the shapes, possible in the revision of the writing system of a language.

Another important change is the change in the inventory of the graphemes i.e. reductions or additions in the total number of scripts of a language. In Kannada and Telugu, the scripts for r (ற) and l (ள) had been omitted. As for the additions of graphemes, examples are found in many languages like Philipino and Turhic languages in the USSR. This change can be referred to as the graphemic change.

The shape change and the graphemic change entail another change, namely the spelling change, ie., the change in the spelling of the words. The spelling change may be due to the historic change in the language.

Totally, there are three major dimensions of the script reform in a language. They are (l) the shape change which includes the modification of the shapes and the replacement of the shapes (2) the graphemic change which includes the reduction or the addition of graphemes and (3) the spelling change.

Major causes

The gradual change is always inevitable in any cultural object but the major change is always due to some socio-cultural political factors. The circumstances under which language and non-language behaviour change concurrently, consecutively or independently are to be determined first and this is possible only when the study is undertaken with the context of studies of inter-group contacts.

One of the important causes is the major political change. As already noted the introduction of the Roman script in Vietnamese, Bhasa Indonesia, Wolof etc., are due to the western political dominance. In the case of Bhasa Indonesia, Arabic script was replaced by the Roman script due to the Dutch political and cultural influence. Vietnamese and Wolof had undergone the replacement of the shapes due to the French dominance.

Even in our own language, we come across replacement of shapes restricted to a particular region. This is with reference to the replacement of vatteluttu by ko:leluttu or Tamileluttu by Rajaraja in the Pandiya country where vattelluttu alone had been used. Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram (1966 : 241) explains the change in the following words:

"It was because of the difficulty of reading the customary style and also because of the desire to bring about the unity in his empire through the inscriptions written in a common script that the Chola emperor Rajaraja, the great displaced the vatteluttu even in the Pandiya country."

This could be said to have served the unifying function. Moreover, this had also served the purpose of a separating function. Since the vatteluttu was also employed In the adjacent Kerala country this replacement was helpful to cut off. a closer relationship between the Pandiya kingdom and the Chera kingdom.

The modification of the shapes in the Chinese language was introduced by the political and cultural change taking place locally. i.e. without any external influence. The simplifications which have been adopted are by and large those which have been customarily used by the Chinese in hasty and informal writing. Primarily they involve a reduction in the number of strokes by such devices as letting part of a character stand for the whole, replacement of a complicated character by a simpler homophone, condensing several strokes into one or two and soon." The number of abbreviated characters is expected to total about 3000 representing roughly half of the 7000-8000 characters occurring in ordinary modern Chinese (John De. Francis 1977-130).

The cultural change not enforced by the major political change seems to have affected the replacement of the graphemes in the medieval history of Indonesia where the Pallava and Old Javanese scripts were replaced by the Arabic script because of the Islamisation of the country (Shanmugam, 1979 : 28).

The change in the technical aspect of printing also seems to be responsible for the script reform. For instance, when the printing was introduced in the Maharashtra, the Mori script which was used to writing Marathi till the beginning of the 19th century was replaced by the Nagari script as the Missionaries could not separate the letters of Mori to prepare the type forms. This is the case of the replacement of the shapes. For the simplification of the shapes, Malayalam is a good example where 600 types of scripts were reduced by the script reform to 90 types of scripts (Prabhodachandran Nair, 1979 : 59).

In the Irish language, the Irish type was replaced by the Roman type because of the facility of the printing and because of the emotive argument that the latter gave written Irish a 'modern progressive appearance suited to its new status as a national language' (Murchu, 1979 : 284).

The status of the language is alone responsible for the revision of writing system in some cases. Generally the status can be of three kinds, viz. regional, national and supranational. The political changes are responsible for the change of the status of a language. A regional language may became a national language and a national may attain the status of the supranational language. Similarly the change can take place in the opposite way was also.

In Philipinese, there are many local languages which were considered to be vernaculars (or regional languages) and English was the official language. After the

independence, Tagalog became the optional language as well as the official language Incidentally the name of the language was changed into Philipino to suit its new status. It had only twenty graphemes and had added another eleven scripts to write the words borrowed from other regional languages (Sibayan 1974-239) when it because the national language. This is a case of graphemic change.

There are cases of the replacement of the shapes and the graphemic change due to the change of the status of the language. Turhic language spoken in the Central Asia in the USSR had adopted the Cyrillic script in total discarding the Roman script and so the inventory has increased. This is mainly due to the political status of the regions and hence the status of the language in general (for details, Hemze, '77).

Script reform in Tamil

In the light of the above discussion it should be clear that the script reform in any language would be natural and justifiable if the socio-cultural factors warrant such a change. They are already pointed out by many scholars like Meenakshi-sundaram (1952), Pulavar Kulandai (1968), Kulandaiswamy (1978).

Two major causes can be noted. Tne first one is the change in the technique of writing. Till the western influence in the 18th century, the writing by hand on the palm leaves with the stylus was the only common method found in Tamilnadu as well as other parts of India. Even though the printing was first introduced in 1577 (Sampandam, 1980: 43) it became more wide spread only during the 19th century. The typewriting is another technological innovation introduced from the west. Even in the printing many technological innovations are now introduced.

The introduction of printing alone lead E. V. Ramaswamy to suggest the script reform which is mainly concerned with graphemes. Even though the reform is oriented towards the mechanical efficiency, it is also useful to increase the pedagogical efficiency. After this proposal, more than a score of proposals are suggested by the language scholars, engineers, journalists. The merit and demerit of the some of the proposals are discussed in the book *eluttuci: riiruttām* (Shanmugam 1973 : 32-58).

'The political independence from the foreign rule is another major extra code factor. This has brought about far reaching consequences in the attitude of the government and the people. Being a democratic government, it is responsible for the welfare of the people, i.e. economic prosperity and social equality, which can be achieved through the spread of education to all levels. Hence the compulsory elementary education and the adult education are the two areas in which the central and the state governments are very much interested. But they have not come forward with a language policy whch could facilitate mass educa-

tion and mass communication. This would include the decision of the functional status of the regional national languages and the modernization of the languagess, which includes the graphization, standardization and the development of inter trunslatability with other languages in a range of topics and forms of discourse characteristic of industrialized, secularized structurally differented modern societies' (Ferguson, 1968 : 28).

As noted above the line of the development of the language is closely connected with our attitude towards the language and the society. Those who are primarily interested in the welfare of the people, consider the language as an instrument helpful for the development of the society. E. V. R. was of this view and most of the political leaders support this view only. But there are a few who wish to give primary importance to the language and hence oppose any change in the language in the name of uniqueness and the great grammatical tradition of Tamil. But the needs of the modern society are ignored by them.

Since the language as well as the script have changed throughout the historical periods, one cannot resist change in the name of tradition. Moreover, the Tamil society as well as other Indian societies are at the threshold of a new order, i.e. the socialistic pattern. Many social changes had already taken place and even now are under way. The language cannot be stagnant without catering to the need of the modern society. One of the important changes in the language is the script reform in the widest sense noted above.

Shape change

The present government of Tamilnadu had already introduced a reform especially for the modification of the shapes as suggested by E. V. Ramaswamy, during his birth centenary year, 1978 (G. O. No. 1875 dated 19th October 1978). The modification is restricted to the uniformity of the secondary symbols for a: and ai series in the syllabic letters. The change introduced to a: series is applicable to o and o: series as they are the combinations of the secondary symbols e/e: and a:.

Even this minor change was not well received. The oppositions are from two groups, viz. (i) the journalists and (ii) the group of Tamil scholars. Both the groups were against the reform because they were of the opinon that any cultural change like the script reform should not introduced by the elected government which had the possibility of change with the general elections to be held for every five years.

But this is not a change unknown to the people. Moreover many organisations and scholars had given support for the script reform. Therefore, what the government did in this respect was to make the change official so that it could be used widely.

In the first order the two diphthongs in Tamil were eliminated and they were replaced by the sequence of the vowel a plus the semi vowel y/v. This had given rise to a great controversy among the Tamil scholars but the government of Tamilnadu subsequently issued another order to retain the two diphthongs. However all the three Universities, Madras, Madurai and Annamalai have accepted the reform and also many academic associations like the All India Tamil Linguistics Association, All India University Tamil teachers association etc. have not only welcomed the reform but also they employ the modified scripts in their publications. Many university teachers use the modified system in their own publications. The Government on their part use them in all their publications. The Text Book Society which is an organ of the government has introduced the new system as and when their books are reprinted or printed for the first time.

Two mass media, dailies and weeklies are still following the old shapes. The unfortunate thing is that the dailies supporting the present government do not use the new system.

The present government has already constituted another committee to suggest the further reforms to be carried out. Hence it is proper to know in detail the other reforms to be introduced in the present writing system.

In the modification of shapes, the present reform is able to reduce the type scripts only and we still need 124 type scripts. The syllabic letters, the secondary symbols in the i, i:, u, and u: series are conjoined while all other secondary symbols are only adjoined. and this has resulted large number of allographs for those four series.

Many scholars have already suggested certain modifications in the secondary symbols by selecting one symbol for each vowel and adding them adjointly. They are not entirely new forms and so there may not be any difficulty in accepting them, But the reform should be made official by consulting a large of group of scholars. journalists, creative writers, printers and others interested.

In the scholarly writing about the script reform in Tamil, the other dimensions of the script reform are not seriously discussed and hence they are not popular. However there are some sharp references about dimensions of script reform. The replacement of shapes are vehemently attacked by many and so the supplementary use of other scripts like the Roman script is not given due weight. Here there are two types of replacements. One is for the transliteration system which is concerned with the one to one replacement of Tamil graphemes by the Roman scripts for the purpose of Tamil Linguistic research as well as for writing Tamil names in the foreign languages and other studies and for the preparation of catalogues in the libraries. The need for the systematization of the transliteration has already pointed out by some (Kothandaraman, 1974 : 42; Shanmugam 1975).

The other type of use is the ordinary spelling of Tamil words in English and foreign languages. Even though it is not possible to control all the foreign writings, the official use in the public places of Tamilnadu and other parts of India could be standardized. Being a multilingual country, it is imperative to use other scripts in the public places, railway stations, bus stands etc. and so the method of writing Tamil words could be systematized in the devanagiri and other scripts. Kulandaisamy (1978) has very well argued the case of systematization of Roman script as an auxiliary case. This is a minor part of the script reform and the society should regularise its activities as far as possible in all the spheres.

Graphemic change

In the Modern written Tamil, we are using the Tamil script as well as some other letters commonly known as the Sanskrit or the grantha script and they are also taught to the first year students of the primary schools. However, there are scholars who are vehemently opposed to the use of the grantha scripts (see for details Shanmugam 1978 : 94-111). The hesitation in using the grantha letters has increased double spelling for many words.

In the grantha script, some of them represent the new sounds which are phonemic in the modern Tamil and at least one letter is redundant. But, even the redundant letter is used complementarily. Moreover, those graphemes are very useful in the scientific and technological writings. In the cultural side, one needs those graphemes to write the national anthem. and also to write the names of Muslim and Christian Tamils.

Tamil is not a mere regional language. Since it is spoken especially in Sri Lanka Malayasia and Singapore where it is used in the administration and education, it is an international language. In short, the expansion of the social function of the modern Tamil as well as its international status warrant employmet of the grantha graphemes as well as some additional graphemes for which a unifom suggestion has not been made. Therefore a detailed research should be undertaken to study all the modern needs as well as the present position of the language to find out the solution.

Tamil is a diglossic language which means that the spoken variety and the written variety are different in all aspects of the language structure, phonology, morphology and syntax. Moreover, the literary and the grammatical tradition for the last two thousand years, and the written spellings tend to be archaic even though the spoken language has changed considerably. Therefore the correct spelling of some words have become controversial from the scholarly point of view. The problem is between the ancient literary spellings known to the scholars and the modern spellings based on the modern spoken Tamil and the fit between the phonemes and the graphemes.

If mass literacy is the aim of our leaders, it is not correct to insist on the spellings based on the ancient literature. The insistence on the ancient spelling has led one to consider the writing of Maraimalaiyatikal and M. Varadarajan having spelling mistakes. Therefore the spelling of words should be divided on the basis of the modern spoken languages, the relation between the phonemes and graphemes in the Modern Tamil and also the theory of reading etc. As Subramania Bharati has observed, the modern written language should be comprehendable to all those who are educated even for one or two years. If so, the many modern uses in the spelling should be standardized on the basis of the modern language.

Conclusion

Tamil is one of the classical language of the world. But at the same time it is a modern language. Therefore to serve as a modern vehicle for the purposes like administration, education and the judiciary, it should be standardized so that the users should not be doubtful in the matters of the shapes, number of graphemes and the spelling of words. The problem of standardization is an academic problem which should be solved by the academic scholars taking into consideration the present status and the modern needs. The spread of the standardization is in the hands of the governments. Therefore it is high time that the various institutions connected with the development of Tamil should come forward to work on the problems of standardization and to take a consensus among the Tamil scholars from Tamilnadu as well as from Srilanka, Malaysia and Singapore etc. This is really a problem to be tackled at the international level.

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BE AND HAVE VERBS IN TAMIL

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1. Lyons (1968: 322-23; 388-99) suggested that what is generally referred to as 'the verb *to be*' in English and other languages, is a grammatical element devoid of meaning, which serves only to 'carry' the markers of tense, mood and aspect in the surface structure of sentences. The purpose of this paper is to show what Lyons suggested is true in the case of another natural language, namely, Tamil. An attempt is also made in this paper to illustrate the functions of the verbs *aaku* 'become', *aana* 'became', *iru* 'be, have', *kita* 'be, have, lie down' and *nil* 'be' in colloquial Sri Lanka Tamil (CSLT).[1] By illustrating the functions of the verbs 'be' and 'have' in CSLT, it is proposed to show that most of the existential locative and possessive sentences in CSLT are interconnected.

2. **Verb 'to be'**

Let us consider the following CSLT sentences:

(1) (a) vativaana makal (Lit. 'beautiful-became + daughter') — 'Beautiful daughter'
(b) makal vativ-aay iru-kkiraal (Lit. 'daughter + beautiful-become + be-she') 'Daughter is beautiful'

(2) (a) kulantai-aana Selvi (Lit. 'child-become + Selvi) 'Child Selvi'
(b) Selvi kulantaiy-aay iru-kkiraal (Lit. 'Selvi + child-become + be-she') 'Selvi is a child'

(3) (a) inipp-aana peeccu (Lit. 'sweet-became + speech) 'Sweet speech'
(b) peeccu inipp-aay iru-kkutu (Lit. 'speech + sweet-become + be-it') 'Speech is sweet'

(4) (a) koopam-aana anta aakkal (Lit. 'angry-became + those + people') 'Those angry people'
(b) anta aakkal koopam-aay irukkinam (Lit. 'those + people + angry-become + be-those') 'Those people are angry'

The above surface sentences have *aana* 'became' in (a) and *aay* + *iru*, literally, 'become + be' in (b). Those sentences can transformationally be derived from the following respectively:

(5) makal vativu — 'Daughter (is) beautiful'
(6) Selvi kulantai — 'Selvi (is) a child'

(7) peeccu inippu 'Speech (is) sweet'
(8) anta aakkal koopam 'Those people (are) angry

In literary Tamil one may insist that the sentences (5) to (8) be rendered as:

(9) makal vativ-aanaval
(10) Selvi kulantaiy-aavaal
(11) peeccu inipp-aanatu
(12) anta aakkal koopam-aanavarkal

Traditional Tamil grammarians have postulated only an optional verb for sentences such as (9), (10), (11), and (12). The commentator of *Nannul* (sutra: 347) cites the following sentences:

Caattan nallan 'Caattan (is) good'
kaḷviyaar periyan 'He (became) great by education'

and says that these sentences can either be rendered as they are or with the verb *aa* 'become'.[2] This suggests that the verb *aa* 'become', according to the Tamil grammarians too, is not a deep structure verb. It is, however, sometimes needed at the surface structure to perform certain functions. For instance, consider the following 'surface' sentence in CSLT:

(13) atu puuv-aaka pinc-aaka maariccu

Lt. 'It + flower-become + fruit-become + changed'

This sentence is derived from three deep sentences such as:

(14) atu puu 'it (is) flower'
(15) atu pincu 'it (is) fruit'
(16) atu maariccu 'it changed'

Both the sentences (14 and 15) where the predicative nouns are directly combined with the subject nouns, do not need *copula*. But the transformational rules that apply on to (14), (15) and(16) to yield the surface structure (13),apart from deleting the identical subjects *atu*, will also insert the verb *aaka* 'become' into the surface structure. Here the verb *aaka* serves as a grammatical element that simply combines sentences (14), (15) and (16).

Although *aaka* in (13) are dummy verbs, they can be considered as important surface markers of certain deep structure features. Here, an important basic feature in Tamil has to be explained. In a transformed complex Tamil sentence, the appearance of the number of non-finite verbs will denote the number of basic sentences that had been inserted into a principal sentence. For instance, (16) can be considered as the principal sentence and (14) and (15) are inserted while transformation rules are applied. Thus the subject *atu* and the predicate *mariccu* of (16) are preserved while (14) and (15) are indicated in (13) by the non-finite marker *aaka* added with the predicates *puu* and *pincu* respectively. In most of the Indo-European

languages, a complex sentence can usually result from the application of a conjoining transformation. That sentence will always have co-ordinate clauses linked by co-ordinate conjunctions.

e.g.[3] Caesar advanced and Pompey retreated.
Man proposes and God disposes.

But in Tamil such co-ordinate clauses are normally linked by non-finite verbs. For instance,

(17) Selvi ootinaal
(18) Senthuran natantaan

are two simple sentences. These two sentences can be conjoined only by changing the finite verb *ootinaal* into a non-finite as *oota*. Thus the resulting sentence shall be:

(19) Selvi oota Senthuuran natantaan

In (13), the non-finite verb *aaka* appears twice representing two basic sentences of the deep structure.

3. Existential and Locative Sentences

The following sentences occur frequently in CSLT:

(20)	cinkam kaattila	'lion + forest-in'
(21)	pantu meecaiyila	'ball + table-on'
(22)	Raamu viittila	'Rama + house-at'
(23)	tampi Kantiyila	'brother + Kandy-at'

The sentences (20), (21) and (23) can be regarded as 'existential' sentences, whereas (21) is 'locative'. But one thing that all these sentences have in common is the possession of 'locative' case ending *-ila*. Whether these sentences have the verb *iru* 'to be' or not, the semantic notions of 'existence' and 'location' are expressed by the case suffix *-ila*. But if these sentences are put in optative mood, the verb *iru* appears in the surface structure with the necessary markers of tense, mood, person, number and gender. Thus the sentence (20) will realize either as:

(24) cinkam kaattila irukkattum
Lt. 'lion + forest-in + let-exist'
'Let the lion exist in the forest'

or as:

(25) cinkam kaattila ciivikkattum
Lit. 'lion + forest-in let-live'
'Let the lion live in the forest'

The sentence (21) will realize either as:

(26) pantu meecaiyila kitakkattum

Lit. 'ball + table-on + let-be'
'Let the ball be on the table'

or as:

(27) pantu meecaiyila irukkattum
Lit. 'ball + table-on + let-be'
'Let the ball be on the table'

The sentence (22) will realize as:

(28) Raamu viittila irukkattum
Lit. 'Ramu + house-at + let-exist'
'Let Ramu stay in the house'

and it is related to the sentence:

(29) Raamu katirayila irukkattum
Lit. 'Ramu + chair-on + let-sit'
'Let Ramu sit on the chair'

The sentence (23) will realize either as:

(30) tampi Kantiyila irukkattum
Lit. 'brother + Kandy-in + let-exist'
'Let brother live in Kandy'

or as:

(31) Tampi Kantiyila ciivikkattum
Lit. 'brother + Kandy-in + let-live'
'Let brother live in Kandy'

The above details help us to draw certain conclusions: (a) the 'existential' sentence requires 'complementation" with a locative (cf. sentences 20, 22 and 23); (b) like the verb *aana* 'become' in sentences (1) to (12), the verbs *iru*'exist, be, sit, live', *ciivi*, 'live', kita 'exist, lie, be' etc. are not deep structure verbs; (c) these verbs are devoid of meaning in indicative mood because the locative casal suffix *-ila* expresses the semantic notions of 'existence', 'being', 'living', 'location' etc. In other moods or in the past tense, these verbs are merely the 'carriers' of the markers of tense, mood, person, number and gender.

4. Possessive Sentences

Consider the following surface sentences:

(32) puttakam Raamuv-inra
Lit. 'book + Ramu-possessive'
'Ramu's book'

(33) puttakam Raamuv - itta irukkutu
Lit. 'book + Ramu-locative + exist'
'The book is with Ramu'

(34) Raamu puttakam vaccirrukkiraan
Lit. 'Ramu + book + possessive'
'Ramu has a book'.

In (32), the subject is *puttakam* 'the book' and the predicate is *Raamuv-inra* 'Ramu's', a noun in the 'genitive' or 'possessive' case, where *inre* is the casal suffix. In (33) *puttakam* 'the book' is the subject and *Raamuv-itta irukkutu* is the predicative phrase, with *Raamuv-itta* the locative complement of the existential verb *iru* 'be',. In (34) *Raamu* is the subject and the predicative phrase is *puttakam vaccirukkiraan* with *puttakam* as the subject of the verb *vacciru* 'to have'. Although these three sentences are strikingly different in surface structure, they are transformationally related to the phrase *Raamuv-inra puttakam.*

5. Animate Vs. Inanimate and Possessive Vs. Existential Locative

The most striking relationship between the possessive and the existential locative sentences can be illustrated by comparing sentences (21) and (33):

(21) pantu meecaiyila

(33) Puttakam Raamuv-itta

In each of these sentences, the predicative nominal is a locative complement, i.e. noun with its locative case suffix. In the case of (21), *ila* is the locative case suffix, whereas in (33), *itta* is the locative case suffix. Both sentences may have the verb *iru* 'be' in their surface structures. But the semantic notions of 'being' and 'having' are expressed not by the verb *iru*, but by the locative case suffixes *ila* and *itta* respectively. Although both (21) and (33) have locative complements, the former can be regarded as a typical locative sentence, whereas the latter can be referred to as a possessive one. Though *ila* and *itta* are locative case suffixes, they are complementarily distributed so that the former suffixed to an inanimate noun expressing the semantic notion of 'being' and the latter suffixed to an animate noun expressing the semantic notion of 'having'. Suppose these locative suffixes are added to the predicative nominals by virtue of the presence of the feature (+ loc), the abstract deep structure of (21) and (33) will be:

(35) NP + (N, + loc)

Certain features apart from (+ loc) should be present with the predicative nominals so that the rules will provide with one locative case suffix, i.e. *ila* which will express the semantic notion of 'being' for (21) and another locative suffix, i.e. *itta* which will express the semantic notion of 'having' for (33). In the case of the predicative nominal of (21), it should carry the features (N, -animate +sg), but in the case of (33), it should carry the features (N, + animate +sg.). Hence, it could be assumed that an inanimate predicative nominal would take the locative suffix *ila*, whereas an animate predicative nominal would take *itta* as the locative case suffix. Tamil

nouns, according to the Tamil grammarians, are classified into two major categories as human and non-human. But here, we come across a kind of distribution of casal suffixes which warrants recognition of a division between animate and inanimate nouns.

A class of animate Vs inanimate nouns is further justified by citing a few more syntactic patterns in Tamil. For instance, consider the following sentences:

(36) Selvi avanaip paarttaal 'Selvi saw him'

(37) Selvi marattaip paarttaal 'Selvi saw the tree'

The objects of (36) and (37) are *avanai* and *marattai* respectively. Suppose the objects of these sentences become the subjects and the subjects become the objects, then the following sentences will emerge as:

(38) avan Selviyaip paarttaan 'He saw Selvi'

(39) maram Selviyaip paarttatu 'The tree saw Selvi'

A native speaker of Tamil will immediately recognize the sentence (38) as a well-formed one and (39) as an ill-formed one. The basic factor that has to be considered between them is that an animate subject can always have an animate or inanimate object, whereas an inanimate subject will never take an animate object. This is a basic feature of Tamil syntax.

6. Finally, it may be observed that the verbs *aaku* 'become' and *iru* 'be, have' in Tamil are to be treated as 'surface' structure verbs, each of them being generated by the grammar to carry markers of tense, mood, person, number and gender. Further, the verbs like *iru*, 'sit', *kita* 'lie', *ciivi* 'live' and *vacciru* 'possess' which are customarily regarded as 'full' verbs should also be treated in the same manner. It was also observed that the semantic notions of 'existentialism', 'location' and 'possession' are expressed by certain casal suffixes than by verbs like *iru*, *aa*, etc.

NOTES

1. For CSLT, see:
   (a) Suseendirarajah, S. *A Descriptive Study of Ceylon Tamil*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, 1967.
   (b) Sanmugadas, A., *The Phonology of Verbal Forms in Colloquial Ceylon Tamil*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1972.
2. The verb *aa* in CSLT is inflected either as *aaku* 'become' or as *aana* 'became'. The elements /k/ in the former and /n/ in the latter seem to be the markers of present and past tenses respectively.
3. Example borrowed from Lyons (1968: 266).

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DENTAL AND ALVEOLAR NASALS IN SANGAM TAMIL

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Indo-Aryan (IA) has only the dental nasal /n/ but no alveolar nasal /ṉ/ not even as allophone. Tamil, on the contrary, has both the nasals being orthographically represented in the Sangam texts.[1] However, the IA loan words which are found used in the Sangam texts have both the dental and the alveolar nasals in the prevocalic position.[2] The IA dental nasal is represented by the dental nasal in the initial position but elsewhere by the alveolar nasal in the Sangam texts.

Exx.

IA			TA		
naataka	'drama'	=	naatakam	Per.	55
neemi	'disc'	=	neemi	Cir.	253
manas	'mind'	=	maṉam	Pur.	183–4
muni	'sage'	=	muṉivaṉ	Pur.	201–8

This is the general and predominant distributional pattern within stems for the Tamil dental and alveolar nasals also.

Exx.

naatu	'country'	Pur.	16–17
naaṟu	'[to] smell'	Pur.	168–9
Puṉal	'water'	Por.	240
ciṉam	'anger'	Nar.	305–9
yaaṉ	'I'	Nar.	2–64
vaaṉ	'sky'	Nar.	3–128

This dual representation of the IA dental nasal shows that the Sangam Tamil must have kept both the dental and the alveolar nasals as separate phonemes; otherwise the IA dental nasal would have been represented everywhere only by the dental nasal in the Sangam texts.

Sound segments to be phonemic must, according to the modern phonemic theory, be in contrast either in the identical environment or in the analogous environment. A closer inspection of the Sangam texts reveals that the situation is not a simple one. It is rather complex instead. As the IA loans and the native words show, in general the dental nasal occurs initially, while the alveolar nasal occurs elsewhere. However there are also certain other complicated medial environments in which the dental nasal occurs. This is to be thoroughly investigated.

There are two kinds of dental nasal occurring in the medial position. One is the grammatically significant dental nasal.

Exx.

aatunar	'will dance-they'	Pur.	29–24
paatunar	'will sing-they'	Pur.	14–19

Here the dental nasal denotes the future tense. This kind of dental nasal occurs medially in verbs only. The other one is a simple nasal without any grammatical significance. This nasal occurs medially and finally in a few nouns only.

Exx.

kaluniir	'Indian water lily'	Aka.	156–9
munniir	'sea'	Aka.	104–5
porunaṉ	'warrior'	Pur.	78–6
kolunaṉ	'husband'	Aka.	106–5
nerunal	'yesterday'	Aka.	6–11
tolunai	'Yamuna river'	Aka.	59–4
porunai	'Tambrabarani river'	Pur.	11–5
verin	'back'	Nar.	25–1
palun	'to be fertile'	Mal.	578
porun	'to resemble'	Cf. Tol.	1–299

Among the above forms, kaluniir and munniir are compound forms consisting of two words: kalu + niir, mun + niir. Etymological explanation for the first compound is difficult to find now though the second word niir is understood to denote 'water'. The second compound means three + water denoting 'sea' supposed to have received water from river, tank and rain. The form porun is only lexical used by the commentators only.[3] The dental nasal in the following forms regularly alternates with the alveolar nasal.

Exx.

paḻun	—	paluṉ	Pur.	113–3
nerunal	—	neruṉal	Nar.	25–5
toḻunai	—	toluṉai	Cil.	16–50
puṟunai	—	poruṉai	Cil.	28–126

Therefore these forms are not useful to know whether or not the dental and the alveolar nasals are separate phonemes in the Sangam Tamil.

The forms porunan and kolunan may be taken as participial nouns derived from the Verbs having the dental nasal as the future tense marker. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that non – ṉ is found in the case of these two forms.[5] At present no explanation is offered for verin though it fluctuates with ven – veṉ later [ven, Pinkalam; veṉ, Tiruppukal, 10].[6] There is also another alternant verim for verin in Aka. 37–10. If verin is used to maintain the necessary contrast with

n̲ giving forms like tarin̲ 'if given' and we have also a form like verinam [Par. 21-5], then there is no reason to give for the IA n becoming n̲ medially in the IA loans in the Sangam Tamil.

It is only the verbal forms in which the dental nasal occurs signifying the future tense are useful in the phonemic analysis of dental and alveolar nasals. Here it must be noted that the dental nasal denoting the future tense never alternates with the alveolar nasal. The future tense dental nasal appears to be in contrast with the past tense alveolar nasal in verbs.

Exx.

ari-n-ar	'will cut—they'	Nar. 275–1
aat-in̲-ar	'danced-they'	Aka. 138–13

Here both the nasals occur in contrast intervocalically. But a rigorous phonemicist may try to show this as a case of complementation by narrowly redefining the environment. If closely observed, it can be seen that the dental nasal occurs after morphemic juncture whereas the alveolar nasal occurs after vowel.

Exx.

ari + n + ar
at + in + ar[7]

The above redefinition on the basis of morphemic functure nullifies the contrast formerly set up and makes the nasals appear in complementary distribution. This kind of analysis may lead one to conclude that the alveolar nasal cannot occur after morphemic functure in the Sangam Tamil. But this is not correct. The alveolar nasal also occurs after morphemic functure.

Exx.

ya-n	'I'	Nar. 3–7
kantan̲–a–n̲	'saw-I'	Kur. 311–4

For the sake of argument one can agree that the dental and the alveolar nasals contrast in the analogous environment as is described above. But the classical languages like Sanskrit and Tamil present a different picture with regard to the phonemic principle underlying their alphabetical systems.[8] Except the palatal nasal, all other nasals contrast in identical environments. But the palatal nasal is in complementary distribution with the dental nasal. Notwithstanding this Sanskrit has given phonemic status to the palatal nasal.[9] This is to give equal weight to a phonemic principle called 'neatness of pattern' or 'pattern congruity'. The same is the case with the Sangam Tamil phonemic system also. The velar nasal in the Sangam Tamil is not at all in contrast with the bilabial nasal; it is in perfect complementary distribution with the bilabial nasal. That is, the velar nasal occurs before the velar stop only wherein the bilabial nasal does not occur.[10] However

the ancient Tamil grammars like Tolkappiyam have given phonemic status to the velar nsal also. Similarly they have given separate phonemic status to the dental and the alveolar nasals also even though they are not even analogously contrastive. All this was motivated by the phonemic principle of pattern congruity.

Sanskrit:	p t ṭ c k
	m n ṇ [ñ] ṅ
Tamil	p t ṟ ṭ c k
	m [n ṉ] ṇ ñ [ṅ]

Though the Sangam Tamil has the dental and the alveolar nasals as separate phonemes, the conflation and convergence of both these two nasals had also slowly started appearing even in the Sangam period and this had increased as time passed by. The conflation was a one-way affair. It is the dental nasal which started freely varying with the alveolar nasal but not the vice versa. This free variation takes place only in words wherein the dental nasal has no grammatical significance.[11]

Exx.

palun — paluṉ
nerunal — neruṉal
toḻunai — toluṉai
porunai — poruṉai..

This fluctuation between the dental and the alveolar nasals does not appear to have affected the IA loans found in the Sangam texts. The IA loans are all mostly monomorphemic nouns. The distribution of these two nasals in the Tamil nouns (and also in verb stems) is that the dental nasal occurs initially before vowels and medially before homorganic dental stops whereas the alveolar nasal occurs everywhere else. The same kind of distribution can be found in the case of the IA loan words also. But in quite contradistinction to this Sangam Tamil pattern the IA dental nasal is represented by both the dental and the alveolar nasals in the non initial positions in the post-Sangam Tamil texts like Manimeekkalai.

IA –n–		Ta. –ṉ–	
yavana	'Greece'	yavaṉam	Man. 19–108
yoocaṉa	'a linear measure'	yoocaṉai	Man. 6–211
jana-	'people'	caṉam	Man. 26–600
IA –n–		**Ta. –n– –ñ–**	
aneeka	'many'	> aneekam	Man. 26–600
		aṉeekam	Man. 27–255
anitta	'instability'	> anittam	Man. 24–220
		aṉittam	Man. 29–222

This post-sangam linguistic trend can be seen in its weakest form in one Sangam text namely Patirruppattu.

Exx.

aaniyam	–aaṉiyam	'planet'	Pat.	24–25	69–14

[Cf. ahani $<$ ahan $<$ ahas IA]

Another strange occurrence aarna 'eaters' is also found in Patirruppattu (13-6]. This irregular development can be seen even in the earliest hybrid Tamil Brahmi inscriptions.

Exx.

	IA			Brahmi
	staana	=	taanam	'seat'
	daana	=	taaṉam	'gift'
	naatan	=	naatan	
–ṉ+n=	kiiraṉ+ooti $>$ kiiraṉ + nooti			'a name'
	vaaṇikaṇ+n+atti			'a name'

A linguistic development which had early affected the IA loan words has now slowly started affecting the Sangam Tamil also. This confusion of the dental and the alveolar nasals is found in the Tamil inscriptions of almost all periods.

Exx.	naal — ṉaal	'day'
	naayaṉaar — ṉaayaṉaar	'Saivite saints'
	tantoom – taṉtoom	'gave-we'
	veṉri — veṉri	'victory'
	tiruvaraṅkaṉ — tiruvaraṅkan	'a name'[13]

Manipravaalam works written during the medieval period also show this development affecting the Sanskrit words only.

vaahana — vaahaṉa	'conveyance'
janakaraajan — jaṉakaraajan	'King Janaka'
patni	'wife'
paribaalaṉam	'ruling'[14]

The above development shows one factor very clearly. The fluctuation between the dental and the alveolar nasals must have developed from two sources.

1. Indo-Aryan
2. Colloquial Tamil

IA has only dental nasal and no alveolar nasal whereas Tamil has both as has already been stated. When the Indo-Aryans found the necessity of writing in Tamil they had to encounter this dual phonemic situation. This resulted in linguistic dilemma

and hence the confusion between the dental and the alveolar nasals is seen in the early Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions of the north Indian Jain monks.

In Tamil the contrast between the dental and the alveolar nasals is very weak and productive. The strong contrast can be found only in verbs in which the dental nasal occurs as future tense marker. That is why the forms kolunan̲ 'husband' and porunan̲ 'warrior' which are participial nouns derived from the verbs kolu 'to fuck' and poru 'to fight' still retain the dental nasal though they behave like pure nouns occurring after nominal adjuncts and very often losing the tense significance. When compared with the other future tense marker this is not frequently used. And this shows downward trend as time passes by. This may be a purely literary Tamil feature. No Tamil dialect seems to have preserved this feature. However, the language is colloquial; but the script is literary. That is the precise reason why the Tamil inscriptions show utter confusion between these two nasals.[15]

In the light of the above linguistic development the alternation between the dental and the alveolar nasals found in a handful of words sprinkled in the Sangam texts can now be analysed.

nerunal ∽ nerun̲al	'yesterday'
tolunai ∽ tolun̲ai	'Yamuna river'
porunai ∽ porun̲ai	'Tambrabarani river'
palun ∽ palun̲	'to ripen'

The word nerunal is a compound word, neru + nal 'yesterday + night. The dental nasal in nal has no tense significance and also the word juncture is lost and so neru + nal has become one word. As such keeping the general distributional pattern, the stem medial dental nasal becomes the alveolar nasal which can alone occur within stems. Pre-vocalically,[16] toḻunai means 'Jamuna river' flowing in the Indo-Aryan land. It may be a direct loan from IA or a loan blend. Prof. M. Raghavaiyangar has written that Ptolemy has called the Yamuna river as 'toonaa'. The Tamil word toḻunai an be derived from this word as follows:

toohnaa > toḻunaa > toḻunai[17]

But Manfred Mayrhofer has given the word 'diamounas' from Ptolemy in his 'a Concise Etymological Dictionary.'[18] The word tolunai may be interpreted as a loan blend also. Tolu + nai 'worshiping + river' nai may be from nai (MIA) developed from the IA natii. Porunai is the name of another river flowing in the South Tamilnad. Its full name is aan̲ + poru + nai 'cow + resembling + river'. Both the river-names must have in course of time lost the word juncture and so started fluctuation between the dental and the alveolar nasals: tolunai tolun̲ai; porunai – porun̲ai.

The Tamil words, nominal or verbal, do not end in the dental nasal. There are no other words to end in the dental nasal like the words verin and palun. The derivative from palun namely palaṉam 'field' (Nar. 160–1,) has no dental nasal not even as an alternant. This verb palun takes the past tense suffix -i (n): palun-i 'having become fertile ' (Mal. 96). This is also very strange having no parallel instance in the Tamil verbal inflexion.

BACK-NOTES

1. The following abbreviations are adopted in this essay for the Tamil texts quoted therein. Tolkappiyam = Tol., Nannuul = Nan., Narrinai = Nar. Kuruntokai = Kur. Ainkurunuuru = Aim., Patirruppattu = Pat., Paripaatal = Par., Akanaanuuru = Aka., Puranaanuuru = Pur., Kalittokai = Kal., Tirumurukaarruppatai = Tir., Porunaraarruppatai = Por., Ciruppaanaar-ruppatai = Cir., Perumpaanaarruppatai = Per., Mullaippaattu = Mul.. Maturaikkaanci = Mat., Netunalvaatai = Net., Kurincippaattu = Kuri, Pattinappaalai = Pat., Malaipatukataam = Mal., Tirukkural = Tiru., Cilappatikaaram = Cil., Manimeekalai = Man.
2. In this essay the dental nasal occurring in the pre vocalic positions which can be found initially, medially and finally is alone dealt with. This is because there is no problem regarding the dental nasal occurring before the homorganic dental stop both in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian.
3. This porun should not be confused with the word porunar 'actors' because the /n/ here denotes future tense whereas it is only a derivative suffix in the word porun 'to resemble', since this porun itself can take tense markers thus: poru +in + aaṉ 'resembled-he' Nan. 78. Perhaps the stem porun which can be derived from poru might have arisen due to metanalysis.
4. Porunai with the dental nasal is found in Pur. 11-5, 36-5, 387-33. But poruṉai with the alveolar nasal is found in the same Pur. poems when quoted in Cil. 28-126.
5. Porunaṉ has other paradigms like porupu 'having fought' (Mat. 433), poruvar 'fighters' (Aka. 231-10), poruvooṉ 'fighter' (Pur. 45–4), porutu 'having fought' (Aka. 14–19), poruta 'which fought' (Aka. 26-6, Pur. 4-8). But koḷunaṉ is devoid of any such paradigms, *Kolu-var, kolu-taar. It may from kolunan husband with hyper-correction. cf. Skt. pravaala > pavalam (Aka. 374-13), pavalam (Aka. 14-3). kolunaṉ' may be compared with koṇkaṉ (< *kol–) 'husband' (Nar. 725). Cf. vel – ven 'white (Pat. 75-11, Por. 28). It is surprising that the dental nasal in Kolunaṉ though deprived of its tense significance still retains it intact without alternating with the alveolar nasal.
6. Quoted in the Tamil Lexicon.
7. The past tense morpheme –iṉ– loses its vowel and appears as –n– in the post-sangam texts.

Exx.	poo-ṉ-aal (*pook-iṉ-aal)	'if went'	Man. 6–158
	aa-ṉ-a (*aak-iṉ-a)	'become-they'	Man. 30–161
	coṉ-ṉ-atu (*coll-iṉ-atu)	'said-it'	Cil. 18–15
	coṉ-ṉ-a (*coll-iṉ-a)	which was said'	Tol. 3-2-36

Since the later-day past tense marker -ṉ- (*-iṉ-) occurs in Tol. two inferences may be made out of this: [1] Either Tol. might have been written after the Sangam Age or the third part of Tol. in which this aberrant form is found might have been written by some other person in a different period. Cf. L.V.R. The Morphology of Old Tamil verb, Anthropos. 1938.

8. Alphabetic writing in India approached phonemic perfection more closely than it ever did in Greece in Sturtevant E.H.: An introduction to Linguistic science p. 16.
9. The Skt alphabet or syllabary has been shown to have been devised on segmental phonemic lines, the only redundant symbol being the one standing for the palatal nasal consonant since it only occurs as an allophone of /n/in juxtaposition with a palatal consonant – Robins, R.H. 'A short history of linguistics' p. 143 (1967); Emeneau, M.B. 'The nasal phonemes of Sanskrit language' Lg. 22, p. 86-93.
10. cf. Kamatchinathan, A. 1969.
11. cf. Back Note 5
12. Shanmugam, S. V. 1972, p. 74.
13. -do- 1970, p. 168.
14. Ramanujam, B. V. 1973.
15. This confusion between the dental and the alveolar nasals even now persists in Modern Tamil due to the conflict between the literary Tamil and the colloquial Tamil.

Exx.	iyakkunar	—	iyakkuṉar	'director'
	oottunar	—	ootuṉar	'driver'
	natattnar	—	natattuṉar	'conductor'

An intolerable confusion may be seen in one recently published manifesto of a religious organisation.

manniram	for	mantiram	'sacred utterance'
ṉarakam	"	narakam	'hell'
ṉittiya	"	nittiya	'daily'
ṉaaṅṅal	"	naaṅkal	'we'
tamilṉaatu	"	tamil naatu	'Tamil Nadu'

The velar nasal sequence /ṅṅ/ and the dental nasal sequence /nn/ reveal that this must have been prepared by the Malayalam speakers. Ref. Tinamalar – a Tamil Daily dt. 11-4-1976. Malayalam has separate phonemes n/ṉ but one symbol to denote both. Hence the n– ṉ confusion in writing in the Tamil script.

16. For more details see Kamatchinathan, A. 1979.

17. Raghavayyangar, M. 1964, p. 57.

*toohnaa V *toḻunaa > Ta. toḻunai

This derivation may be explained thus:

(a) Skt. -h- > Ta. -ḻ-
Cf. Skt. muhuurta > Ta. muḻuttam 'time'
Exx. muḻuttam Cil. 26-30.

(b) a Dravidian Sound law:
VV —> V - / + (C) CV
Exx. kaar > karumai 'blackness'
peet- > pettai ∽ petai 'female'
koot- > kot-i 'peak'
vaaḻ 'to use' > vaḻi 'path'

(c) Skt. -aa > Ta. -ai

yamunaa	>	yamunai	'Yamuna river'
Gaṅgaa	>	Kaṅkai	'the Ganges'

18. Prof. Lokesh Chandra (Director, International Academy of Indian Culture New Delhi) was kind enough to refer to this Dictionary and discuss with me this problem in May, 1980 when I visited his Institute.

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ARYAN, DRAVIDIAN, SANSKRIT AND EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

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Languages

All languages serve as vehicles to carry men's thinking on varied subjects, their ambitions and their knowledge to other men of the same localities, races and tribes. The world is large, constituted with a number of countries and races. Even a single country like America or India is so big, that it is in itself constituted with several areas and races. Each of these areas sometimes has a different language. So the number of world languages is quite large.

Since man's evolution into a rational being from an irrational animal stage, it must have taken him several thousand years to have developed a language sufficiently large to express first his fundamental requirements and to have later developed slowly to express all his varied activities and still later all his thoughts on a variety of subjects and activities.

In those far off millenia there was not a uniform distribution of human beings in all parts of the world. There was also no means of communication among the several parts where men had sufficiently advanced as to develop their own language, with their own intelligence to suit their several requirements.

Such isolatedly grown languages could not have anything in common with them except the fact that they were all developed by human beings, whose build up is fundamentally the same except for variations in colour, height and such minor physical features. With this common feature embedded in all languages, all men's languages are built up by variations in human sound production. The other two possible means of communication, signalling and touching, could only be used for close proximity or reasonably small distances without any obstruction in between. So it is not surprising that sound alone which could travel over a reasonably long distance and bend over obstructions was chosen by all the widely separated languages.

Sound is basically produced by the lungs forcing out a quantity of air through the throat where the vocal chords are located. Later in the path of the air are situated, the mouth, the nose, the tongue and the lips, all of which help to modify the final sound that comes out. Using any one of these or a combination of two

or three of them, held in various positions, we are able to produce distinctive basic sounds that are each distinct from the other and easily distinguishable and reproducable by all men of average capacity. These are termed phones. The total number, that may be produced, may be less than one hundred. Any one language may use about 50 or 60 of them. These phones are the basic foundation material for all languages. Phones are grouped together in various combinations to form Phonemes, Syllables and Words.

Through phones, being the result of human organs, being the same for all human beings, words built up of these phones by several races having several tastes and occupations are all different for different languages, whenever they are constructed by separate races for their own use. Words are used primarily to denote articles, places, time, abstract ideas like taste, colour, mood etc and action. Having termed phones as the basic material, we can call words as the building blocks for every language. These are not the natural common outcome from the human body, as the phones are, but are built up with the phones by the human intellect. Just as different people react differently over a single incident, words coined by different races to represent the same object or action are different.

Language groups

Words representing single articles, place or action cannot by themselves help to convey ideas of how the single article looks, or what the single article does. So man's intelligence had taken him to the next stage. Several words are arranged together in different patterns to form sentences to indicate different meanings. There can be several ways of arranging these words to constitute a single sentence to convey a single meaning. These arrangements do not follow any natural sequence and so each language follows a different grouping. But since a sentence conveys a complete idea, it will cause confusion if the position of the several words are changed after the sequence is once finalised. Since no one will be interested to introduce confusion into his talk, everyone takes care to form sentences in the accepted way. That is the reason why constructional grammar of any language continues unchanged for centuries. But the same claim cannot be made for words. Words are mispronounced and twisted by different communities without causing any confusion within that community. If that community moves to a distant place seeking better living conditions it may very soon change many of its words, take in new words from their new places and may also coin new words. But its constructional grammar continues to remain in its original form. If we find several languages, in areas separated by a few hundred miles or even several hundred miles, having the same constructional grammar, then we can safely assume all of them might have branched out of a single common language within several hundred years. Several words may remain common to several of these languages; but presence of common words, or lack of common words should not count in arriving at a decision about whether they belonged originally to a common stock or not.

Many great scholars have expressed this view as the foundation on which they base their research on relationship between different languages located far apart. "Of all evidences of identity or diversity of languages the most conclusive are those which are furnished by a comparison of their grammatical structure". "The importance of grammatical criteria is that words can be borrowed; but grammatical forms cannot". "Vocabulary is a very shaky criterion on which to base language kinship". Based on such thoughts we can now proceed to analyse our subject Aryan, Dravidian, Sanskrit and European languages.

Of these 4 languages, Dravidian and European represent a group of languages found in India and a group of languages found in Europe. Each group must have originated from a single original language. In the case of the Dravidian languages we are not able to locate ihe original language and so simply call it "Proto-Dravidian". But we are more fortunate in respect of European languages. Everyone seem to agree that the proto–European language was the Aryan language.

European languages

It is said that before 3000 B.C. a strong and virile race of people called Aryans lived in ihe whole of Central Asia. As the centuries passed by, they found that their home land was not able to support the growing population and so started moving out about 3000 B.C. in search of better places to provide them more living amenities. Large groups started out in the Western direction, moving long distances and reaching all parts of present day Europe. Such exodus seems to have continued till 2000 B.C. In all the countries where they had gone and settled, people must have been living there and they should have had some languages. Probably in those far off days Europe had not reached any sufficient level of civilisation and their languages also might have been primitive. So the language of the incoming Aryans gradually took over and in the course of a century or two developed a new language with a heavy mixture of the Aryan and a comparatively lesser content of the local language. This had taken place in all the European countries over a period of 1000 years, from 3000 to 2000 B.C. Even such highly developed languages as Greek, Latin, French and German seem to have been originated within this period with the original Aryan language as the proto language.

There seems to be some objection to this theory of all European languages being born out of the original Aryan language. The great scholar T. Burrow calls the Aryan language only as the "Aryan Speech" probably implying that the Aryan language was not a well developed one. Professor Brezene of the Moscow State Pedogogical Institute also calls them as "the primitive Aryans". It is not a very important issue, whether it was the original Aryan language which started all the European languages, or whether they had originated from some other source. But no one has denied the fact that all European languages have a lot of grammatical

identity and so must have originated from a common forerunner. This fact is enough for our present discussion.

Indian languages

The Aryan exodus seems to have taken a turn eastwards from 2000 B.C. A large batch had moved eastward into Iran. The Avestan language is said to bear evidence of Aryan culture in Iran. After another 500 years of settled life in Iran a large portion of the Aryans moved further eastward into India reaching the plains of Sind. Professor Burrow to whom I am indebted for most of my information says that "the rough guess which places the Aryan invasion at 1700 – 1400 B.C. is not likely to be many centuries out either one way or the other". The word "invasion" seems to suggest an army and a king. It is very unlikely that Aryans had reached such a stage as a kingdom and invasions. It could have only been a large exodus of the people from one place to another as it happened in Europe.

Analysing all the Indian languages, we can come to the conclusion that basically they are all based on a common grammar and so should be declared as having branched out of a common forerunner. But it is usual to divide the languages into two groups, 1. the South Indian Dravidian group, and 2. the North Indian group developed from Pali which came out of Prakrit. We will now see how prokrit came into existence and how it assumed grammatical resemblance with Dravidian languages.

What happened after the arrival of the Aryans in India

What was the position of the civilisation and language of the people of Sind when the Aryans came in probably by 1700 B.C.? The excavations of Mohanjedaro and Harappa indicate that even in 3000 B.C. the people of Sind had a high civilisation and a well developed language. The language of this civilisation is claimed to be proto-Dravidian. But it is not fully accepted and the issue is still in the controversial stage. So we should look into other factors to find out what was the language which was in existence in Sind when the Aryans came in.

The Aryan language which had converted over 20 languages in Europe to its own way of grammar seems to have been cleanly swept out by the language of the indigenous people (as evidenced by the complete lack of the original Aryan grammar, embedded in all European languages, in the two languages they made for their use in India). Very soon the Aryans made out for themselves a new language which to begin with was probably not given any name. After a few centuries of peaceful and affluent life in India the Aryans felt that it will be good to collect all the hymns and prayers used by the several families independently, into a single volume which will serve posterity. When the work was finished they called it "Rig Veda" which meant assembled scriptures.

Birth of Sanskrit

When the intellectuals of the Aryans set about this task, they should have felt the inadequacy of their first developed language and applied themselves to the task of improving it and creating a new language. They might have also felt that all languages used by the common men soon gets distorted and changed into new languages. They did not want their Vedas to become unintelligible even to the educated folk after several centuries. They might have dreamt for a continued existence of their Vedas even after several centuries or even millenia. So they set about the task of introducing many grammatical subtleties into the new language making it impossible for common folk to use it for their daily occupational life. They succeeded to a very great level in creating an ornamental and subtle language and they called it Samskrit (well made). When an implied name was given to their second effort, the first language which they had evolved much earlier and which the whole Aryan community was using in their day to day occupational life got the name Prakrit (first made). The suffix krit attached to these two languages forms a very good internal evidence that these languages were not the languages of their ancestors who had come into India from outside, but were made by them here after their arrival.

So Samskrit from its very inception was never the spoken language of any race of people including the Aryans who created it. It remained only as the language of the intellectuals who also used it only for high level literary discussions and writing. They did not use it at home. There was also a general taboo against women learning the language.

A new language could not be made within a few years. It should have taken the Aryan pioneers several decades or a few centuries to get the new language Samskrit perfected. This is seen in the language of the earlier and later portions of Rig Veda and in the language of the subsequent Vedas. During the earlier stages there are frequent changes in the form and they get much reduced in the later stages. Panini finally got the language properly codified by about 500 B.C. It has remained fixed at that level and has remained so for the last 2500 years. It had bloomed into a glorious language at that period and probably will remain so for all time to come. Sir William Jones has paid the language a glorious tribute. "Sanskrit language is of wonderful structure, more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin and much more exquisitely refined than either".

The foresight of the originators of Sanskrit that all languages used by the common folk will soon get changed and their own Prakrit also will have the same fate was fully borne out within a few centuries itself. Prakrit got changed into Pali and as we have already seen all the present day languages of North India have branched out of Pali.

Indo European

The fact that the original Aryan language of 3000 B.C. gave birth to all the languages of Europe and the subsequent Aryan language of India, Prakrit, has given rise to several of the Indian languages has created a serious misunderstanding that all the European languages and most of the Indian languages are born out of a single Aryan language and all these languages are grouped under the name "Indo European group of languages". (Why India has been given a preference in the naming is not clear). This mistake is understandable since the European languages and later several of the Indian languages arose from the Aryan languages. The fact that there were two distinct Aryan languages may not be clear to many people. But once the phrase "Indo-European" had been coined, it had given rise to the impression that a single race of people lived in a widely spread out area including India in the East and Europe in the West. There seems to be no evidence to indicate that a single race of people with a single language extended over such a vast area.

Pre-Aryan languages of the Sind plains

We have not yet answered the question which we had raised earlier about the nature of the language which was prevalent in Sind area when the Aryans came in. I had already stated that the claim about Harappa and Mohanjedaro culture being of Dravidian nature need not be accepted by us, as there seems to be lot of dispute about such a claim. The two languages Prakrit and Sanskrit developed by the Aryans for their own use after their arrival in India can be compared with all the languages prevalent in India and we can come to a decision ourselves about the language on whose pattern the Aryans had modified their language and created the new languages. Such a comparison reveals the fact that they are based on the Dravidian language. It may not be any of the individual Dravidian languages like Tamil, Kannada or Telugu, but may be the forerunner of these languages.

Dravidian and Sanskrit

We should now examine closely the claim that Sanskrit resembles the Dravidian languages in more than 80% of its grammatical structure. In such an examination we should guard ourselves against resemblances in sounds which arise out of the fact that all human races are essentially the same, and resemblances in words as words can easily be shifted from one language to another, and can be carried over several thousand miles by traders, wandering tribes and emigrants. We should also be careful to find out whether any similarity found may not be accidental. All Indian languages have 8 case modifications for their nouns. Most of the European languages have only 5 or 6 case modifications. Even if they also have 8 modifications it may be a case of accidental coincidence and not copying of one from the other.

Comparison

I Letters

(a) All languages have arranged all the phones or letters used by them in some definite pattern. In Europe the total number of letters used is about 25. They are all arranged in the same pattern as A, B, C, D, E, F........The pattern is not a natural pattern and such a similarity of unnatural arrangement can only arise from a common source. All Indian languages both Dravidian and North Indian list their vowels first and then their consonants. The consonants are all arranged in some natural pattern which is followed in all the languages.

(b) All the languages have only 5 basic vowels. The vowels are used both as short vowels and as long vowels of about double the length. In the European languages the long vowels do not have separate letters to indicate them. Only the short vowels are used and the user has to sound it short or long depending only on how it is used in the various words. All Indian languages have separate letters for both the short and the long vowels.

(c) In the European languages the cerebral voice-less "ச", the retroflex fricative "ஷ", and the dental "த" do not have separate letters. They are indicated by two letters put together as "Ch" and "sh" and "th". Separate letters are used in all the Indian languages to indicate all these separate sounds.

(d) Syllables are formed in all languages by either a single vowel standing alone, or standing either before or after a consonant – "I, A", "In, At", "Ma, No". In all the European languages the consonants and vowels are always written independently. In all Indian languages when a vowel follows a consonant, the vowel merges into the consonant forming a new syllabic letter as கா, கி, கு, கே, கோ, etc. The presence of a vowel is indicated by additions of suitable symbols either before, after, above or below the consonants.

II Words

Though words are easily shifted from one language to another, the pattern of modification they undergo in their different positions in sentences follow always the pattern of the language into which they are absorbed. Patterns of word modification cannot be shifted along with the words.

(a) Nouns are modified to indicate cases. In all European languages such modification is made by adding a "Preposition" word ahead of the noun. Various prepositions are added to show the various cases. In all the Indian languages a suffix is either attached to the noun or closely follows it.

(b) The European languages have only 5 or 6 cases. They are not arranged in any particular order. They are all individually referred to by the case names

as objective case, instrumental case etc. All Indian languages contain 8 cases. They are all arranged in a particular order, each case representing the same function in all the languages. They are normally referred to by their number though each case has also a name. Of these 8 cases, the modified noun in seven cases is followed by a predicate, except the 6th case which is followed by a noun. Some of the 8 cases represent several functions (upto eight functions). The functions under any group do not sometimes have anything in common among them. It was possible for him to lift the heavy stone: அவனால் அந்த கனமான கல்லைத் தூக்க முடிந்தது. He cut the tree with an ax: அவன் ஒரு கோடாலியால் மரத்தை வெட்டினான். I went to the shop with a friend: நான் ஒரு நண்பனுடன் கடைக்குச் சென்றேன். There is no common factor among these actions. Yet all these 3 functions are grouped in the 3rd case in all the instances. Such wide irrational similarity can be achieved only by copying one from the other.

(c) All languages modify their verbs to indicate tense, person and number. In the European languages a suffix is added to indicate past tense and present tense. Future tense is always indicated by adding an auxiliary verb ahead of the main verb. In the Indian languages a suffix is attached to show person, number and gender. To indicate the past, present and future tenses a morpheme is inserted between the main verb and the suffix.

(d) Adjectives and adverbs are formed from abstract nouns in both the European and the Indian languages – "Beauty": This is a beautiful picture. He draws beautifully. ''அழகு'', ''இது ஓர் அழகிய படம்'', ''அவன் அழகாக வரைகிறான்''. Adjectives are also formed from verbs in the European languages by making use of the present participle — "The *incoming* president." Adverbs cannot be formed. In all the Indian languages both adjectives and adverbs can be so formed.

III Sentences

(a) According to the order in which subject, predicate and object are placed in a sentence, present day linguists divide all languages into two groups, 1. SVO – subject, verb, object group and 2. SOV – subject, object, verb group. All European languages belong to SVO group. All Indian languages belong to SOV group.

(b) In all the European languages adverbs always follow the verb they qualify. He ran *fast*. In all Indian languages the adverb precedes the verb. 'அவன் **வேகமாய்** ஓடினான்'

IV Causative verbs

All the Indian languages have a causative form for many of their prime verbs. Such modification of self-action prime verb to produce the same self-action in another subject is not found in any of the European languages. The child *ate* his food: குழந்தை தன்னுடைய உணவை உண்டான். The mother *fed* the child and the child *ate*: தாய் குழந்தைக்கு ஊட்டினாள், குழந்தை உண்டான். ஊட்டு is

the causative verb for 'உண்'. If the self-action verb 'உண்' did not happen, then we cannot use the causative verb 'ஊட்டு'. If the mother says that she 'ஊட்டினள்', then it automatically means that the chid உண்டான்.

There is a second causative form also which causes the first causative verb which in turn causes the prime verb. If the mother asks her senior daughter to feed the child, we call it ஊட்டுவித்தாள். The senior daughter ஊட்டினள் and the child உண்டான். These causative verbs, either a single form or both forms are available for most of the verbs in all the Indian languages. They are not found in the European languages.

In the above comparison I have differentiated only between the European groups and the Indian groups. I have not made any special mention about Sanskrit. Since Sanskrit was born in India I have taken the stand that it is an Indian language. But apart from my partiality for it, Sanskrit itself makes the proclamation that it is an Indian language by identifying itself with the Indian group in all the comparisons I have shown above.

When a new language is formed for the use of people who already have a fairly well developed language they may not disregard all their grammatical forms in total. Some such forms are seen in Prakrit and Sanskrit and all the North Indian languages which came out of Prakrit and Pali. The attribution of gender to inanimate materials is foreign to Dravidian languages, but is found in Sanskrit and the north Indian languages. Since such grammatical gender formation is found in several European languages we can guess it was found also in the original Aryan language and got absorbed into Sanskrit when it was formed. There might be some other similarities also; but they are on the whole negligible.

Dravidian and its offshoots

So we now come back to the distinction we had made earlier between the South Indian languages which are all Dravidian based and the North Indian languages which are all Pali and Prakrit based. We have now all the evidences about the grouping of North Indian languages as offshoots of Prakrit and that Sanskrit also is derived from Prakrit. We have also seen that Prakrit and Sanskrit were made in India on the model of the Indus Valley language which we have independently shown, by its full proximity with Sanskrit, must have been Dravidian or Proto-Dravidian or whatever language gave birth to Dravidian. Thus the Dravidian language assumes an importance that it also gave birth to Prakrit and Sanskrit and later to all the languages of North India.

Indo-European group

Having found out so many dissimilarities on construction of letters, construction of words and construction of sentences in all the essential points of comparison, what should be our reaction to the prevalent concept of the Indo European

group of languages? It seems to be built up on the basis of thousands of words in their full shape, or with slight modifications found in all European languages, Sanskrit and North Indian languages. I have not denied this fact. I have already pointed out that the Aryans came into India from outside. The Aryan people had already spread over the whole of Europe and changed all their languages to their own pattern both in construction forms and in piling up a lot of their own Aryan words into them. When the Aryans came into India they came in here with their original language, probably somewhat modified by the influence of the language in Iran. All their original words were there. After coming into India the Aryan language had a rebirth shedding all its constructional pattern and retaining all its words or at least a great part of them. Having already seen that relationship between languages should be based only on constructional grammar we should discard the idea that the original Aryan language gave birth to Prakrit and Sanskrit and later to all the North Indian languages. It was the Proto-Dravidian language that holds this honour.

Still it will be good to realise the fact that there were two Aryan languages, the first one which gave birth to all the European languages and the second one entirely different from it but mostly of Dravidian nature.

ELAMITE AND DRAVIDIAN, THE IMPLICATIONS OF COGNATION

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In the last several years, I have been able to show a strong genetic link between the Dravidian languages and Elamite, a major language of ancient West Asia. Elam was located in what is now southern Iran and is contemporaneous with the Sumerian and Akkadian civilizations in adjoining Mesopotamia. Elamite, along with Sumerian, was one of the first languages ever written, and continued in recorded use through the period of the Achaemenid Empire. Thus, it spans, although incompletely and with many lapses, the period from 3,000 to 4000 B..C All attestations in Elamite are older than any in Dravidian although only by about a century. Elamite is far from perfectly understood, and it is only in recent years that a substantial corpus has become available. However the latest period, Achaemenid Elamite, is quite useable for phonology and the meaning of words while the older period of Middle Elamite is much better for syntax and usage.

It has been possible to establish a tight consistent case for cognation within the limitations of the sources. For the initial CVC which is the root syllable in both Elamite and Dravidian, the following rates of cognate vocabulary are found for well attested words. Achaemenid Elamite 40% cognate with Dravidian, Middle Elamite 50% cognate, and the sole Middle Elamite bilingual with Akkadian which has well understood meanings is over 80% cognate with the Dravidian languages. The phonological correspondences are unexceptionable and largely similar to what is found within Dravidian. The major exception is that Elamite has s which has been consistently lost in Dravidian. With the choice being conditioned by the following syllable, it became either a t or was totally lost with lengthening of the adjacent vowel. Thus, the phonological and lexical correspondences are very tight given the time difference in the sources, and as close as many within the Dravidian family. They are certainly closer than those between Proto-Dravidian and Brahui.

Morphology has been a more difficult problem from the very beginning. In part, there were obvious correspondences. On the other hand, some portions did not seem to fit at all. This was compounded by the fact that the morphology of Elamite is extremely sparce and that it is much older than most of Dravidian. Old Tamil has been crucial for this work by preserving forms that have been lost else-

where. It has taken several years to trace and unravel the morphological connection. This work and its implications have been spelled out in detail in my forthcoming monograph on this topic.[1] The rest of this paper will examine one morphological system, the personal pronouns, and how they relate to the problems of cognation.

The personal pronouns are one of the few systems which can be reliably reconstructed for Proto-Dravidian as an entire system. Except for some minor phonological changes, this system is essentially identical with the personal pronouns found in Old Tamil. These data are given in the first two columns of the Table. This reconstruction for Proto-Dravidian has been agreed upon by most Dravidianists although there are minor disagreements on a few details.[2] It applies without major problems across all branches of Dravidian and with the major details intact: nominatives with long vowels, obliques with short ones, singulars generally in n (only *ni is ambiguous), and plurals in m. These details are all basically restricted to the personal pronouns and appear together nowhere else in the Dravidian languages. The only exception to this unusually pleasant picture is Brahui. While it is clearly related at some level, major points do not conform; first person singular *i* nominative and *kan* oblique, and the third person non-deictic base in *i*. Attempts have been made to reconcile these points, but not without a great deal of convoluted argumentation. Thus, Brahui stands at some distance outside the system of personal pronouns as reconstructed for Proto-Dravidian.

However, if we look at the personal pronouns of Elamite, a clearer understanding develops. In Elamite too, the personal pronouns are a distinct system. They regularly have an objective in -n, the only true case found in Elamite; the second person has a unique plural in *-m*; and the possessive forms are clitics, usually enclitics, but occasionally proclitics. Note that Elamite had a vowel shift that took most original i's to *u*; *ni* instead of *nu* is actually attested in Old Elamite. These forms with *i* are given in the column labeled Proto-Elamite in the Table.

If we compare the Elamite forms with those of Proto-Dravidian, several parallels are immediately obvious. (1) They share unique pronominal plurals in *-m*, although the first person form in Elamite does not show this and remains something of a problem.[2] They share oblique/objectives in *-n*, but only in the singular and never in the nominative. The major differences is that Elamite has a non-resumptive, non-deictic, third person pronoun *i* which is not known for Proto-Dravidian. However, it is clearly attested in Brahui. When we look at Brahui, we find that it agrees with Elamite as often as with Proto-Dravidian. In particular note the lack of *-n* in the nominative singulars and the presence of the non-resumptive third person pronoun in i.

Considering all of this together, it soon becomes clear that the pattern found in Proto-Dravidian does not have a one to one relationship with either Elamite or Brahui. The oblique singulars and the nominative plurals are direct enough, but not the others. It soon becomes clear that the system found in Proto-Dravidian is itself an innovation in which the inherited oblique/objective replaced the inherited nominative. This is a common tendency in language change. This explains the anomolous nominative in *-n*, which otherwise is an accusative or genitive ending in Dravidian languages. Automatic morphophonemic rules would have come into play lengthening the vowel of monosyllabic nominative, but not that of the normally polysyllabic oblique. In the plural the inherited *-m* is retained while any possibly inherited oblique in *-n* is lost, and the same long vowel/short vowel alternation came into play. Once established this pattern was completed by back forming an exclusive plural from the first person singular, and the regular third person pronoun was completely replaced by the deictic appellatives, a tendency which was probably already common. Thus, the great consistency and regularity of the Proto-Dravidian system of personal pronouns is due to its having been innovated at that stage. Brahui did not go through this innovation, and while closely related, it is not strictly speaking Dravidian. Other innovations in Proto-Dravidian morphology such as the dative case in velars support this view.

However, so far all that has been done is to reshuffle well-known forms. No truly new explanatory power has been gained. If we turn to the possessive clitics, however, this is no longer the case. Elamite had a set of possessive pronominal clitics. Brahui has a similar set of enclitics which are used in much the same way. While usually enclitics, Elamite shows certain usages which indicate that the original pattern was a possessive proclitic. Does Dravidian have any forms which could be cognate with these forms?

Anyone familiar with Old Tamil is well aware of the set of forms: *ay* 'mother', *yay* 'my mother', *nay* 'your mother', and *tay* 'his/her/its mother', and similarly *ampi* 'younger brother', *yampi*, *nampi*, *tampi*, etc. These forms are highly irregular and internally inexplicable. To the best of my knowledge, they are the only forms in Dravidian with a true prefix of any sort and even require a special rule for their phonology in the *Tolkappiyam.*[3] Even the deictic series of pronouns are formally deictic roots with appellative endings. If we compare these with the forms in Elamite, Brahui, and Proto-Elamo-Dravidian, it becomes clear that here we have the Pre-Dravidian nominative/possessives retained as frozen proclitics and showing precisely the form expected. Here are the forms without the final *-n* which confirm that the hypothesis, that Proto-Dravidian innovated its nominative forms from the oblique, is correct.

FOOTNOTES

1. David W. MeAlpin. 1981. *Proto-Elamo-Dravidian: The Evidence and its Implications* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 71, Part 3). Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

2. See Bh. Krishnamurti. 1968. "Dravidian Personal Pronouns," *Studies in Indian Linguistics*. pp. 189-205; P. S. Subrahmanyam. 1970. "The Personal Pronouns in Dravidian," *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. 28, pp. 1–16; and K. V. Zvelebil. 1977. *A Sketch of Comparative Dravidian Morphology, Part* 1: *Nouns and Adjectives*, pp. 36-47.

3. *Tolkappiyam, Eluttatikaram*, rule 67. This rule makes special references to *kurriyalukaram* occurring in the proclitic *nu-* for the word *nuntai* 'your father'. In other words, it refers to an unstressed vowel in a first syllable as the result of the presence of this proclitic.

Personal Pronouns in Dravidian, Brahui, Elamite and Proto-Elamo-Dravidian

	Old Tamil	PDr.	Brahui	PED	PEl.	Elamite
1sg 'I'		*		*	*	
Nom.	yan	yan	i	i	*i	u
Ob.	en	yan	kan	iən/ikən	*in	un
PosCl	y–	y–	-ka	i-	*i-	u-
1pex 'we'						
Nom.	yam	yam	—	—	—	—
Ob.	em	yam	—	—	—	—
1p(in) 'we'						
Nom.	nam	nam	nan	*nəNkə	nikə	nuku,nika
Ob.	nam	nam	nan	*nəNkən	nikən	nukun
2sg 'you'						
Nom.	ni	ni(n)	ni	ni	ni	nu, ni
Ob.	nin	nin	ne, n-	nin	nin	nun
PosCl	n–, nu–	ny–	–ne	ni–	–ni	–ni
2pl 'you'						
Nom.	nim, nir	nim	nun	nim	num	num
Ob.	num	nim	nun	nim(ən)	numən	numun

3 'he, she, it'

Nom (Deictic appellative used)				i	i	i, ir
Ob.	'''	''	i...ta	i	i	i, ir
PosCl			–ta(n)	?	-i	–e

Rsg 'self'

Nom.	tan	tan	ten	ta	tə	tu
Ob.	tan	tan	ten	tan	tən	tun(?)
PosCl	t–	t–	–tena	-ta	ta–	–ta

Rpl 'selves'

Nom.	tam	tam	tən	tam
Ob.	tam	tam	tən	*tam(ən)

SECTION 2

ARCHAEOLOGY

ARCHAEOLOGY, LINGUISTICS AND ANCIENT DRAVIDIAN

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The hypothesis that a Dravidian language was spoken by the Ancient Indus valley civilization of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa has long been considered highly plausible, and on several grounds. First, the presence of a modern Dravidian language in the hills to the west of the Indus, namely Brahui, is most easily explained if the Brahui are seen as the linguistic descendants of the ancient Indus Valley people. Second, the identification of Dravidian loan words in the Sanskrit of the earliest Vedic texts, by Emeneau and others, indicates that the first contacts between Sanskrit and Dravidian must have occurred when Sanskrit speakers first entered the Indian subcontinent, i.e. when they arrived in the Indus Valley. Finally, although no single one of the various recent attempts to decipher the script of the Indus Valley seal inscriptions has yet won total acceptance, nevertheless there is considerable agreement in interpreting the language of those seals as a form of Dravidian. But even if the identification of the Indus valley language is accepted, many questions still remain, for example: With what other languages was Dravidian in contact, and where, and when? What was the cultural nature of the contact, and what chronology can be assigned to cultural and linguistic shifts in the ancient Indus Valley and adjacent areas?

The eminent archaeologist Dr. Walter A. Fairservis, Jr., author of an authoritative text on Indian prehistory (1975) has recently attempted to offer answers to such questions, in a paper entitled "The consequences of Harappan as a Dravidian language". His method is to present six "axioms" regarding the relationship between archaeology and linguistics, each of which has this form: "If one finds certain types of cultural assemblages, i.e. collections of material-culture items as recovered by archaeology, then one can infer certain facts about the corresponding languages." Applying these axioms to data from the Indus Valley, Fairservis derives a rather detailed prehistory of the area.

I welcome such attempts to co-ordinate research in linguistics and archaeology; earlier attempts to relate these two fields, in other parts of the world, have been made in recent years by myself (cf. Bright and Bright 1976), and by other scholars (Ehret 1976, Kinkade and Powell 1976). If a set of axioms like those proposed by Fairservis for the Indus Valley were valid, they could have very important application elsewhere. Furthermore, because of Fairservis' prestige, other

archaeologists may well attempt to apply them. However, they are so vague in their form, and so dubious in the validity, that they should not be allowed to go unchallenged. I wish to discuss each of Fairservis's axioms in turn, pointing out both the ways in which they are too vague to be applied easily, and the ways in which they may be contradicted by evidence.

Axiom 1 begins: "Sharply differing cultural assemblages, but contemporary, with significant time depth demonstrated in the local stratigraphy, represent differences of language. whether or not from the same family."

The very words in which the axiom is stated raise problems: even if we assume agreement as to what is allowed to constitute a "cultural assemblage", there will inevitably be room for diverse opinions about how great a difference must exist in order for things to be called "sharply differing", or about how great a time depth is to be regarded as "significant". However, giving a middle-of-the-road interpretation to these terms, it seems to me that the axiom does not fit well with the facts of several present day cultures. For instance, in modern Tamil Nadu, or in a European country like Spain, "cultural assemblages" from an urban centre like Madras or Madrid as compared with those from a peasant village could well be seen as "sharply differing", even though contemporary, and even though both would show continuity over "significant time depth"; yet they would both correspond to the Tamil or the Spanish language respectively – or, at most, to different dialects. Fairservis's Axiom 1 continues:

"If the assemblages are far apart geographically, this can mean fundamental differences in language going so far as to the basic stock."

Now we encounter another difficulty in Fairservis's wording: "this can mean fundamental differences". The word "can" suggests that the implication either may or may not be valid. I assume that Fairservis believes that it is valid most of the time. But here we may continue our consideration of Spanish language and culture: what if one compares Madrid to a peasant village in, say, Uruguay? (I choose a Latin American country in which the American Indian cultures were extinguished immediately after the Conquest, so that there is no possibility of continuity between indigenous and European traditions.) If 400 years can be considered "significant time depth", then this will be a further counter-example to Fairservis's statement, since both assemblages will, again, correspond to the Spanish language.

Here, of course, I am comparing "cultural assemblages" in which at least one is from an industrial society. It is possible that Fairservis means his axioms to apply to pre-industrial societies; however, he makes no such qualification. We

must ask a serious question, to which no answer may be yet available: are correlations between culture and language, whatever they may be, different in industrial societies than they are in pre-industrial ones?

Axiom 2 is: "Sharply differing cultural assemblages without significant time depth demonstrated by local stratigraphies represent different languages but not necessarily different language families."

Here a possible counter-example might be provided by comparing an industrial community with an agricultural community, each founded within the last 100 years in adjacent areas of the United States and of Mexico. In the United States, even the agricultural communities would show relatively great mechanization, and thus could probably not be considered as "sharply differing". In Mexico, by contrast, many agricultural communities remain relatively unmechanized, by comparison to the industrial cities. But the two types of Mexican community both use Spanish, just as the two communities in the U.S. both use English. The Mexican case thus seems to falsify Fairservis's Axiom 2.

Axiom 3 is as follows: "Moderately differing cultural assemblages which, however, share core traits, may represent dialectal differences of the same language."

Again we have difficulties with Fairservis's wording: first we have to decide on what are to be regarded as "core traits", and then we have to deal with the expression "may represent dialectal differences". The use of the word "may" seems to imply an equal and opposite "may not", in which case the "axiom" makes no claim at all. In fact, the only real meaning that can be attached to the "axiom" is that, when moderately differing cultural assemblages share core traits, they *usually* or *normally* represent dialectal differences of the same languages. But such a claim can be tested by imagining an archaeologist of the year 5000 A.D., comparing the remains of 20th century New York, Madras, and Tokyo. He might well conclude that the cultural assemblages from those cities, while "moderately differing", nevertheless shared "core traits", namely those of Western European civilization; but he would be wildly incorrect in concluding that the inhabitants spoke dialects of a single language. If one does not wish to consider industrial civilizations, one can look to ancient Mesopotamia, in which the Akkadians and the Sumerians had virtually the same material culture, although their languages were of completely different stocks: Akkadian was a Semitic language, but the genetic connections of Sumerian are much more obscure.

Fairservis's Axiom 4 is: "Sharply differing cultural assemblages which share trade goods can represent different languages, but can be presumed to have developed a lingua franca."

Here, if we manage to surmount the ambiguousness of the word "can", we may consider another modern example: Trade goods from Japan are now found all over the world; but certainly no single "lingua franca" covers the same area.

Axiom no. 5 is as follows: "Stratigraphical representation of the imposition of a new cultural assemblage upon an older one, but which does share a considerable number of traits in common (some of which must be core) demonstrates linguistic integration of some form: for example, the rule of the Indo-European speaking Hyksos elite over the non-Indo-European speaking Egyptians in the Second Intermediate period, or the creation of a pidgin such as Anglo-Indian."

This seems to say that a mixture of cultural elements indicates some kind of linguistic "integration". A possible counter-example is provided by the Navajo, an American Indian tribe of the Southwestern United States, who have adopted many items of European material culture, but are famous for their resistance to linguistic borrowing. Thus, although the automobile has been thoroughly integrated into present-day Navajo culture, the terminology relating to automobiles is provided entirely by new coinages within the Navajo language, not by borrowing from English.

As regards Fairservis's "Anglo-Indian" example, I assume he refers to the variety of English spoken by educated people in India. It is of course true that Indian English shows characteristics derived from the phonology, grammar and semantics of the Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages. But linguists use the word "pidgin" to refer to improvised trade-languages, of markedly hybrid origin and of greatly simplified grammar; no linguist would apply the term "pidgin" to Indian English. It thus remains unclear what kind or degree of linguistic interaction or "integration" Fairservis has in mind in his Axiom no. 5.

Finally, Axiom no. 6 is: "Cultural assemblage conformity from site to site demonstrates language conformity."

A modern counter-example might be provided by "cultural assemblages" from opposite sides of e.g., the border between France and Germany; one would find little in material culture to correspond to the difference in language. Similarly in India, one might look on opposite sides of the border between Andhra and Orissa; again, the differences in material culture would be minor in comparison to the difference between the Dravidian and the Indo-Aryan languages. Looking to non-industrial cultures, we have many American Indian examples: thus, in northwestern California, the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa tribes shared a single culture, but spoke languages of three completely separate stocks.

Since Fairservis's wording contains so many vaguely defined terms, as well as "may's" and "can's", we might assume he means them as statements of tendencies, rather than as absolute laws. But then, unless some statistical measures of probability are attached to them, it is not clear to me what value they can have. The conclusion to be reached is not that Fairservis's account of Indus Valley prehistory is necessarily wrong, but rather that it must share the weakness of his axioms. Like many other archaeologists, Fairservis is all too ready to draw linguistic conclusions from archaeological data; and his reputation is such that other archaeologists and historians may well accept his proposals uncritically. Linguists must therefore continue to repeat that the study of potsherds can never, in itself, reveal anything about language. Fortunately, there are abundant linguistic data to make it clear that the Indus Valley civilization was Dravidian-speaking, and further analysis of linguistic data is constantly adding to our knowledge of prehistoric Dravidian language and culture; I refer in particular to the work of Franklin Southworth (1975, 1978), and to David McAlpin's evidence for linguistic relationship between Dravidian and Elamite (1974, 1975). Our hypotheses of linguistic history must not fly in the face of non-linguistic data, but they cannot be *Determined* by archaeological considerations.

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COMPUTER METHODS OF DATING MEDIEVAL TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS

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1. Introduction

The use of computers for the purpose of facilitating the work of epigraphists is in its cradle years. A few projects linking the latest computer technology with epigraphy have been proposed and implemented with a fairly high degree of success. Of special interest to epigraphists are the areas of image enhancement and information retrieval. In an earlier paper we demonstrated how computer methods of image enhancement could be used to detect lines in an inscription.[1] In a preliminary report presented at the Third epigraphical Congress at Udupi we had shown that it is possible to use computer methods in the area of dating Tamil inscriptions.[2] Iravatham Mahadevan of the Indian Administrative Service has made use of a computer for processing and preparing a concordance of Indus writings.[3] Using computers, Noboru Karashima and Subbarayalu have made a statistical analysis of personal names in Tamil inscriptions.[4] Recently a project has been proposed to be undertaken at the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, to retrieve specific and relevant information contained in inscriptions after storing them in machine readable form.[5] In this paper we shall make use of certain new techniques that have been suggested by computer scientists working in the area of handwriting analysis.[6] We shall demonstrate the usefulness of computer methods in assigning approximate dates to inscriptions of unknown authorship making use of Tamil inscriptions that range from 900 A.D. to 1500 A.D.

For those inscriptions which are difficult to date the present methods of assigning probable dates are based primarily on expert opinion. We are fortunate to have in our country competent experts who have studied carefully a large number of Tamil inscriptions and are able to fix the date of an unknown inscription correct to a few decades. Apart from general principles that are followed by an expert he has also to depend on his memory and further more he has to compare a large number of estampages and charts before assigning a date to any given inscription.

In this paper we present a new method which makes use of the computer to compare and date inscriptions.

2. Nature of the problem

There are many inscriptions which do not contain the necessary details such as the *meykürttis* to fix their authorship conclusively. For instance there are inscriptions with the name Rajaraja. It is not always clear whether it is Rajaraja the first or the second or the third. Some inscriptions have only the title of the king such as Rajakesari or Konerinmai kondan. It is not always clear who the Rajakesari is. During the Chola period if a king had the title Rajakesari, his successor would have the title Parakesari, whose successor in turn would have the title Rajakesari. Konerinmai kondan was a title used by more than one king. Paleography is the main tool to assign dates to such inscriptions and to identify the kings.

In coins and sculptures we get label inscriptions. Very often a coin or a sculpture is assigned a date mainly on the basis of paleography.

Even though we have the services of experts, it is difficult to assign dates to many inscriptions whether complete or fragmentary. Even during the period of the same king we get inscriptions which have different features. For instance the Rajaraja inscription found at Mahabalipuram belongs to a nail-headed variety whereas the Rajaraja inscription found on the walls of the Brihadisvarar temple at Tanjavur does not belong to a nail-headed variety, even though both the inscriptions belong to the same regnal year of the king. Similarly the Tiruvalangadu plates of Rajendra and his Thirumalai rock inscriptions exhibit differences. The *ya* for instance is closed with a loop in the Tiruvalangadu plates whereas the *ya* is open in the Tirumalai inscriptions. Here again the Tirumalai rock inscription belongs to a nail-headed veriety in contrast to the Tiruvalangadu plates which do not belong to a nail-headed variety. It is clear therefore that each inscriber had his indi vidual style and there was a good deal of diversity in style in a given period and there was also a certain amount of regional variation.

We all know that different letters of the Tamil script have undergone changes over the centuries. Broadly speaking during each century each letter was written in a particular way and one can speak of period characteristics of letters. One is also aware of scribe characteristics within a given period. As the handwriting of different individuals in modern Tamil varies, during the medieval period each scribe used flourishes of his own style but at the same time remained within the bounds of variation allowed in a given period. The scribe who wrote the inscriptions on the walls of Brihadisvarar temple at Tanjavur used wavy lines to represent the letter *da* instead of two straight lines. The vertical line in *ka* was represented by him as a wavy line instead of a straight line. These are scribe characteristics and other scribes in that period did not have the same characteristics. On the other hand *ka* is written by the same scribe as a combination of two distinct strokes without any

loop unlike the later scribes who wrote *ka* using a single stroke. This is an example of a period characteristic. The proportion between the vertical stroke and the horizontal stroke is an example of a scribe characteristic. It is quite possible that in a given training centre, younger scribes imitated the handwriting of the leading scribe of the period. It is not always easy to decide which is a scribe characteristic and which is a period characteristic. Further a period characteristic tended to persist in isolated regions for many centuries. We shall illustrate with a specific example. At Perungalattur village less than 5 kms from the Madras Christian College we came across Chola inscriptions hitherto unnoticed by scholars. One of the inscriptions belongs to the sixth year of Rajaraja.[7] We wish to have a general method of establishing as to which one of the three Rajaraja's the inscription belongs. Rajaraja I belongs to the tenth and eleventh centuries (A.D. 985 – 1014), Rajaraja II belongs to the twelfth century (A.D. 1146 – 1173) and Rajaraja III belongs to the thirteenth century (A.D. 1216 – 1246). We may rule out the possibility of any scribe having belonged to more than one period.

We have proposed two methods for assigning approximate dates to inscriptions which are described in the following paragraphs.

3. Direct Comparison Method

For the purpose of illustration of the method let us take up the problem of assigning a date to the Perungalattur inscription of Rajaraja mentioned above. We shall first of all choose certain features from each of the authentic inscriptions of known authorship collected on the basis of the *meykiirttis*. A feature can be part of a letter or a whole letter. For instance the letter *ka* may have only a horizontal line at the top. This can be treated as a feature of the sample if it is a fairly stable feature within the sample of letters forming the inscription. Or the feature may be a small nail-head at the top of the letter *ka* in the place of the horizontal line. We do not normally include two features if they are not independent. For instance we do not count the horizontal line at the top of *ka* as one feature and the horizontal line at the top of *ca* as a second feature. We would choose one of them.

With a set of features such as horizontal line alone present at the top of *ka,* longer arm of *da* is in a horizontal position, etc. we can encode each inscription in terms of the features indicating by a '1' that a particular feature is present and indicating by a 'O' that a feature is absent. If we agree on, say, 100 features, each sample will be represented by a row of 100 digits, each digit being either zero or one. For example if the first feature is present in a given sample the number will begin with a l. If the second feature is also present then the sample will be represented by a number beginning with 11. If the third is not present then the sample number will begin with 110. As there are 100 features there will be 100 places in the number.

If only, say, ten features are present in the sample the hundred digit number will have ten one's.

We started with samples of known authorship belonging to three periods – the period of Rajaraja I, the period of Rajaraja II and the period of Rajaraja III. Let us assume that we have, say, 10 samples to begin with. Each sample will be known to belong to one of the three periods. Each sample can be coded into a 100-digit number on the basis of the hundred features. The known samples in the coded form are said to form the "library".

Suppose we wish to test to which period a new inscription from Perungalattur belongs. Since the inscription belongs to the period of a Rajaraja and there are only three kings with that name we have to assign the new inscription to one of the periods. The new inscription can be represented as a 100-digit number on the basis of features present in the inscription. We note that the total number of features was assumed to be a hundred merely for purposes of illustration.

The new inscription when it is represented as a 100-digit number is ready for comparison with everyone of the inscriptions in the "library" described earlier. We consider only those places which have the number 1. Comparing the places with 1 in the new inscription with the corresponding places in the first inscription in the "library", we count the number of places which have a 1 in both the inscriptions. This gives a measure of similarity between the new inscription and the first inscription of the "library". The similarity measure counts the number of common features present in both the inscriptions. The new inscription is tested with every inscription in the "library" and the value of the similarity measure is calculated. By this method it is possible to find out that inscription from the "library" which is closest to the new inscription. If the closest inscription (with the highest value for the similarity measure) belongs to, say, the period of Rajaraja III then we assign the new inscription to that period.

Sometimes the highest value of the similarity measure may be equally shared by two "library" inscriptions belonging to two different periods. In this case this will lead to a tie. In order to break the tie we can use a second method described as follows.

4. Weighted Comparison Method

In this method all the features are not treated alike. Some features have been given greater weight. For instance if a certain feature is found in only one period it may be given a weight 2. If a feature is found in inscriptions belonging to two periods it may be given a weight 1. We do not use features which are found in all the periods. Now if there is agreement between the new inscription and a

"library" inscription with regard to a feature with weight 1, then this fact will contribute a value '1' to the similarity measure. If the feature has weight 2, then if two inscriptions have this feature in common, this fact will contribute a value '2' to the similarity measure. By giving weights to the features it is possible to make sharper distinctions between any two inscriptions. In general if we compare, say, 5 periods, then features can be assigned weights ranging from 1 to 4. If a feature is present in only one period, it can be given the highest weight of 4. The feature which is present in two periods can be given the next highest weight of 3 and so on. Assigning of weights to features can be done automatically by the computer.

One may reduce the number of features by removing those features which do not have sufficient discriminatory power. Suppose we are comparing ten periods then we may drop those features which occur in more than five periods, but it may lead to insufficient number of features for comparison. One can also assign weights using other scales.

If a large number of inscriptions are stored in the "library" and if each period has distinct stable characteristics then the method will give very reliable results.

In the methods described so far, we compared a given unknown inscription with individual inscriptions stored in the "library", using equal or unequal weights to the features. We shall describe an alternative method where we compare a given inscription directly with features of different periods. Here a feature may be reckoned to be present in a given period if it is present in at least one of the inscriptions belonging to that period. Using such a definition it is possible to represent each period in the form of a number made of zeros and ones. Then to compare a given inscription with any period we compare the inscription number with the period number and count the number of one's in common as a measure of similarity.

This method will work satisfactorily if there are distinctive period characteristics for each fifty year period. If there are no clear fifty year period, then it may be possible to define periods of varying duration. Since a scribe of a particular inscription had lived for a few decades overlapping two periods, an inscription with the same kind of handwriting may be found in both the periods. Therefore if this method is to be followed one may have to take the accuracy of the period arrived at by this method with a variation of fifty years on either side. Because of this problem, we have not made use of this method for dating inscriptions in this paper.

We shall now describe an experiment carried out by us with the aid of IBM 370/155 computer at Madras. We started with forty known Tamil inscriptions whose features were stored in the computer in the form of binary numbers or numbers using zero and one only. These inscriptions will be called the 'library'

inscriptions. Every one of these inscriptions was written sometime during A.D. 900 – 1500. We selected 314 features from the "library" inscriptions. Some of the features were scribe characteristics. Each inscription in the "library" was encoded as a 314-digit binary number on the basis of the 314 features.

We chose an inscription of an unknown authorship belonging to a king with the title Tribhuvana Chakravarti Konerinmai kondan. The inscription is found on the Devi Shrine of the Brihadisvarar temple at Tanjavur.[8] This title was borne by many kings including Kulottunga III who ruled during the years A.D. 1178 – 1216. Sivaramamurthy attributes the inscription to a king of the Pandya dynasty of the thirteenth century.[9] It is well known that the Pandya power was felt in the Chola country only during the later half of the thirteenth century after the period of Kulottunga III. We are therefore interested to know whether the inscription belongs to the first or the second half of the thirteenth century.

We represented the new inscription as a 314-digit binary number. We used both the general methods. In the first method, the inscription was compared individually with all the "library" inscriptions. When equal weights were given to all the features the verdict of the computer came out as THE GIVEN PIECE OF INSCRIPTION IS CLOSE TO THE KNOWN INSCRIPTION NO. 33 WHICH BELONGS TO THE PERIOD 1251 A.D. to 1300 A.D. The library inscription referred to here as No. 33 is one belonging to Vijayaganda Gopala found at Tirukachchur near Tambaram. In the second method, when different weights were assigned to the features the verdict was the same. This verdict supports Sivaramamurthy's claim.

To test the efficiency of the above described methods we took up the problem of assigning a date to an inscription with a known authorship namely, Kulottunga III. The inscription is dated in the 23rd regnal year of the king. The 'library' inscription closest to the test inscription is found to be the one belonging to Kulottunga III in his twenty-eighth year.

Choosing the features, punching the data onto cards and writing the computer programme in Fortran language took us some days but the computer took only forty seconds to execute the job.

5. Conclusion

If the number of 'library' inscriptions is increased we may get more reliable results. Instead of fifty-year periods one may study shorter periods. Then for each period the features have to be built up. For instance the different kinds of *ka* which are found in a period may be tabulated. This may be done for all the stable features present in the period.

Now with the aid of the compuer it may be possible to answer many interesting questions. For instance how many different scribes were employed by Rajaraja I ? How many different inscriptions did one scribe write ? How many different scribes were used in the same place ? We have observed from the style of writing that the scribe who wrote during Rajaraja's time on the Shore temple at Mahabalipuram was different from the one who wrote on the Athirana Chanda cave temple in the nearby Saluvan Kuppam village. We have also observed that during the Pallava times, many scribes were used by Narasimha I to write on one monument—the Dharmaraja Ratha at Mahabalipura.[10]

NOTES

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6. Roger N. Nagel, 'Computer screening of handwritten signatures : A proposal', TR - 220, Computer Science Center, University of Maryland, January, 1973.

7. Gift Siromoney, 'Newly discovered Tamil inscriptions from the Tambaram area', *Madras Christian College Magazine*, XLII, 1973, 31 - 39.

8. *South Indian Inscriptions*, II, Part II, No. 61 of 1892, 246 - 247.

9. C. Sivaramamurthy, *The Chola Temples*, New Delhi, 1960, 19.

10. On the southern side of Dharmaraja Ratha, there is a label inscription *Sri Megha* in which the first letter *Sri* is only partially cut. This may indicate that the stone mason inscribed the inscription from right to left and that he was probably not literate. This is also an indication that the work stopped suddenly.

CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF INDUS SIGNS—A COMPUTER APPROACH

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The Indus Valley Civilization flourished over a vast region extending from West Punjab in Pakistan to East Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat for about a thousand years from 2500 B.C. to 1500 B.C. We do not know what kind of language it used, but it is certain that they knew the art of writing. In spite of many advances made in the science of deciphering codes, we do not know what to make of the writings of the Indus people. The decipherment of the Indus script is a great challenge to every Indian scientist.

Scholars in India and abroad have held differing view-points about the Indus writings. Some have questioned whether the signs represent writing at all. After careful study with the use of computers, a great many sholars have agreed that the signs represent writings in an ancient language and that the language was an early form of Dravidian. One should remember that the Indus people did not know the use of iron and the iron age came after the Indus culture. For several centuries following the Indus civilization, no writing existed in India.

The Brahmi script used by Asoka appeared all of a sudden as a fully developed script around 300 B.C. and it seems futile to trace the Brahmi script way back to the Indus signs.[1] One of us proposed in 1977 that Brahmi script was invented at one stroke just prior to the period of Asoka and that many of the signs can be derived from certain compound symbols such as a cross superimposed on a square-a symbol found in the Tamil cavern inscriptions of the pre-christ era. T. N. Subramaniyam[2] has suggested that the Brahmi script was originally designed for Tamil and that it was later modified to write Prakrit. It is interesting that the theory of invention of Brahmi is discussed seriously by many scholars[3] today against the theory of borrowing from a foreign script.

S. R. Rao, a senior archaeologist who excavated sites in Gujarat which yielded seals with the Indus signs has come up with another theory.[4] He is of the view that the Indus signs stand for syllables, vowels and consonants and that the language is not Dravidian but Indo-European or a form of Sanskrit. He is able to recognize in the Indus writings certain names that are found in the Vedas. He is also of the view that there was evolution in the Indus system of writing from the complicated to the simple over a period of a thousand years.

Among foreign scholars who have worked on the Indus script there are prominent Russian and Finnish researchers[5] who have tried to decipher the script with the aid of computers. Iravatham Mahadevan of the Indian Administrative Service has devoted many years to the study of the script. He has produced a valuable concordance of the Indus script.[6] Type-setting for his book was done with the aid of a computer at the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay. What the book establishes is that all the earlier claims of decipherment are unacceptable. It looks as though no claim of decipherment will be accepted by scholars unless a bilingual writing is found, i.e. if a portion is in a known script and another portion in Indus script, then the problem will be solved.

Yet the challenge of the Indus writings remains. Mr. Mahadevan has responded and has produced a valuable book but how shall we respond to this challenge of the century ? In this paper we describe our response to this challenge.

Taking Mahadevan's book as a starting point, we have chosen the most common signs that occur at least fifty times in the Indus writings. We have defined a simple distance function between every pair of signs, based on the positions in which the signs occur. Each sign may occur alone, may occur at the beginning of a 'sentence', at the end of a sentance or in the middle. On the basis of distance between every pair of signs, we have divided the set of 67 commonly occurring signs into seven clusters using a technique called k- mean clustering. The method can, briefly, be described as follows : Suppose the ith sign occurs Pil percentage of times alone and Pi2 and Pi3 and Pi4 percentage of times at the initial, medial and final positions. The distance between the rth and sth signs is defined by

$$drs^2 = (pr_1 - ps_1)^2 + (pr_2 - ps_2)^2 + (pr_3 - ps_3)^2 + (pr_4 - ps_4)^2$$

We shall now describe the method used by the computer. The standard procedure is to take, tentatively, the first k (say ten) signs as members of different clusters. The distance of the eleventh sign from each of these ten signs is calculated. This sign is clustered with whichever sign has the least distance from it. The other signs can be clustered in the same way. This process of reducing the number of clusters to a reasonable minimum has led to seven distinct clusters. We present here the different clusters and the signs in each cluster.

In this study we are not making any assumption about the nature of the signs. Each sign may represent an object on the one hand or just a character on the other. To make matters easier, we follow Mahadevan and take a sign to be single entity if it is entered so in his concordance.

Two signs are to be taken similar if they have very close positional characteristics. For example, some signs occur most often in the initial position, less often in the medial position but rarely in the final position. These will form a cluster and will possibly belong to the same grammatical class. Some other signs may occur

most often in the medial position, less often in the initial position and rarely in any other position. These will form another cluster representing possibly another grammatical class. Our distance measure is calculated on the basis of Mahadevan's table of positional distribution of signs.

A typical member of the first cluster occurs most often in the medial position- Out of a hundred occurrences a typical sign occurs, on the average, 82 times in the medial position, 14 times in the initial position and 4 times in the final position. Many of the fish signs belong to this cluster. Twenty-eight out of 67 common signs belong to this cluster.

The second cluster contains only three signs. One is a triangle and the other two resemble a bow and a wheel or the crescent moon and the sun. A typical member of this cluster occurs most often in the initial position (63%) and less often in the medial positin (33%) and rarely in the final position (4%).

The third cluster has seventeen members. It is somewhat similar to the first cluster. A typical sign occurs more often in the medial position (56%) than in the initial position (40%). It rarely occurs alone (1%) or in the final position (3%).

The fourth cluster is quite different from the first three clusters. It contains symbols that resemble the arrow, the comb and a two handled vessel. These are often identified as signs that stand for case-endings or suffixes and not nouns. The main characteristic of a typical sign in this cluster is that it occurs most often in the final position (79%), less often in the medial position (8%) and rarely alone (1%) or in the final position (2%).

The fifth cluster is similar to the second and contains three signs. One of the signs is like capital X with all the ends closed. Another sign similar to this but with open ends, is found in the first cluster. A typical sign in the fifth cluster occurs most often in the initial position (84%), less often in the medial position (14%) and rarely in the final position (2%).

The sixth cluster has four signs. A typical sign occurs fairly often in the medial (55%) and final (40%) positions and rarely alone (1%), or in the initial position (4%).

The seventh cluster contains four signs. A typical sign of this cluster occurs in the medial (55%), initial (23%) and final (22%) positions.

Thus we notice that there are four main groups. The first group contains first, third and seventh clusters. It is characterised by the most frequent occurence of the signs in the medial and initial positions—in that order. The second group is made up of second and fifth clusters. Signs which occur most often in the initial

position and less often in the medial position belong to this group. The third group has only one member : the fourth cluster. The characteristic of this group is the most frequent occurrence of the signs in the final and medial positions. The fourth group contains the sixth cluster. A typical sign in this group occurs most often in the medial position and less often in the final position. Of these the first group is the largest. It accounts for nearly three-fourths of the signs considered in this study (49 out of 67). The other groups contain 6, 8 and 4 signs respectively.

The Table shows the frequencies of occurrences of the signs in different positions, relative to their total frequency. The figures add up to 100 horizontally. The serial numbers correspond to the signs in the figure. What we have proposed here is a new line of investigation in the study of the Indus script.[7] The clusters that we have formed are tentative and further work is necessary to sharpen the results keeping the clusters as they are. Other signs which are not common can tentatively be assigned to one of the seven clusters, on the basis of positional characteristics such as whether a given sign occurs most frequently in the final position or whether it occurs equally frequently in the final as well as medial positions. Further work is going on to divide the signs into clusters on the principle of mutual substitutability, i.e. two signs will be assumed to belong to the same grammatical class if they can be substituted for one another..

Cluster analytic methods have already been used successfully to divide a set of words in English in a given passage into a small number of clusters such that one cluster contains all articles, another propositions, and another verbs and so on.[8] The same method has also been used to divide the letter of the alphabet into clusters of consonants and vowels. These methods use the principle of mutual substitutability to form clusters.

We wish to thank Mr. N. Sivakumar, Mr. M. Chandrasekaran and Mr. R. Chandrasekaran for their assistance in writing a Fortran programme to form clusters and for running the programme in IBM 370 /155 computer at the Indian Institute of Technology, Madras.

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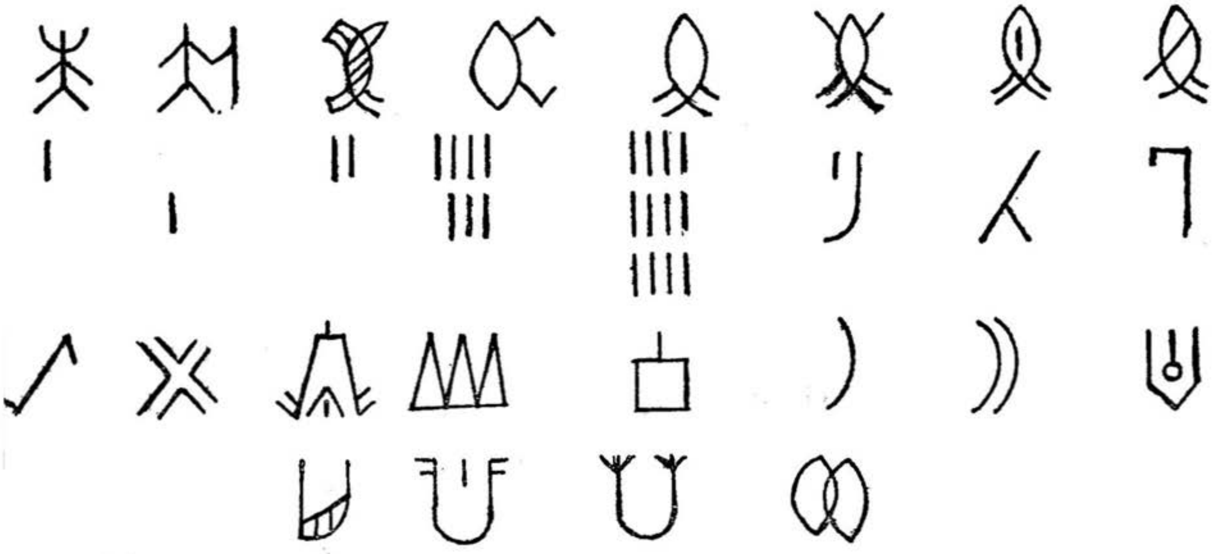
8. A. Rosenfeld, H. K. Huang and U. B. Schneider, 'An application of cluster detection to text and picture processing', *IEEE Transactions of Information Theory*, Vol. IT - 15, November, 1969.

I CLUSTER



II CLUSTER

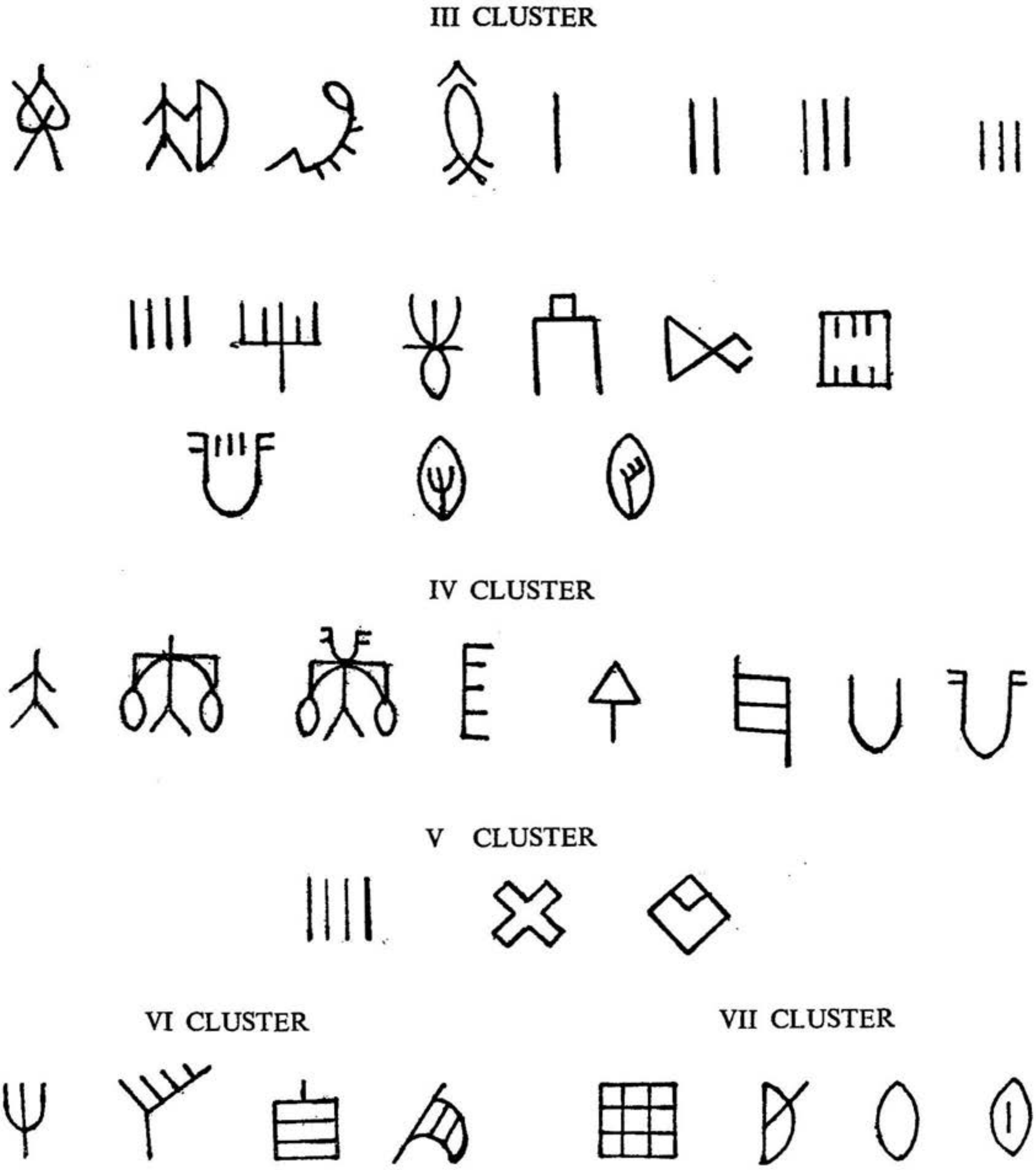


Figure 1 : Commonly occurring signs of the Indus script are grouped into seven clusters. Signs belonging to the same clusterwould belong to the same grammatical class. Clusters are formed purely on the basis of positional characteristics.

TABLE 1

Relative frequencies (in percentages) of occurence of signs in different positions and their total frequencies

Cluster Number	Serial Number	Concordance Number	Solo	(Relative frequencies in percentages) Initial	Medial	Final	Total Frequencies
	1	8	0.00	1.90	98.10	0.00	105
	2	25	0.00	18.86	71.70	9.43	53
	3	51	0.95	23.81	71.43	3.81	105
	4	53	0.00	24.62	73.85	1.52	130
	5	59	4.72	9.45	81.10	4.72	381
	6	67	0.72	24.37	74.95	0.00	279
	7	70	0.00	23.29	75.34	1.37	73
	8	72	0.00	21.28	78.72	0.00	188
	9	97	0.00	1.10	95.60	3.30	91
	10	98	0.00	4.55	81.82	13.63	88
	11	99	0.00	0.31	96.30	3.39	649
	12	112	0.00	22.86	77.14	0.00	70
	13	121	0.00	15.71	82.86	1.43	70
	14	123	0.00	0.00	96.37	3.63	193
	15	124	0.00	24.36	75.64	0.00	78
	16	127	14.00	14.00	64.00	8.00	50
	17	130	0.00	0.00	92.06	7.94	63
	18	149	2.17	5.43	70.65	21.75	92
	19	194	0.00	5.17	91.38	3.45	58
	20	230	0.00	5.56	83.33	11.11	54
	21	249	0.59	20.59	75.29	3.53	170
	22	287	0.00	19.32	78.41	2.27	88
	23	294	0.00	7.55	92.45	0.00	53
	24	336	0.42	27.54	71.19	0.85	236
	25	341	0.00	18.64	76.27	5.09	59
	26	343	0.00	11.30	85.88	2.82	177
	27	347	0.00	0.85	98.30	0.85	118
	28	403	2.15	17.20	79.57	1.08	93
Average :			0.92	13.94	81.78	4.11	—
II	29	204	0.00	65.79	32.89	1.32	76
	30	293	0.00	52.95	44.85	2.21	136
	31	391	1.54	69.22	21.03	8.21	195
Average :			0.51	62.65	32.92	3.91	—

Cluster Number	Serial Number	Concordance Number	(Relative frequencies in percentages) Solo	Initial	Medial	Final	Total Frequencies
III	32	17	0.00	41.75	53.85	4.40	91
	33	28	0.00	34.00	56.00	10.00	50
	34	48	0.00	44.05	55.35	0.60	168
	35	65	0.46	35.65	63.43	0.46	216
	36	86	0.67	44.97	46.98	7.38	149
	37	87	0.27	40.27	54.53	4.93	365
	38	89	0.32	44.58	50.64	4.46	314
	39	102	4.64	47.01	46.36	1.99	151
	40	104	1.43	44.29	50.00	4.28	70
	41	171	0.00	28.03	69.70	2.27	132
	42	175	1.85	38.89	50.00	9.26	54
	43	197	1.67	36.66	60.00	1.67	60
	44	216	2.22	40.00	54.44	3.33	90
	45	244	0.00	29.21	70.79	0.00	89
	46	345	0.00	49.02	47.06	3.92	51
	47	387	0.00	29.41	70.59	0.00	102
	48	389	0.00	48.51	51.49	0.00	134
Average :			0.80	39.78	55.95	3.47	—
IV	49	1	2.24	8.96	24.63	64.18	134
	50	12	1.25	1.25	11.25	86.25	80
	51	15	2.38	0.79	23.81	73.02	126
	52	176	0.49	0.00	10.70	89.01	355
	53	211	0.44	0.00	18.50	81.06	227
	54	254	0.00	4.11	12.33	83.56	73
	55	328	0.31	5.88	8.98	84.83	323
	56	342	0.22	0.07	30.11	69.60	1395
Average :			0.92	2.63	17.54	78.94	—

Cluster Number	Serial Number	Concordance Number	Solo	(Relative frequencies in percentages) Initial	Medial	Final	Total Frequencies
V	57	95	0.00	92.19	7.81	0.00	64
	58	150	0.00	80.95	17.46	1.59	63
	59	267	0.27	79.26	16.49	3.99	376
Average :			0. 09	84.13	13.92	1.86	—
VI	60	162	1.42	4.71	51.42	42.45	212
	61	169	0.42	1.25	44.17	54.17	240
	62	252	0.00	3.92	64.71	31.37	51
	63	402	1.01	7.07	61.62	30.30	99
Average :			0.71	4.24	55.48	39.57	—
VII	64	245	0.00	13.53	65.70	20.77	207
	65	307	1.45	21.74	52.17	24.64	69
	66	373	0.00	31.15	47.54	21.31	61
	67	375	0.00	24.56	54.39	21.05	57
Average :			0.36	22.75	54.95	21.94	—

THE HARAPPAN CALENDAR

WALTER A. FAIRSERVIS, JR.
American Museum of Natural History

Among the series of artifacts obtained by British and Indian archaeologists in the excavations at Mohenjo daro in the 1920's and 1930's are ivory or bone pieces carved or cut ornamentally. Lacking good evidence for their identity, the excavators lumped them together in such categories as 'throwing pieces', 'gaming pieces' 'ornaments', or 'miscellaneous'. These pieces, now scattered in the museums of Pakistan and India, do however constitute an important body of evidence bearing upon calendrical and other notational systems of the Harappan civilization and importantly on the Harappan script itself.[1]

The object in point is made of ivory, is square in section, a quarter of an inch in diameter, and exactly four inches in length. (Figure 1.) Whereas other objects of the same character are marked on three sides and double grooved on the fourth, in this example only three sides are marked, and there are no grooves. It is possible that there was once a grooved face in view of the fact that most of these objects are rectangular and grooved; this one is unusual in being square. It is the weaker side in the characteristic cleavage plane of drying ivory. That this is important must be brought up in context.

The excavator, E. J. H. MacKay, simply lists this and other similar objects as being found in the 'lower levels' at Mohenjo daro. This attributation has little meaning since the stratigraphic reference is to sea level readings and not to archaeological association. In terms of locus the object is listed as having come from the D. K. Area, G. Section, an area which is described as having "such a glut of them..."[2]

The D. K. Area lies East of the famous 'citadel' at Mohenjo daro, celebrated for its 'great bath', a focus of much modern tourist attention. Generally the area East of the 'citadel' is described as a habitation zone, for it is characterized by a large number of rather formal, well-laid-out structures of brick, some of which contain wells, drains, stairways, and bathrooms, the whole connecting by a rather bewildering series of smallish rooms, hallways and alleys. The larger buildings are separated by well-laid-out streets. It is presumably from one of the lower levels among these buildings that some portion of MacKay's "glut" of ivories came, including the ivory piece described herein. Because of MacKay's listings of other objects on the same plate as having come from the southern portion of Area G., it is presumed that this is the case with the other objects on the plate, a not neces-

sarily valid conclusion but as near as one might come with the published report. It is sufficient to conclude, however, that the ivory piece under consideration is clearly Harappan by analogy with similar documented pieces and by the same reasoning, from the D. K. Area at Mohenjo daro and at a level which marks the mature stage of the Harappan civilization.

The object is shown as having one surface marked by three small concentric circles equidistant apart. The adjacent side has eight similar circles, two of which are equidistant to one another and to the first of six circles which are in turn approximately equidistant (Figure 1. top).

The third side is marked by twentythree small circles, the tenth (from the left), thirteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, twentysecond, and twentythird of which have small dots at their center. After the first circle on the left a series of crescents were incised between the sequence of small circles, adding up to twentytwo. Each of the spaces between descents is equal to the last, except between crescents 20 and 22 where crescent 21 cuts the intervening space exactly in half, while two circles, one of which is dotted, fill the narrower spaces thus created.

Whereas this particular relationship of circle and crescent is rare among artifacts of the Harappan civilization, there are several other examples of crescents and circles in juxtaposition to one another, particularly from Mohenjo daro (ex. MacKay, 1937, Pl. CXLIII 18; Pl. CXXXVIII 43 and Marshall, 1931, Pl. CXXXII 30).

In the case of the Harappans, predominantly agricultural people, we are already aware of their possession of an efficient system of weights and measures.[3] Much remark has been made in the literature about the town planning and other aspects of standardization of the Harappan way of life.[4] As mentioned previously, in the Harappan script there is a high degree of conformity that emphasizes the tightness of organization and central control within the Harappan social and perhaps political system.[5]

In view of the character of this evidence it is perhaps strange that we have so little real understanding of Harappan systems of notation. This is particularly true in the context of agricultural activity in the western portion of the subcontinent. We have no reason to suspect that the timing of sowing and harvesting of cereals relative to the hot and cold season, the onset of the monsoon, the rise of rivers, and the celebration of religious festivals was any less important in 2000 B.C. than it is today. In fact, all the evidence in such matters as ancient settlement patterns, daily activity, and population growth emphasizes the importance of the agricultural calendar.

If one lays out the synodic month on a scale commensurate with that on the ivory piece (Figure 2), it seems that what that piece represents is an accurate record of the month. If we assume that the sign represents moon or night and the sign represents sun or day, the first new moon is represented by the first crescent drawn on the Harappan scale and the night of the eighth day marks the appearance of the second quarter moon. Seven nights following, that is between the fifteenth and sixteenth days of the synodic month, there is the full moon represented by the dotted circles of the fifteenth and sixteenth days. Seven nights following full moon we have the third quarter anticipated by two dotted circles on the twentysecond and twentythird days.

Since the Harappans were using a scale, the full cycle can be read by counting the first seven days from the new moon to second quarter then sliding the first to the eighth crescent and continuing to full moon and fourth quarter and the dark days, perhaps indicated by dots in twentytwo and twentythree. This gives a total of 30 days, one of which is halved or in effect, 29½ days, or precisely one lunar month. The grooves found on the fourth side of pieces similar to this one seem to indicate that they were intended to be moved along strings or runners. We can conclude then that this scale was meant as an expression of the experience of constant observation of the lunar cycle, resulting in a recognition that one day in each thirty should be halved, bringing the Harappan lunar month in line with the true lunar month of approximately twentynine and a half days.

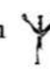
The circles on the other sides of the piece may refer to other cycles in the calendar month, but at the moment study of their position has yielded nothing conclusive.

With this piece the Harappan could know precisely what day of the month it was even in the event of monsoon cloud cover; but the counting of days within a month does not give the user the knowledge of what month he is in. It is here that the slender grooves found on many of these ancient ivories suggest that a system of counting months and days was used by which calendric counters were slid along strings or prepared runners and lined up with a masterscale which has not been found yet, but which we may synthesize on the basis of calendrical knowns described herein. Could MacKay's "glut" have been the remnants of the master calendar?

It bears repeating that no one who has studied the Harappan civilization denies for a moment that that ancient culture depended for its existence on agriculture and in particular on the cultivating of the cereal grains, with an emphasis upon

wheat growing.[6] Wheeler has put forth solid evidence for grain storage and there is, of course, the ploughed field found by the Archaeological Survey of India team at Kalibangan.[7]

It is clear that the Harappans were dependent upon the accurate timing, not only of monsoonal and winter rains but upon precision in the timing of planting and harvesting. So important is this timing that traditionally even today the new year ceremonially begins with the planting season (October-November) or in effect, the beginning of the Rabi, or dry, cycle of the winter season. Harvesting of wheat and barley occurs usually six or seven months later at the beginning of and during the early portion of the hot season (April-May), (see Figure 3). The Monsoon rains and consequent rise in the river flood usually occur in June and extend into September. This is the time for Kharif crops like sesamum and it is also the growing season for cotton.

Based on the calendar designation outlined above and our knowledge of the modern situation it is clear that the designation of the agricultural year was made by dividing that year into twelve periods based on the lunar month. Each period was named with symbols in the Harappan script. We know what these symbols are since the critical ones occur on the "calendar sticks" found by MacKay (Figure 4). This is the sign and These signs are common, both singly and in combination with other signs in the Harappan texts. Furthermore, their pairing tendency (right to left, Figure 5) is with the short strokes as in the first example The fact that the sign appears to represent a stalk of grain and that both  and occur affixed to the as in or evidences the possibility that there is a relationship between time and agriculture in this symbolism. This is a fact hardly unexpected in view of our substantive evidence for the Harappan agricultural economic foundation.

If we assume that the sign or designates the calendar month, it then follows that a pairing such as represents the fourth month in the lunar and in the agricultural year. It then follows that and represent, in the former case, a word for wheat, barley or grain and also the sign for month. But since the measurement for month is the moon it is entirely possible that the ancient word for moon/month was identical with that for wheat/barley/grain.

There are at present four possible language situations upon which to draw: (1) Sumerian, as Kinnier Wilson, 1974, suggests; (2) Indo-Aryan, as S. R. Rao would have it, 1956-57, 1970; (3) Dravidian, as Parpola, Mahadevan and others advocate, 1968, 1970; or (4) none of these.[8]

The Sumerian calendar had reference to two seasons; one, the summer, which began in February-March; and two, the winter, which commenced in September October. Thus the Sumerian calendar did not equate with the Harappan in terms of seasonal equivalencies. The names of the months varied all over Sumer and went according to one's city, and these were based on the varied activities, events and traditions of that respective city. The Sumerians counted from one to nine by repeating the sign for one. Ten was the first cumulative symbol. Clearly then, the Sumerian calendar does not meet the requirements of our model.[9]

The Indo-Aryan calendar begins with March-April (*Caitral*), or with October-November (*Karttika*), and in the latter case is similar to the Harappan, but even in the Vedic or earliest of the Indo-European calendars, the names (Mudha, Madhara, Sukra, Suci, Nabhas, Nabhasya, etc.) reflect the rtu, or bimonthly, pairing which characterized the calendar in both the Vedic and later systems. In addition, the names of the lunar months used vary considerably and have no common root which is essential to our model. Furthermore, there is no number system used in the period enumeration, the whole depends on proper names, much as in the calendars of Europe. It is also worthy of note that according to the calendar sticks mentioned above, the Harappan counted the lunar month from *new*

moon to new moon as do the Tamils, whereas in the basic lunar calendar of the Indo-Aryans the month started and ended with the full moon.[10]

Barring the possibility that the Harappans spoke an unknown language which becomes a moot point here, there is the Dravidian alternative. Dravidian calendars known historically are strongly influenced by and indeed largely copy the traditional Indo-Aryan calendar. The earliest examples are based upon the nakshatra system; that is the system by which the moon (and sun) positions were related to some 27 constellations along the ecliptic. Naming of the months was according to the Nakshatra in which the full moon appears. Thus the lunar month enumeration is based on the proper names of the ecliptic constellations. Clearly the hypothesized Harappan calendar differs from the known Dravidian forms. These are largely First Millennium A. D., however, in date and thus we are justified in looking for an earlier calendar rooted in an indigenous system as is the case for both the Sumerians and the Indo-Aryans.

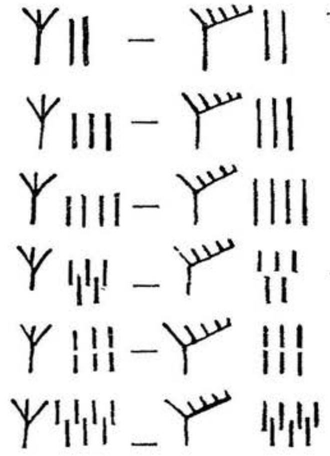
The Dravidian language offers a number of possibilities. But noteable is the fact that nowhere in the DED is there reference to wheat; however David McAlpin has indicated to me as an alternative that nel (DED 3112): rice, and nilavu or nila (DED 3113 Ta.) and nela (DED 3113 Te.):moon, moonlight, month; have a rather precise homophonic relationship. Rice, the staple of the Tamilnad, would have been a simple substitution for wheat, the Harappan staple, and the same word applied to it.[11]

Worthy of note also is nal (DED 3025 Ta): day, (see kurukh nela: tomorrow). Also note the calendric factors in neram (Ta.): time (DED 3128) and nil (Ta.): length, extension, order, series, etc. (DED 3059) or nira (Ta.): to arrange in order, divide equally, etc. (DED 3042).

The numbers then are adjectively used and modify the words nel or nil. For example, mu(n)nel is the "Third Month".[12] We can thus line up at least

some of the months of the agricultural year based on the number of strokes, which we assume represent actual number count.[13] Thus we have:

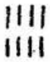
2
3
4
5
6
7



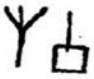
— The long strokes are used to differentiate numbers from the inflexional sign ″. There are no examples of or

— Alternates are or and in all such cases tiering can be reasonably regarded as a stylistic matter.

At the start we have no exact equivalent for the first month. One possibility is that the sign or by itself and in context was probably used for that designation unless the month was given a proper name. Even so, it is likely that one of the index signs or would occur with it.

At the eighth month the use of multiple strokes ends, for all intents and purposes. We have but three examples in all of or combined with  However, we have other signs which combine with one or the other of

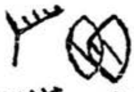
these index signs regularly. They are:

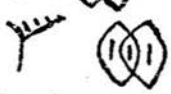
 (54 occurrences)

(47)

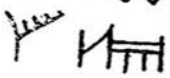
(30)

(1)

 (20)

 (2)

(10)

 (11)

(10)

(3)

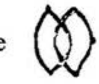
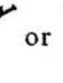
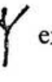
The other six months of the year must then be represented by this special group, beginning with the eighth month, or June-July. it is in the analysis of these month symbols that the Dravidian genesis for the Harappan script stands forth.

By inspection it should be noted that all of these signs except and have in common the arrow sign ampu.[14] Obviously then there is a shared theme to which has reference for which the Tamil *ampuli:* moon (DED 151) is an obvious choice.[15]

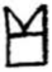
The sign consisists of a joined pair of circles, a design found in Harappan "bath tubs" and on the floor of bathrooms in a number of Harappan sites.[16] The relationship of the sign to water is plausibly fixed by this archaeological evidence. Technically, the sign is not drawn as a simple overlap but is, in effect, two circle entwined The sign has three distinct variations

however and It is clear that the probable objective was to indicate two sun or moon discs conjoined or paired. If we consider the sign as a unit number it should be read as a unit. Of importance here is that in most Dravidian languages the numbers 9, 11 and 12 are compound words, for example on–patu, padin-onru, pannirantu, etc. The word for pair, double, couple, etc. is (in DED 387) Tamil inai; Kannada ene, ena; Kodagu ene; Telegu ena. The nearest number equivalent for this syllable is eight (DED 670) as in (Ta.) enpatu; eighty; (Ka.) entu; eight; (Tulu) enma: eight; (Telegu) enimidi (also enbodi): eight; (Kolami) enumadi: eight. On this basis we have reason to assign the meaning 8 to as a reconstructed syllable, en. But what of

The circle or disc sign is the sign for day or sun if the calendar interpretation is correct. However the arrow sign repeated through the paired discs appears to emphasize that if is to be taken as "pair" and an equivalent to *en* then only the arrow sign is to be emphasized and not the discs-and-the-arrow. The multiple arrows are necessary for the sense that the whole sign is modified and not just a part of it. Accordingly we get the syllabic value *en ampu.* En is also the root morpheme for number, counting, mathematics, etc. (DED 678). The suffixed *ampu* can be taken as the root morpheme for *ampuli* (Ta.): moon, as indicated above. Thus the en ampu can be interpreted as the eighth moon, i.e. Eighth Month, the month of June which is also the Monsoon Month, or the beginning of the rains, which comports well with the paired disc sign motif found in Harappan bathtubs.

If the  is the number eight, *en*, the Harappan scribe now adds three short strokes and produces the number eleven, 8 plus 3 = 11. This is good evidence that the Harappan number system is a base eight. Note only occurs with  or  except for one doubtful example. This also accords with the change from digit units, one to seven, to symbols from eight on. However, since we do not have any notational accords of any length we have no real way of ascertaining how higher numbers beyond 12 are handled.

The number nine, tol – lon, according to Zvelebil "must have had a 'full' semantic value or 'nine' (1977 pp. 35). Of the remaining signs there is which has generally been considered as a square weight suspended, that is sitting on a pan in a balance for which there is good archaeological evidence.[17] The best term for weight and the act of weighing are forms of DED 2777A, tunku, tukku (Ta.) and DED 2863 tonku: to hang, be suspended. The Sanskrit, tul: to weigh by lifting up and tul: a balance, a weight, have also to be considered here in that the latter may be loan words from an early Dravidian word for weight, tu(l,a) or to(l, n).[18] On this basis we have reason to assume that had a root morpheme to or tu combined with a consonant l or n or ḷ or ṇ. We are justified in choosing as the bese sign equivalent for the number 9.

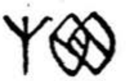
A common sign for metal, or weight of metal, in the ancient world was  which occurs in Harappan as and The sign is of course, a root in the sign which combines with ampu, and for which the word for gold: pon (DED 3732) has a proper homophone in combined forms of the number 10: pon (or pan).[19] The combination with ampu emphasizes again that the arrow sign is a syllabic rendition in this context of ampu (li): moon. I suspect that the vertical stroke was intended to represent the bow string as in to reinforce the homophone.

The two remaining signs and must in turn be proper names for the two critical months, the first and the twelfth or last. We assume reasonably, that the sign for moon, paired with the single stroke refers to the first month, i.e. oramp(u).

The bowman, vilan (or vilampan), must then be the symbol of the twelfth month of the year. This is about October-November, and could indeed be related to the winter constelation Orion, or to the cool dry season when hunting in the grassland area was prime. The arrow sign in does confirm that a month attribution was involved. It is of interest that Orion is referred to in Greek mythology as the Moon Man of the Mountains. Is this an example of an ancient Indo-European myth relating moon and constellation which is thus conveyed into the Harappan calendar as the beginning month of the effective winter season? The adjectival sense of the word vil: bow, can be derived from forms of vel (Ta.), as in vil (bil): shining (DED 4524) that is vilampu: shining moon; vilampu an becomes vilampan: shining moon man. This gives some emphasis to the possibility of an astronomical relationship to the Orion constellation, thus to the twelfth month, or the first month, of the New Year.

However a more plausible possibility lies in the genesis of the ancient Dravidian god Murukan who is associated both with the moon and, as a bowman, with hunting and war.[20] The month of Karttikai (November-December) is the month supposedly of Murukan's birth, at which time there was an ancient Tamil festival of lights.[21] The reading of then, makes a division between bowman: villan (DED 4449 (Ta.) and ampu as the designation for moon, while at the same time not losing sense of as archer-hunter. Thus villan ampu(li): Month of the Hunter. There also exists the possibility in the exchange of villan velan-Skanda (or Murukan) (DED 4555).

In sum, the Harappan lunar year was designated as follows

	Orampu nila	November-December.
	Ir (ampu) nila	December-January
	Mun (ampu) nila	January-February
	Nal (ampu) nila	February-March
	Cay (ampu) nila	March-April
	Car (ampu) nila	April-May
	Er (ampu) nila	May-June
	Enampu nila	June-July
	Ton (ampu) nila	July-August
	Ponampu nila	August-September
	Enmunampu nila	September-October
	Villan ampu nila	October-November

The sign nila, probably refers to the calendar itself, as in DED 3042, nira: to organize in order, series, row, etc., also DED 3126 ner: straight. 'The calendar, Month One' is a reasonable interpretation here.

This calendric evidence appears to confirm the fact that Dravidian was the language family from which Harappan was derived and is thus the language of the

script itself. Since these calendric signs also are a part of the seal inscriptions which I have already described as probably individually identifying, it is obvious that not only must the signs be valid for the calendric attribution but also most be viable in Dravidian proper names.[22] Without moving too far into the extensive corpus of Harappan signs and the problems of their character and derivation, it is possible to use the calendric sign corpus to transliterate a few Harappan names for comparison to those known in later Dravidian. This tests the validity of the foregoing.

Mohenjo daro 618

-an pir (c)ay

pir (or per) for , crescent moon, is derived from forms of peru (DED 3622):

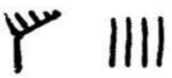
to bear, and crescent moon: pirai (Ta.); pira (Ma.); per: new moon (Ko.); per (To.): days from the third to the eighth after new moon; pere (Ka.); per (pett) (Kod.): to, bear child, etc. to the homophonic possibilities of "greatness" (DED 3624): perru (Ta.), piranku; (Ma.) perran: stout; and forms of DED 3613 peru, per (Ta., Ma., Ka., Kod., Tu., Te., Kd., Pa., Go., Konda, Kul, Kur., Br. (?)).

Mahadevan has put forth a plausible argument that which occurs most frequently in the script and generally in a terminal position, is an honorific of male personal names.[23] His argument is based on recognition of the sign as a vessel with handles which in the context of the variety of vessels named in Dravidian produced the allomorphs *ant(ai) and *anr which are then related to forms of the honorific suffix-an.

Thus we have (c)ay peran.

Ay as a part of proper names can be found in the Kuruntokai: aiyur: a city of the Cola Kings. Note also the names of poets in that same work:

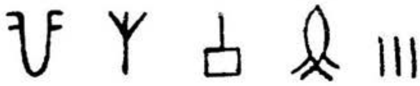
Anteiyar, Kalporu Cirunraiyar, and Uraiyur. Note also in the Tolkappiyam names such as Perunceral, Perumal. Modern names such as Aiyangar, Ayyar and Ayer are also pertinent.

Mohenjo daro 215.  Nal(a)ni(e)la

nila nal(a)

Mohenjo daro 160 Tol nilan

-an nila tol(n) — — —

Mohenjo dara 594  Munur Tol (n) Nilan

-an nila tol(n) ur mu(n)

Mohenjo daro 155 Orampan

-an orambu

Note: Tolkappiyam: Varamban, Kamban; Ainkurunuru: Orampokiyar.

These are a few proper names that can be constructed from the calendrical signs. They are but a few examples of the possibilities inherent in this ongoing study. They are witness however to the very real possibility of a Dravidian language – Harappan script relationship.

FOOT NOTES

1. Illustrations of these pieces are found in E. J. MacKay"Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro", 1937, Vol. II Plate 138-41, 43, 44, 48; Plate 143 30, 41, 43, 47, 48, 49, 51, 53?, 54; Plate 125-11; Plate 110-48; J. Marshall "Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization", 1931, Vol. III Plate 132, 23, 30.
2. MacKay, 1031, Vol. I page 561.
3. In particular see the work of A. S. Hemmy in Marshall, 1931, Vol. II page 589 ff. and MacKay, 1937, Vol. I page 601-612; also R.E.M. Wheeler "The Indus Civilization" 3rd Ed. 1968, page 83, 84.
4. Wheeler, 1968, for example; also S. Piggott, "Prehistoric India", 1950.
5. W. Fairservis, "Papers of the Allahdino Expedition" 1976, Vol. I page 108, 111.
6. For example, Wheeler, 1967, page 43, 44.
7. For example, Wheeler, 1967, page 43, 44; B. K. Thapar, "New Traits of the Indus Civilization at Kalibangan: an appraisal" in "South Asian Archaeology" Ed. by Norman Hammond, 1973, page 89, 90.

8. J. V. Kinnier Wilson "Indo Sumerian:, 1974, Clarendon Press, Oxford; S. R. Rao "Lothal and the Indus Civilization", Asia Publishing House, Bombay, etc. 1973, page 127,134;A. Parpola, S. Koskeneiemi, S. Parpola, and P. Alto, "Decipherment of the Proto Dravidian Inscriptions of the Indus Civilization: a First Announcement" Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, 1969 (the first of several efforts in this regard); 1. Mahadevan "Dravidian Parallels in Proto Indian Script", Journal of Tamil Studies, Vol. II, No. 1, April, 1970, pp. 1. 120 and 1. Mahadevan "Study of Indus Script through Bi - lingual Parallels", presented at the Second All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati; June, 1972.
9. S. N. Kramer "The Sumerians", University of Chicago Press, 1963, page 91.
10. For a concise statement on the Indo Aryan calendar see A. L. Basham "The Wonder That Was India", Hawthorne Books, New York, 1963, page 494, 495.
11. DED is an abbreviation for "A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary" by T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, Oxford, 1961. This work and its supplement (1968) is indispensable in Dravidian linguistic studies. The following abbreviations are used in this context: (Ta.) Tamil; (Ma.) Malayalam; (Te.) Telegu; (Ka.) Kannada.
12. The writing should be read from right to left. For a long time I have felt that a left to right reading of the sealings was correct. But now I must concede that Mahadevan's evidence for a right to left reading is correct. (See Mahadevan, 1977, page 10 14 and B.B. Lal "The Direction of Writing in the Harappan Script", Antiquity, Vol. XV, 1966, page 52; According to Zvelebil, "A Sketch of Comparative Dravidian Morphology, Part One", 1977 pg. 34 – 36; reconstruction of Proto Dravidian adjective forms of numbers is as follows:

one	oru	before consonant	(a)
	or	before vowel	eight ett(u); en adj.
two	iru	before consonant	
	ir	before vowel	nine tol; ton – adj.
three	muc/mu	before consonant	
	mu	before vowel	ten pat(tu), pan – adlj.
four	nal		
five	cayn	before consonant	This reconstruction is used
	cay	before vowel	in this calendar study.
six	caru	before consonant	
	car	before vowel	
seven	eru	before consonant	
	er	before vowel	
	er	before vowel	

13. Due acknowledgement must be made of the concordances so arduously and accurately put together by both the Finnish and Indian teams. Though based on the computer, which in spite of modern adoration is not infallible, the compendium of information on the script is outstanding.

It can be said that no effective work on the script can go forward without due reference to these works.

S. Koskenniemi, A. Parpola, and S. Parpola, "Materials for the Study of the Indus Script", Annals of the Finnish Academy of Science, Vol. 185, Helsinki 1973.

I. Mahadevan, "The Indus Script", Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 77, New Delhi 1977;

The numbers which follow the various combinations of signs are based on the above concordances plus personal checking of the original reports.

14. We know that / is the sign for arrow since it is a part of the common sign . Each part of this sign occurs independently of the other parts. Thus and / as well as occur. The word for arrow is ampu (am, ab or ambu) in 15 Dravidian languages (Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Toda, Kannada, Kodagu, Tulu, Telegu, Parji, Gadba, Konda, Kui, Kuwi, Pengo, and Manda (DED 150 DEDS 150.). Note also T. Burrow's statement as to ampu-arrow as the probable primitive Dravidian word in "Dravidian and the Decipherment of the Indus Script", Antiquity Vol. X-III 1969.

15. I realize that the fact that ampuli – moon occurs only in Tamil and Malayalam (ampili), but I suspect that it is of great antiquity and its place in the Tamil Lexicon (unavailable to me) will evidence its older usage. Herein an act of faith, a flaw in this effort, but an assumption which demands a substantive rejection if indeed there is one.

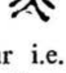
16. See MacKay 1937 II Pl. 07 – 24; Marshall 1931, Pl. XLCI 2, 4, 5; Kalibangan – Rao, 1937, Pl. IV c). At Allahdino a "*bath tub*" next to a well at the top of the site contained the same design (unpublished).

17. For example, Wheeler, 1966 p. 83.

18. The question of the relationship of Indo-Aryan and early Dravidian is reviewed by F. Southworth "Lexical Evidence for Early Contacts Between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian". Proceedings of the Conference on

Aryan and non-Aryan in India; Univ. Michigan, 1976" unpublished but personally distributed.

The archaeological questions involved will be dealt with in forthcoming notes on the evidence of the language of the Harappan script.

19. DED 3732 gold – (Ta.) pon; (Ma.) pon; (Ko.) pon; (Ka.) pon; (Kod.) ponal; (Tu.) ponnu; (Te.) ponnu.
DED 3236 examples of pan and pon (Ta.) pannantu - twelve; (Kota) and (in 11 to 18); pon-ten (conservative speech; in 11, 12, 14 to 18; Toda) pon (in 11 to 13); (Kannada) pann (in 11, 12); (Kodagu) pannandi – eleven; pannerandi – twelve; (Telegu) pan (in 19), pandrendu – twelve.
20. See F. W. Clothey, "The Many Faces of Murukan", Mouton, 1978, pg. 133 ff. for Murukan's association with the moon and the lunar years as warrior hunter, pg. 26, 34; as bowman, pg. 189; note also the association of sun and warrior in Skanda with whom Murukan is identified. Clothey's work, by the way, is a first rate, richly detailed source on the subject. Clothey's discussion of the complex integration between the Sanskritic and ancient Dravidian cultural currents is of pertinance to the whole question of the relationship of Harappan-Dravidian-Sanskritic concepts in the time period after the Harappan style eclipse at the end of the Second Millenium B.C., It is valuable in its emphasis on the character of processes involved.
21. Clothey, 1978, page 137.
22. For the question of the character of Harappan seals and the special role of the writing on those seals see the accounts in Fairservis 1976 and 1977.
23. I. Mahadevan, 1970, pg. 165 to 174; Discussion of Mahadevan's argument will be found in – succeeding notes to this one.
The script should be read from right to left. A discussion of this is found in Mahadevan, 1977, pg. 14 to 24,.
24. The sign  is a loom loop combined with / \ and has the value ur i.e. settlement (DED 643). The detailled derivation of this sign is dealt with in forthcoming notes. It is however a matter of increasing methodological concern that some colleagues are less concerned with the proper epigraphic aspects of the Harappan signs than they are with discovering statistically reliable associations.

It appears clear to me that useful as statistics are they are useless if the signs quantified are not initially correctly identified. The so-called fish signs are a case in point. We have good evidence that these signs are not fish, both from the way they are drawn and from such evidence

as depicted in the seals from Harappa – No. 24 and Mohenjo daro, Marshall, Vol. II, 1931 No. 135, MacKay, 1937 – No. 423, etc. where one form of the signs is shown as loops on a loom. The homophones make more sense in the seal context as statements of place in a proper name than some of the implausible interpretations that come forth when the signs are read as "fish".

Figures

Figure 1. The Ivory Counters from Mohenjo daro (see Figure 6 in Allahdino III)

Figure 2. The Synodic Month and the Harappan Counter (see Figure 7 in Allahdino III).

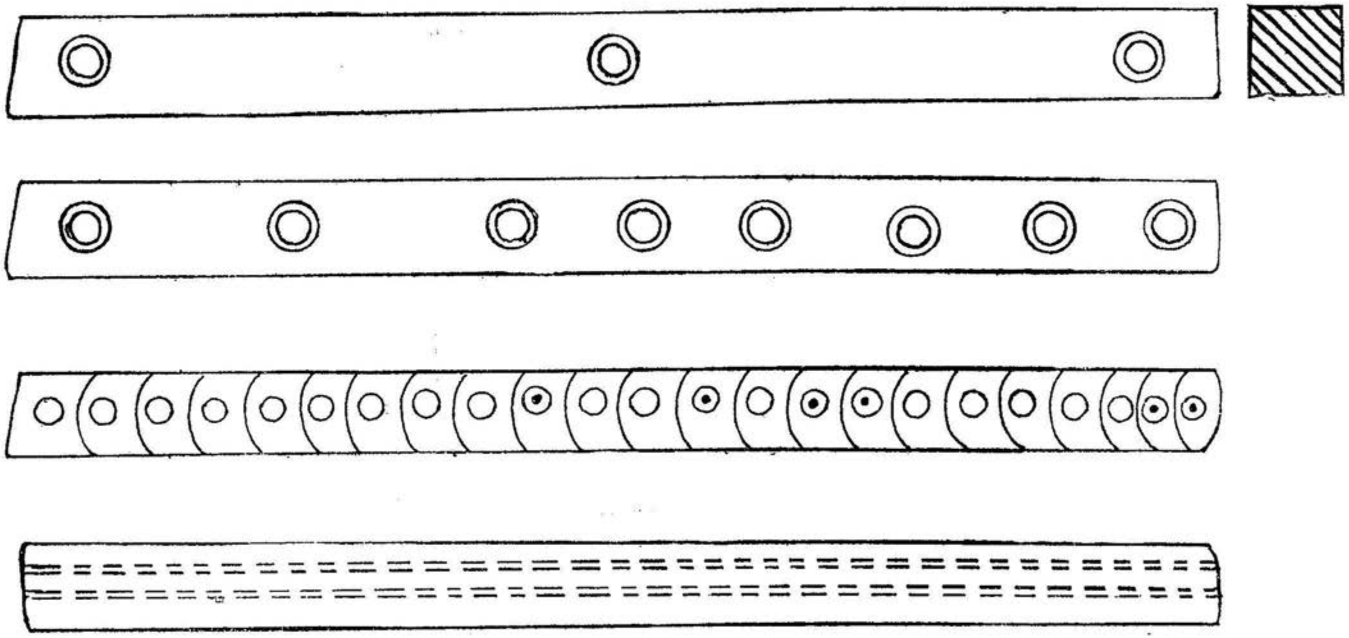
Figure 3. The Modern Agricultural Year in Sind Punjab. (see Figure 8 in Allahdino III)

Figure 4. "Calendar Sticks" marked with Signs of the Harappan Script (see Figure 9 in Allahdino III)

Figure 5. Pairing of Signs and.

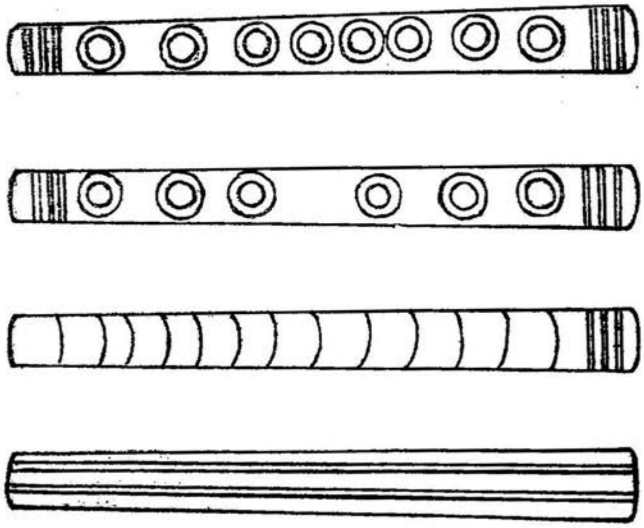
The Ivory "Counter" from DK Area, Mohenjo daro

Figure 1



Ivory CXLIII – 54 DK Area, Mohenjo daro

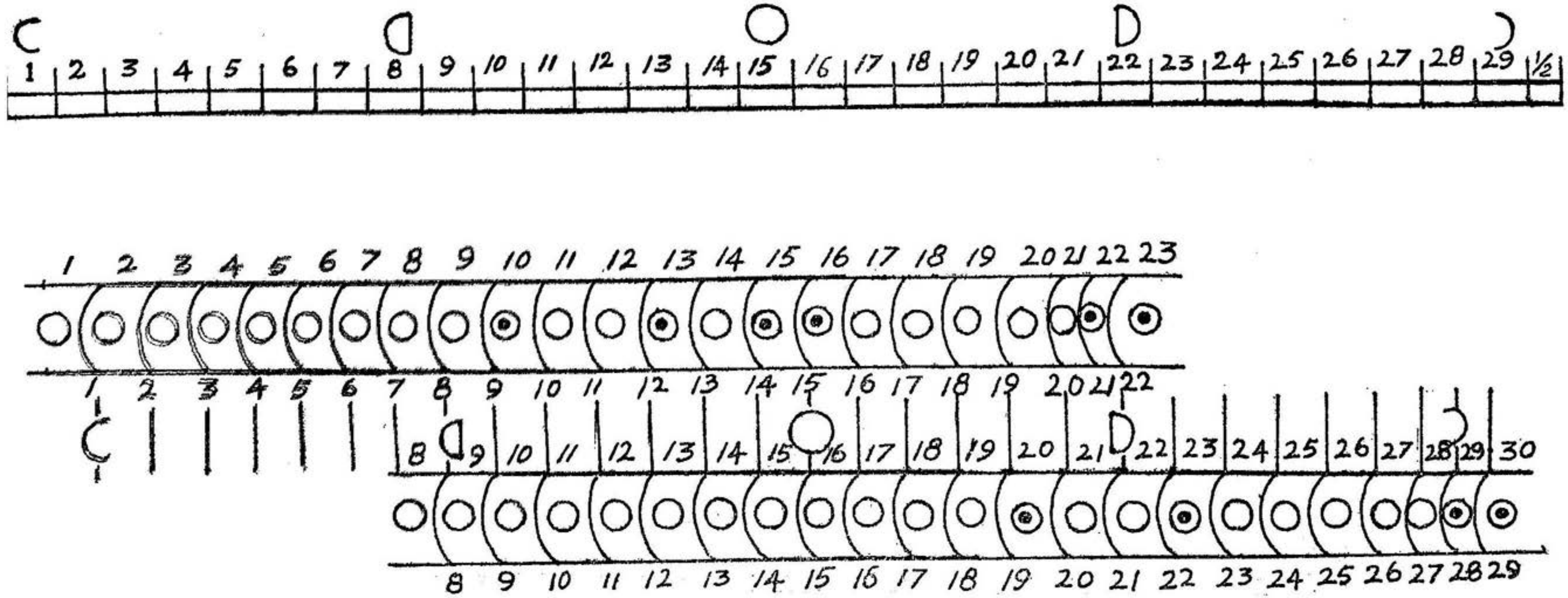
Three sides are illustrated, grooves in the fourth side are reconstructed by the artist on evidence from other pieces.



Ivory CXXXVIII – 43 DK Area, Mohenjo daro
Four sides of the piece were intact and illustrated.

The Synodic Month and the Harappan counter

Figure 2



Harappan Lunar Calendar from ivory (see Figure 6)
Coordinated with a scale of the phases of the moon.

Figure 3

THE AGRICULTURAL YEAR

SIND - PUNJAB

SEASON	WEATHER CONDITIONS	MONTH	BASIC CROP	ACTIVITY
Rabi	DRY	Oct. — Nov.	wheat barley	Sow
Rabi		Nov. — Dec.	wheat barley	Sow
Rabi	WINTER RAIN	Dec. — Jan.	wheat barley	Sow - Grow
Rabi		Jan. — Feb.	wheat barley	Grow irrigate
Rabi		Feb. — Mar.	wheat barley	Grow Irrigate
Rabi		Mar. — Apr.	wheat barley	Grow Irrigate
Rabi	DRYSEASON	Apr. — May	wheat barley	Grow–Harvest Irrigate
Rabi Kharif		May — Jun.	wheat barley	Harvest
Kharif		Jun. — Jul.	sesamum rice	Sow
Kharif	MONSOON	Jul. — Aug.	sesamum rice	Grow
Kharif		Aug. — Sep.	sesamum rice	Grow
Kharif	DRY	Sep. — Oct.	sesamum rice	Harvest

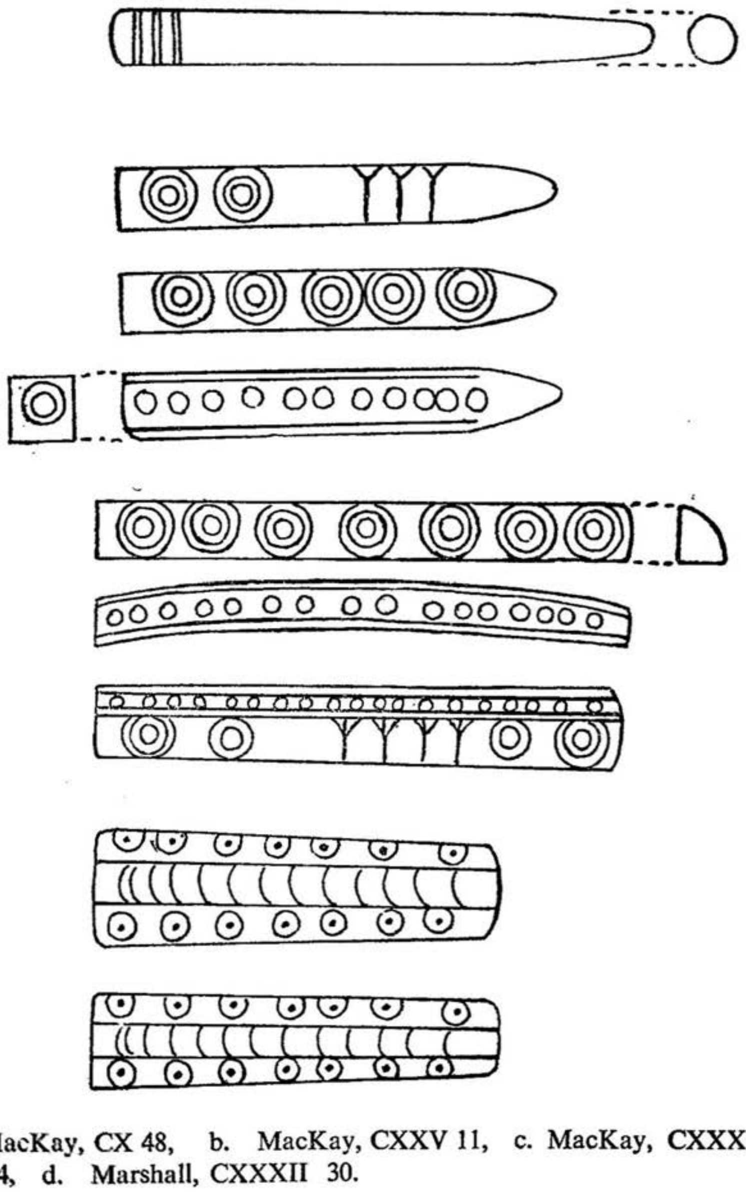
"Calendar Ssicks" marked with the Harappan script **Figure 4**

a.

b.

c.

d.



a. MacKay, CX 48, b. MacKay, CXXV 11, c. MacKay, CXXXVIII 44, d. Marshall, CXXXII 30.

RECENT PROGRESS IN TAMIL EPIGRAPHICAL RESEARCH

K. G. KRISHNAN, Chief Epigraphist, Mysore.

The spate of discoveries of new inscriptions in Tamil Nadu has increased the scope for more research in many aspects of history of the Tamil country. Primarily these discoveries have led to a proper understanding of the evolution of Tamil and Vatteluttu scripts. The discovery of Ammankovilpattu inscription is a unique one. It provides one of the missing links in the evolution of the Tamil script, while the Arachchalur, Irulappatti and Chengam inscriptions throw enough light on the evolution of the Vatteluttu script. The Ammankovilpattu inscription retains the forms of some letters that may be placed in pre-Arachchalur stage (cf. U p̣; ⊥ ṉ̤) but shows a change in respect of one letter (ட - ṭ) which certainly does not belong to Vatteluttu. As we know the next stage of *t* from the original ⁄ to h ᑋ of the Irulappatti inscriptions suggests the departure in respect of Vatteluttu as against the clear Tamil form. This alone makes the Ammankovilpattu inscription significant thus indicating that the script in that record should be considered to be Tamil and that it should be placed between Arachchalur and Irulappatti, though this itself may be a sufficiently long period of about two centuries. We anticipate some more discoveries which may confirm the evolution (described here) leading to the next stage at Vallam (sixth century).

Another problem of research taken up recently for investigation is being solved to a great extent on the basis of indirect evidence. It pertains to the phonetic value of a few letters of the Tamil alphabet. The fact that we cannot expect the Tamil inscriptions themselves to indicate the real phonetic value of a letter had led us to look for the evidence elsewhere ; for only a transliterated system, where the nuances of the sounds of the letters intonated are recorded, would reveal the real value. Luckily for us a few Kannada inscriptions in the areas adjacent to the border belts of Tamil Nadu on the northwest give us this much-needed evidence. The transliterated parts of the Tamil *meykkīrtti* of Rajaraja I give the value of *ga* for *ka* in *tirumakal*, *ḍa* for *ṭa* in *pūṇṭamai*, etc. This conclusively proves that the sonants were used in the case of surds medially placed. So also was the case wth a surd following a homorganic nasal. More evidence is likely to turn up in this matter regarding the situation in the earlier period also. The nature of the evidence cannot be very dissimilar. But now we are left to wonder why this situation arose whereby no provision for representing the true phonetic value of the letters of the alphabet seems to have been made. There is however a clue available in *Tolkappiyam*. The *nurpa* (No. 401) in Colladhikaram:

Vadasor-kilavi Vadav-elutt-orii
eluttodu punarnda soll-agumme.

This points to the practice of removing the northern letters, evidently the sonants, before adopting them in Tamil- apparently a deliberate one. What could be the motive in sustaining an alphabet without allowing the true phonetic values to be represented ? The enigma of substituting the sonants with surds in respect of the northern words and of discarding the sonantal forms but not the sounds in respect of the pure Tamil words is somewhat baffling indeed. Further research has to be undertaken along these lines.[1]

An early inscription from Mudalaikkulam near Vikkiramangalam assignable to the first century B.C. engraved on the ceiling of a small cavern-like opening cut into the face of a ridge states that it (*tāṉam*) is the work of the *perayam* (*pērāyam*) of Sembiraiur. The term *eṇ-perayam* known to Tamil literature along with another expression *aimperungulu* as the names given to the highest executive bodies having advisory functions in the contemporary polity is reinforced by this epigraphical evidence.

The discovery of the early inscription from Pulankurichchi in Ramanathapuram District in Vatteluttu characters is dated in the reign of Chendan Kurran in the year 182 of an unspecified era. If this belongs to Saka era the date will be 259-60 A.D. This inscription gives us definitely a firm date line to fix the developments in respect of many aspects such as script and its palaeography, administration, political history, etc. A complete study of the record, yet to be made, will throw a flood of light on contemporary times otherwise considered to be 'the dark age'.

An equally important discovery is that of the two copper-plate charters from Velanjeri. One of them issued by Aparajita in his 9th year (878 A.D.) has given the important information that he was the son of Kampavarman and his queen Vijaya of the Ganga family. He is said to have killed an elephant of the Bana king, even as a young boy, destroyed the city called Karanai belonging to the grandson of the Pandya (by his daughter) and won a victory over the Chola king at the great battle of Chirrarur. The charter informs us that Kampavarman had defeated Nripatunga. Thus this copper-plate grant has not only cleared the doubtful position of Aparajita in the genealogy of the Pallavas and also reveals the fact of a war of succession between Kampavarman and Nripatunga for the Pallava throne. This makes it possible for us to infer further that a collateral line of the Pallavas could have continued to exist alongside till they completely disappeared from the scene. The Sennivaykkal inscription of Nandivarman who was pleased to get (back) the kingdom after his victory at Tellaru commemorates the death of a brahmana hero in the course of a raid

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1 - *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. XIV.

on a *madam* by a Bana Chief with the help of Sevuna horses.[1] This hero-stone was arranged to be set up by the people bound over to Arindikai-Isvaragriham of Parantakapuram thus pointing to its date in the times of Chola Parantaka I. It is very probable that this Nandivarman was a son of Nripatunga or Aparajita who themselves got eliminated from the political arena by Aparajita (Pallava) and Aditya I (Chola) respectively following the battle of Tiruppurambiyam in 878-79 A.D. Very probably this Nandivarman was the son of Aparajita. We have also a king Parthivendra, by name, who was a Pallava contemporary of Rashtrakuta Krishna III and Chola Aditya II. These constructions anticipated here are however to be confirmed by future discoveries.

More important than the light thrown on the contemporary political history, the references to Tiruttaniyal and to the deity Subrahmanya on the hillock (*tirumalai*) are interesting as already pointed out by Dr. Nagaswamy. This extends our known earliest reference to Tiruttaniyal by about hundred years back and to the deity by a much longer time. The charter ratifies the arrangement of clubbing Pudur (as *kani*) with Melirunjeru made by Vamanayya under the stipulation that the village authorities should measure out thousand *kadi* of paddy as *panchavara* to the deity. It is stated that the rights of previous tenant-proprietors were cancelled before the formation of the new unit. Since the transaction is described as *paradatti* the arrangement regarding compensation should have been made by Vamanayya.

The other charter of Parantaka I is also interesting. This inscription assignable to 932 A.D., just more than half a century after the previous one records a similar assignment of 3000 *kadi* of paddy and 9 *kalanju* of gold apparently to the deity Subrahmanya as *panchavara* on account of the addition of three more villages to the main village of Melirunjeru at the instance of Brahmavalavadhirajan. Besides, the charter gives the genealogy of Parantaka I as follows : Karikala—............ Kochchemgannan, Orriyuran and Aditya. This creates more problems than it could solve. Parantaka is stated to have performed *tulabhara* ceremony at Srirangam and perhaps endowed the same on the temple.

Vallam near Tanjavur is called *karuvugala* (*karuvulam*) Vallam indicating its status of being a treasury town for the Cholas. Of the two inscriptions from there the earlier dated in the reign of Parantaka records the gift of sheep for a lamp by Anantan Kari *alias* Parantaka-Muttaraiyan for the goddess Bhattaraki at Vallam. The other assignable to 1000-01 A.D. in the reign of Rajaraja I refers to the deity as Kala-pidari-kai-talaip-pusal nangai of *karuvugala* Vallam. The king is said to have issued the order recorded here from his day time seat at Vinnan-eri on the request of his officer Kamban Maniyan *alias* Vikramasingamuvendavelan. The image housed in the findspot reflects the description as given here.

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, No. 56

The influence of Periyanadu, an agricultural body is evident from an inscription of Rajendra I from Tamaraippakkam. Periyanadu undertook to conduct the charities when it was found out by a commission of enquiry into the non-utilisation of allotted funds for the worship of the deity of Agnisvara temple under royal orders. Periyanadu is said to have met at a pavilion (*tirukkavanam*) in the temple. This is the earliest reference to this organisation which began to exercise greater influence on the contemporary affairs.

The discovery of two mile-stones, one near Papinayakkanpatti in Dharmapuri district and another at Kondappanayakkanpatti in North Arcot district record that a place called Navar-tavalam is 29 kadam from the spots. The word *tavalam* indicates that the place which was evidently equidistant from these two findspots was an important commercial centre. The characters belong to the 12th century. Another instance where the division according to directions is recorded in the road around the Tiruvannamalai temple. The inscription bears the label 'sixth division of Vikramapandiyan-tiruvidi, and the inscribed stone is the northwestern (*vayavya*) direction which is the sixth from the east.

A bilingual record in Tamil and Sanskrit from Kamudi in Ramanathapuram district assignable to the tenth century engraved on a stone shaped subsequently into an elephant affecting the text very much contains the *prasasti* 'Samastabhuvanasraya' etc. of a corporation consisting of guilds like the Pattinam of 18 *nadu*, 32 *valarpuram* and 64 *kadigait-tavalattuch-chetti*. This carries far back the beginnings of the famous mercantile organisation Tisai-ayirattainnurruvar.

A Jaina inscription from Veralur in Chingleput district in Tamil and grantha characters of the 9th century is engraved on a small boulder in a hillock, to the left of a sculptured niche shrine scooped out of it. It states that the *Tevaram* (*devaram*) was constructed by Vasudevasiddhanta-bhatarar described as chaturvimsati-sthapaka. This provides one other instance apart from the one at Cholavandipuram by which shrines and sculptures in such places used by Jaina monks came to be called *tevaram* as against their well-known usage among the Saivites.

KUMARI KANDAM — THE LOST CONTINENT

N. MAHALINGAM, B.SC., F.I.E., *Chairman*

The origin of the Tamil people and their culture are shrouded in deep mystery. Though there are many traditions narrated in early literature, historians have not been able to give full credence for want of factual data. Recent researches in the Rg Veda, Tamil Sangam literature, Paleo-geography and Geology have now provided a considerable volume of data which are not as widely known as they ought to be.

Plate Tectonic Theory

To begin with, there is the Paleo-Geological evidence. Kumari Kandam, otherwise called Lemuria, the land which lay to the South of India and which was later submerged in the Indian Ocean, has been a matter of conjecture for a long time and it has to be taken as a matter worthy of study by scholars. It is said that about 200 million yars ago, the land formation around South Africa and Cape of Good Hope started breaking up due to natural upheavals and started moving to different parts of the earth and this fact has been explained by the tectonic plate theory which has now been accepted by most Geologists. D. P. McKenzie and J.G. Sclater in their article on "The Evolution of the Indian Ocean"[1] have clearly explained that the present location of Africa and South America shows the two continents to be equidistant from the still-active spreading ridge in the mid-Atlantic. The two continents are still being pushed apart at the rate of about three centimetres a year. Scholars aver that Africa and South America were locked together as part of the primitive continent of Gondwana land until about 180 million years ago.

The movement of the continents have been thoroughly studied and recorded by many geologists. From 1961 onwards researches have been carried out in Indian Ocean by U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. on the floor of Indian Ocean and it has been found that the present formation of India and Arabia started from Cape of Good Hope and roof of Africa and after a movement at the rate of a mile per 15,000 years on an average, have ultimately found their places in the Asian Continent. The movement of the earth mass, called Jambu Dweepa in Sanskrit and Navalam Theevu in the Tamil language, caused the formation of the present Continent of India.

1. "The Evolution of the Indian Ocean—D.P. Mckenzie and J.C. Sclater.

A study of Geological science, concerning the natural calamities that have occurred during the last 100,000 years, has enabled us to establish that five major cataclismic changes have taken place starting from 80,000 B.C. to about 2,700 B.C. the last of which has been recorded in Tamil literature. The first great deluge took place in 16,000 B.C. when a large part of Lemuria was submerged under the sea. The second one occured in 14,058 B.C. when parts of Kumari Kandam went under the sea. The third one happened in 9564 B.C. when a large part of Kumari Kandam was submerged. The fourth deluge is said to have occurred between the years 2939 B.C. and 2387 B.C. and this almost coincides with the birth of Kaliyuga. The last deluge took place in 1715 B.C.

The land south of Sri Lanka, according to *Mahavamsa*, covered a distance of 700 *Kavathams* or 4900 miles southwards and the extent of this land eastwards and westwards have to be established by proper geological studies. Tamil tradition says that there were three great Sangams or academies at Ten-Mudurai, Kapatapuram and Madurai[1], all of which disappeared under the sea. Now, it has to be decided whether the present city of Madurai in Tamilnadu was really the centre of the Third Sangam or only a city commemorated after the old city. *Mahavamsa* enumerates about seven Tamil Sangams which existed in the ancient past. Also, a proper study of *Tolkappiyam*, tentatively ascribed to about 9000 B.C. is needed for establishing its age more accurately. If such a study is undertaken, the antiquity of the Tamil language and script will be revealed.

Disappearance of Atlantis

The available knowledge about *Atlantis*, the disappeared Continent, is substantial and now it is generally accepted as a fact that the Continent of Atlantis existed in the Atlantic and disappeared about 8,000/10,000 B.C. under the sea. To quote Wisher S. Cerve[2] "Even when Sir Francis Bacon wrote his famous book "*The New Atlantis*" and thereby gave some weight to the old stories of a lost Atlantis, many still believed that the ancient continent was as mythical as the New World he described. Along with the coming of the realization that the New Atlantis described by Bacon was a prophetic picture of the United States and Canada, also came a realization, through scientific discoveries, that the story of the lost Atlantis might be *more fact than fable*."

Edgar Cayce Readings

Dr. Edgar Cayce, a well-known occultist has predicted that in 2,000 A.D. both *Los Angeles* and *Sanfrancisco* will be under the sea. Are we to believe this ? But now geologists have discovered faults under the earth in this area and the cities are sinking inch by inch. Egerton Sykes, an authority on *Atlantis—Exploration*, whom

1. This Madurai is however identified with the present city of Madurai in Tamil nadu.
2. Lemuria—The Lost Continent of the Pacific By W. S. Cerve.

I met in U.S.A. was working in Dr. Edgar Cayce Library in U.S.A. at Virginia to which he has himself presented thousands of books on Lemuria. My visit to U.S.A. helped me to know that a lot of studies has been made in that country on tribal and Indian music. All these are sources which cannot be ignored. However, more work has to be done to establish the truth of the Lost Continent.

Further, the Geologists of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. have done a lot of work. For instance Alexander Kondratov, a Russian authority in his work "Riddle of the three Oceans"[1] observes "Geologists have advanced a hypothesis that a great land bridge once connected India and Africa. The long, steep projection of the Eastern and Western Ghats, the Mountain ranges that separate India from the Ocean suggest that land subsidence on a vast scale once took place here. Volcanic lava reaches down into the Ocean to a depth of nearly one kilometre. It is possible that the sea floor was once land, and the Ghats arose when this land sank to the bottom of the Indian Ocean to the west of the mountains. Many geologists are of the opinion that the whole of the Indian sub-continent is a vast flat chunk of land left over from a land mass whose western part sank into the Ocean, while the Island of Ceylon, in its turn, was part of the Sub-Continent."

Paleography is another source, which has established beyond doubt that the frequent occurrence of such cataclysms in ancient times leading to massive transformations in the topography of the Indian Ocean area. According to A. C. Das,[2] "in very early times Southern India formed part of a huge continent which extended from Burma and South China on the east and South Africa on the west, and from the Vindhya hills on the north to Australia in the south, and it was probably not connected anywhere in Western Asia, though there is reason to believe that it has some connection with the Eastern Himalayas through Assam. This continent was bounded on the north by a long stretch of sea extending from Assam to the southern coast of Sind as it then was, and joined with what the classical writers called the Erythrean sea or the Arabian sea as we now call it." It seems then that Kumari Kandam, the ancient land of the Tamils, was located in this sub-continent of Lemuria large portions of which have since then become sub-merged.

Influence of Tamil on Rg Veda

Ever since Western scholars of the 19th century dispensed the dark clouds which till then had enshrouded the brilliant achievements of ancient Hinduism, it has been axiomatic to hold that, at the earliest stages, this civilisation had flourished under the aegis of the Sanskrit language. According to B.G. Tilak "the origin of Sanskrit and Vedas are generally dated to 8000 B.C." However, the language which prevailed before this date has to be deciphered. Some researchers have

1. Riddle of the Three Oceans — Alexander Kondratov.
2. Rig Vedic India — A.C. Das.

gone to the extent of showing that far from being a language imported into India from Western regions, Sanskrit had been devloped indigenously by the scholars of the land for filling a gap that existed in the language that prevailed in the Lost Continent. Perhaps, Sanskrit or the reformed language, was evolved as a cultural medium for the Pancha Dravida languages namely Gujarati, Maharashtra, Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil. Since then, it has made steady advance into territorial range as well as in social status and influence till at last the original culture was driven into nooks and corners.

Accidents of history and the prejudices of European imperialism are mainly responsible for this bias towards Sanskrit, but bonafide errors of enthusiastic pioneer scholars who were carried away by the excitement of their initial discoveries had also made their contributions to these early mistakes. Moreover, historically the Tamil language and culture, have remained modest, shy and withdrawn due to the fact that the whole of the civilised people, their literary works and land - had all got submerged in the sea during 3000 - 2500 B.C.

In this context, it may be necessary to say about the influence of Tamil on Rg Veda which is generally treated as the earliest literary composition of the Hindus available to-day, and is therefore taken as the starting point of ancient Indian history. Its language is Vedic Sanskrit, and quite early in its studies, it cast a powerful spell upon Western scholars who discovered many linguistic elements commonly shared by it with the great European languages of Greek, Latin, German, Russian, English and so on. Sanskrit was studied with enthusiasm, especially by the Germans with a thoroughness characteristic of that people. And for over a century the concept of Sanskrit, especially the Vedic part of it, as a language having European affinities has dominated all thinking. However, it must be remembered that Sanskrit (Vedic) and Tamil have abundant texts handed down from times immemorial, and there is the Avesta which describes conditions prevailing in a closely related civilisaion; in addition, there are the Pali Buddhist and Ardha Magadhi Jain texts which even though belonging to more recent times, provide much valuable information about the earlier periods. Of these the Sanskrit and Tamil works are the most important.

The Rg Veda has been a text posing many problems, merely because of the refusal by, not only the old orthodox conservative Sanskirt-bound scholar members of the Hindu community, but also the modern Western scholars who are alike in refusing to face certain obvious facts. They persist in the erroneous and unjustified belief that neither the language nor the matters discussed in the work have any connection whatsoever with the civilisation that preceded them in the country of their composition, which was Ancient India. If this prejudice is dropped, and the influence of the Tamil or proto-Tamil people is acknowledged frankly, then the Rg Veda mysteries are capable of solution. Further, it will open up a new field for historical studies which will, in turn, solve the vexed question of the relative chronology of the Vedas and the depth of Sangam literature of the Tamils.

Since it is clear that many centuries must have elapsed before the language, and literature could be brought to the perfection exhibited in ancient works of India, there should be no hesitation in providing for an interval of a few thousand years between each of the Sangam eras, thus taking the earliest date of the evolution of the Dravidian culture to about 25,000 B.C. This would also bring into line the events recorded in the Tamil literature about the great inundations suffered by the Kumari Kandam and the geological evidence of deluges, and massive changes in the continental outlines. What is more, this background based on the information available, not only in the Sangam literature, but also upon the Ceylonese works, such as *Rajavazhi*, *Mahavamsa* and History of Ceylon of Kularetnam,[1] as also the Sanskrit epics of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, puts us in a sound position to get a broad picture of the earliest of cultures. Our stand gets further strengthened by the findings of the well-known scholar Dr. Abhinas Chandra Das of Calcutta who has sketched a map in his "*Rig Vedic India*" after making a painstaking geological study in the light of Rig Vedic evidence. The maps provided in the books of H.G. Wells and A.C. Das—clearly show the existence of the uninterrupted Rajaputanas sea in Rig Vedic times from 8000 to 2500 years ago emphasizing the fact that Southern India was separated by a gulf giving it the shape of an island beginning from the Vindhya mountains and extending into the Indian Ocean. The retreat of the Rajaputana sea, and the upheavel of the Himalayas, connected Peninsular India with the Gangetic plain beyond the Vindhya mountains. Wadia's "*Geology* of *India*" also mentions about upheavals and subsidences on the borders of Rajaputana in the last century (1819), when about 2000 square miles of land in the "Rann of Cutch" subsided and were invaded by the sea. These words take us to a remote past in pre-historic studies which will not be complete if we don't throw some light on the Siva concept.

Siva—a King — Sivam — God Head

Naturally, therefore, it will be interesting to examine the origin of Siva cult which was perhaps the oldest form of worship. The ancient Lemurians worshipped Siva in the form of Linga. Some of the ancient rulers of Kumari Kandam had the title Siva which was the name by which they were popularly known. Obviously, they had held sovereignty over Jambu Dweepa before the exploits of *King Kumaravel* who defeated Surapadman in 14,058 B.C. on the Pahruli River bank. Tamil Sangam of 'Then-Madurai' was perhaps convened by Muthalam Nilandaru Thiruvir Pandyan whose predecessors were known as Siva, his dynasty having held supremacy over the entire continent prior to 16,500 B.C. Their rulers were so popular that statues were erected in their honour all over Jambu Dweepa or India as the land is now termed. It was one of the members of this dysnasty of Siva kings who, many centuries later, married a princess of Madurai called Meenakshi. The date of Daksha has been fixed as 18,000 B.C. by Sri Srinivasa Raghavan and Swami Sakyananda on the basis of Vedic information.

1. History of Ceylon - Kularetnam.

The empire of the Sivas of Kumari Kandam must have spread over the whole of the continent and its northern boundary was at first the Vindhya range. Later on, when the Rajaputana sea dried up, the northern boundary of the Sivas extended up to the Himalayas. It was one of their kings, known by the name of Siva who married Dakshayani, daughter of Emperor Daksha, who ruled over the North Western territory of Dakshasila. This Dakshaprajapathi was a great emperor and his name stands famous and is sung in the Vedas. But he had to suffer a defeat at the hands of his son-in-law Siva who established Daksha's son by Vaivaswatha as his vassal. The latter is also called Manu, the father of royal dynasties. On the day, he prformed the aswameda sacrifice and the Saptha Rishis instituted Vaivaswatha Manvanthara, otherwise known as the Saptha Rishi era.

The period of Vaivaswatha Manu has been fixed as 8576 B.C. by Prof. Srinivasa Raghavan. However, people were highly civilized even before the days of Vaivaswatha Manu and a highly developed culture must have flourished in Kumari Kandam from 35,000 B.C. to 16,000 B.C. It is also possible that long before Vaivaswatha Manu the Sivas were ruling the Jambu Dwipa and some of these kings convened Sangams. It was after the rule of Siva dynasty that Kumaravel, son of one of the Sivas, became the ruler of Kumari Kandam and by his exploits drove the Africans from this continent.

The Tamil people have for long worshipped God as light—Sivan Red Beacon 'சிவன் எனும் செம்பொருள்', Kandhazhi, the burning fire, was also worshipped as representing God. Earlier Sivalinga described as a Triangular stone was the original form of linga worships and the Siddhars of Tamilnadu evolved the concept of realising God who is within any living being. The Virasaiva people of Karnataka considered Siva as the first Siddha and that concept is also prevalent in Tamilnadu as Siva was worshipped as Dakshinamurthi, the Silent Guru who teaches by his Chin-Mudra.

Kumari Kandam and Kumaravel

Reverting to our main theme of Kumari Kandam it can be said that the ancient Tamil tradition that the land south of the Vindhya Mountains was an island is mentioned in Tamil works such as Silappadikaram, Manimekalai, Pathirru Pattu and Hymns of Saint Appar. The references are given below :

சம்புத் தீவினுள் தமிழக மருங்கில்
(Near Tamilakam in Jambu Island)[1] — Manimekalai.

இமிழ் கடல் வரைப்பின் தமிழக மறிய
(In the billowy ocean, girt-world, to the knowledge of the Tamil land)[2]
—Silappadikaram.

1. Manimekalai — XVII 62.
2. Silappadikaram - III 37.

நாவலம் பெருந் தீவினில் வாழ்பவர்
(The dwellers in the large island of Naval—Enugenia Jambolana[1])
—St. Appar.

இமிழ் கடல் வேலித் தமிழகம் விளங்க
(For the prosperity of Tamilakam bound by the billowy sea[2])
—Pathirrupattu.

நாவலொடு பெயரிய மாபெரும் தீவத்து
(in the very large island called Jambuttivu)[3]
—Manimekalai.

This island called Jambu Dwipa or "Island of the Rose-apple" is referred to as Lemuria by western scholars. During the past several decades there has been a lot of heated discussion, intelligent guesses, speculations and surmises about the existence of this lost Indo-Oceanic continent of which southern India is a remnant. One of the great rulers of Jambu Dwipa who held sway over the whole continent was Kumaravel who too convened academies and preserved Tamil culture.

It was this Kumaravel, who, with his military prowess and gallantry defeated them and retrieved the Pandyan country from the clutches of the Mongolian tyrants. Kumaravel established Tamil Sangam or Academy at Tiruchendur which was re ferred to as "Tirucheer Alaivoi or Alainagar." Murugavel, who presided over the Academy, composed 'Muruga Ahapporul Viruthu' and 'Kumaram' a treatise on Grammar and Etymology. The Muruga or Skanda worship holds a very prominent place in early Tamil religion and Thiru Murukarruppadai is a long poem in which several shrines and modes of worship are mentioned. The Tamil speaking people developed the Muruga Cult and dedicated several temples like Palani, Thirupparankunram, Alakarkoil, Swamimalai, and Tiruchendur in Tamil nadu and Kataragama in Sri Lanka. Many legends and tradition had grown around this figure who is adored by millions of Tamilians as a God of youth and beauty.

Tamil Sangams of the Pre-Historic Past

The one central theme around which the history of the Tamils is constructed is the concept of Sangams, or Assemblies where poetical compositions were, in former times, presented for assessment of their merit by learned Judges and new light is now shed on the history of these assemblies, and through it on the antiquity of Tamil culture. I may now make a brief mention of the facts available.

These Assemblies were the fountainhead of Tamil culture, and their principal concern was the perfection of Tamil language and literature. The

1. St. Appar II — 62.
2. Pathirru Pattu — II Pathikam.
3. Manimekalai - XI 107.

well established tradition is that there were in the cultural history of the people, three such Assemblies at different times in the land of the Tamils, which in ancient times bore the name of 'Kumari Kandam.' Much details are available about the composition of these Sangams, and of their presiding judges, and examiners, as well as the literary compositions and other works presented before them and their authors.

The venue of the first Sangam was "Ten" (or South) Madurai on the banks of the river "Pahruli", of the second Kapatapuram, and of the third and last modern Madurai. The changes in the site were occasioned by tidal waves and deluges which at various times swallowed vast tracts of land in Kumari Kandam but Sri Lanka records in Sinhala language make mention of about seven Tamil Sangams of bygone days.

These Sangams or Academies, we can say, were bodies of learned men who preserved the dignity of literature and adhered to certain canons or norms; they acted as censors to help the production of many inspiring and flawless poetic works. The Talai Sangam (the first Academy) was held at Ten Madurai (Southern Madurai). This consisted of 549 members which included divine and semi-divine figures like Subramania (Muruga) Agattiar and Muranjiyoor Mudinagarayar. This learned body, or assembly of competent scholars, and pandits, scrutinised nearly 16,149 authors and their works, and affixed its seal of approval to the literary works like 'Perum paripadal' 'Mudukuruku' 'Mudunarai' and 'Kalariyavirai' as the crest gems but none of these works have survived. The authoritative grammar of this period is Agattiam written by sage Agattiar who may be described as the patron saint of Tamil civilization. This first Academy was patronised by a particular dynastic line of 89 Pandyan kings.

The Second Academy or Sangam comprised 59 members and the leading figures were sage Agattiar, Tolkappiyar and Tuvariakoman (Lord Krishna of Dwaraka). More than 3700 authors and their works were scrutinised and Agattiam and Tolkappiyam were the authoritative works on Grammar. The leading works scrutinised by this academy were '*Mapuranam*', *Isai Nunukkam*, *Perumkalithokai* and *Kuruku*. *Kapatapuram* was the seat of this Academy which was shifted from *Ten Madurai* (South Madurai) by the Pandyan king Vantherseliyan after the subsidence of the south Pandya country. None of the works exists today except Tolkappiyam. Again, a further deluge of the sea forced the Pandyan King Mudattirumaran to abandon the city of Kapatapuram and select the new city of Madurai as capital and seat of the Academy.

Agattiar in Tamil Nadu

Many legends have also grown round Sage Agattiar the patron saint of the South and many stories have come down to us about his connection with Tamilnadu

and Tamil literature. He is the great patron saint of navigators and colonists and he is worshipped even in Indonesia and Japan. It is known that there are inscriptions which prove the existence of Agattiar cult in a deep rooted form in countrieslike Sumatra, Java and Bali. The name of Agastia is found in all the Sangams, and evidently it means that members of his family having the same name had continued to take part in the deliberations of the various Tamil Sangams. It may be called an Agattiar Peetam and various Agattias, from time to time, occupied the Peetam and contributed to the growth of the Tamil language and literature. He was the patron saint of the Tamil civilisation and his name is preserved by the poet Kalidasa in the name of the mountain, Agattia Kuta which in Tamil is known as Agattia Malai which is a portion of the Anamalai mountains about 20 miles north-east of Trivandrum. Tradition says that he brought Tamil language from Siva himself and migrated to the south and took his abode in Podigai hills, It is also said that the African Negroes invaded the Pandyan country and extended their tyrannical rule and molested the people about that time. The Pandyan rulers appealed to Lord Parameswara in mount Kailas and it was he who sent Agastia with an invincible army. Before sending him on his errand, he acquired from Lord Parameswara all the rules of Tamil grammar and its literature. Agastia is said to have defeated the African army near the Vindhya Malai. He is, therefore, called "*Vindhyam Atakkia Vitthakar.*" Agastia again crushed an army of the same people at Krownchagiri and the incidents are all narrated in the Tharukan Vadhai Padalam of 'Kandapuranam'. Agastia reached Podigai and pushed the Negroes and extirpated them. At Pothigai hills, he founded the Tamil Sangam or Academy and he is known as Pothigai Malai Agathiar I. He was also a member of the Mahendra Malai Tamil Sangam. This Sangam is said to have existed during the *Ramayana* and *Maha Bharata* periods. Tamil scholars assign the same to B.C. 16,000. In the Ramayana of Kambar the Agattiar's Tamil Sangam is mentioned.

The legends, which have grown round this renowned ascetic, have exerted a peculiar charm over the minds and hearts of all Tamil lovers and patrons. He is said to have possessed an extensive knowledge of theology, medicine and alchemy. His monumental grammar in two parts, called 'Agathiam', is the fountain-head of all subsequent works on Tamil grammar. Though this great work is justly famous, it is not available. It will be more correct to say that Agattiar worte Tolkappiam as it is the oldest Tamil grammar available. One of the legends refers to Agastia, apparently a later Agattiar, being pitted against the members of the Benares Sanskrit College. Upon his prayer to Kandaswami to teach him a language better and sweeter than Sanskrit, he was blessed by a boon when his house was full of sweet perfume and a spot was indicated to him to search for it in a corner. To his surprise Agattiar found a bundle of cadjan leaves and on seeing it, he is said to have exclaimed Tamil ! Tamil ! (Sweet, Sweet).

The third Sangam (Academy) lasted for 1850 years covering a period of the reign of 49 sovereigns from the Lame Thirumaran to Ugra Peruvaluti. Nak-

keerar was the president of this Academy and his account of this third Sangam is undoubtedly historical. It consisted of 49 members and some of the leading figures were Perumkunrurkilar, Nallanduvanar and Nakkirar. A galaxy of nearly 449 authors or poets flourished during this period and all the literary works of the third academy have survived except a few which are fragmentary. Some of the literary works produced during the third academy were *Narrinai*, *Purananooru*, and *Kurunthogai*. A leading work of this third academy is *Muthollayiram* in three parts in venpa meter about the three Tamil Kings.

The Sangams had existed at different periods doing the work of literary censors. But this is challenged by critical scholars and conventional and orthodox historians as a myth or a legend or a figment of poetic imagination. A lot of legends and exaggerations, it is said, had gone into the tradition about these Sangams and that it is difficult to isolate truth from the maze of myths and legends. Even profound scholars rénowned for their pains-taking research, like P.T. Srinivasa Iyengar and Sivaraja Pillai, discount the existence of the Sangams on the ground that the very idea of an organized Academy is modern and it was clearly foreign or alien to the tempo of the olden times. The earliest reference to the Sangam occurs in the Thevarams of Saint Appar, and Thirugnana Sambandhar. In the *Periyatirumoli* of Thirumangai Alwar, and in the *Truppavai of Andal*, there are references about the Sangam in its technical sense of an academy of poets or a gathering of Tamil men of letters. We get some scraps of information from the "Dhivya Prabandham" of the Twelve Alwar—Nammalwar, who was probably born 5080 years back at Alwarthirunagari had written the four vedas in the Tamil language. Rg Veda was composed as Thiru Virutham, Yajurveda as Thiruvasiriyam, Atharva veda as Periya Tiru Antadi and Samaveda as Thiruvoi Mozhi. This indicates the antiquity of Tamil language and its early development and vibrant culture. The great Tamil Grammar namely Tolkappiyam discusses and elaborates on matters regarding poetry, rhetoric and poetics and presupposes a vast body of unique literary works which are not available, thereby indicating that the language had reached the stature of well-developed and pristine maturity even prior to Tolkappiyar.

The following verse from Mullaikkali (verse 4) indicates positively and in clear terms the occurrence of the tidal swells that swept away vast territories of the Pandyan Kings:

மலிதிரை யூர்ந்து மண் கடல் வெளவலின்
மெலிவின்று மேற் சென்று மேலார் நா டிடம்படப்
புலியொடு வில் நீக்கிப் புகழ் பொறித்த கிளர் கெண்டை
வலியினுல் வணக்கிய வாடாச் சீர்த் தென்னவன்
தொல்லிசை நட்ட குடியொடு தோன்றிய
நல்லினத் தாயர் ஒருங்கு தொக் கெல்லாரும்

When translated into simple prose, it reads thus : "When tidal waves swept over and

swallowed up his own lands, the southern monarch of undying glory did not became despondent, penetrating into the wide territories of hostile kings, namely the Cholas and the Cheras he removed therefrom their respective flags with the puissant panther (of the Cholas) and the drawn bow (of the Cheras) and replaced them by his own standard with the shining shark with whose might he easily brought the invaded country into his sway, thus making good his loss of lands in the South. And all the good shepherds having now assembled together whose forbears then hailed him along with the other subjects whose enduring loyalty had established the fame of the Pandyas from times of yore."

There is, it will be noticed, clear mention in the above verse about the encroachments made by huge tidal waves which compelled the Pandyan monarch to invade and annex the adjacent countries of his unfriendly kings such as the Cholas and Cheras in order to commpensate himself for the loss of territories sustained due to the tidal swells. In the great Tamil epic *Silapadikaram*, which is remarkable for its grandeur of thought and sublimity of feeling, and written by Ilango Adigal in the second century A.D., there is a reference to a vast land mass that was swallowed up by the sea and by cataclysmic landslips or on rush of the sea. This land slip that submerged a vast tract of territory is identified as Lemuria by Western scholars, and the ancient Tamil literature refers to it as the territory of a Pandyan king called *Nediyon Nilamtharu Thiru Vir Pandyan*—also called *Azhi adivampalam ninravan* or *Pandyan Jayamakeerti*. The relevant lines of the Silappadikaram are given below:

வடிவே லெறிந்த வான் பகை பொறுது
பஃறுளி யாற்றுடன் பன்மலை யடுக்கத்துக்
குமரிக் கோடுங் கொடுங் கடல் கொள்ள
வட திசைக் கங்கையும் இமயமுங் கொண்டு
தென் திசை யாண்ட தென்னவன் வாழி.[1]

When we scrutinise the above lines it becomes significant that as a result of the tidal waves or deluges, the two rivers 'Pahruli' and 'Kumari' (along with the adjoining mountain hills and forests) disappeared in the deluge. It is said that the ancient Madura (Ten Madurai) was the seat of the Tamil Sangam or Academy, and that Kapatapuram or Muthoor was the Capital of the Pandyan Kingdom. The chain of mountains cutting across the land had 49 peaks; mining activities in precious stones (rubies) and gold, were carried out by Chinese labourers. One of the cities was the Meru Mount. It had gold mines and this gave rise to an old proverb "*Meruvai Cherntha Kakamum Ponnam.*"

The Pandyan King employed thousands of Chinese labourers to work on the mines and it is recorded that when they descendeddown the mines below one could see them as a huge army of ants. So they were called "*Ponthondi Erumbukal.*" The Pandyan King Nilam Tharu Thiruvirpandyan excavated the 'Pahruli' river to irrigate the

1. Kadukan Kathai — Lines 17–22

mountain valleys, and he ruled over the adjoining lands called Oli Nadu, Peruvala Nadu, Kumari Nadu, and Pandya Nadu. He also built the fine city of "Ten Madurai" and established the first Tamil Academy and patronised numerous poets and scholars.

The Pandyan kingdom, which was connected with Madagascar and Africa, was invaded by Negroes from Africa and they made incursions into the territories of the Pandyan kings. They annexed vast areas and ruled the land tyrannically, establishing strong forts. These tyrannical Negro Chieftains or rulers are named as Udukkannan (Tharakasuran), Maraikannan (Kamalakkannan) Arivudayamali (Vidyunmali).

The Pandyan territory was again later on invaded by Mongolians and the names of the last tyrannical rulers were *Surapadman*, *Singha Mukan*, *Tharukan*, and *Bhanugopan*. There are elaborate accounts about these tyrannical rulers in the 'Kandapuranam' where the Tamil speaking people are mentioned as Devas, and Tamil language was in the form of pictoral writing of that time. This is mentioned in *Yapparum Kala* Commentary.

Again, we have the authority of the eminent savant and scholar, T. R. Sesha Iyengar, who says : "Dravidian genius was conspicuous not merely in the sphere of language but also in that of literature. Of all the races of India, the only people who had a poetical literature independent of Sanskrit are the Tamils, a typical Dravidian people." Again, *Adiyarkunallar* mentions that the epic story "Udayanam Kathai", otherwise called "*Perumkathai*" reveals certain glimpses of the works of the second Sangam which evidently means that this author had been inspired by the second Sangam works. We can therefore infer that the Tamil tradition as transmitted through its ancient literature in refined and polished poetry is a reliable source of information.

Our approach to the sources of information for the "Lost Continent" is incomplete if we do not make a passing mention of two important factors and they relate to (1) the contribution of Siddhas and (2) the literary works of Veda Vyasa.

While the first throws light on the progress of medical science of Tamil civilization the second helps us to fix up important dates. Each of these may be discussed in detail.

Siddhars and their Contribution

The medical science of the Tamils evolved in the Sangam period was known as *Siddhavaidyam* which even now is prevalent all over Tamil Nadu and includes in its gamut preventive, curative and recuperative medicines. The first medical treatise written by Sivanar contains seven lakh verses. The Siddhar, who had produced several works, were Nandhi, Sanakar, Sanathar, Agattiar, Pokar, Dhanwanthari,

Konkanar and Pulippani. They were experts in Alchemy and knew the art of converting baser metals into gold. The Siddhar used Mercury and simple herbs and salt, and arsenic in purified form. Powder, lehiam, or paste and ashes (baspam), sindhuram were the different kinds of curatives used by the Siddha system.

Like the Lemurians the Siddhar knew a cosmic system and were endowed with miraculous powers. They practised eight Siddhis called Anima (Atom), Lahima (lightness), Gharima (heaviness), Mahima (bigness), Prapti (reach), Prakamya, Vasiteva, Isista (power) and Yantrakamavasyata. These powers are elaborated in the poem "Siddharkanam" by Saint Thayumanavar. The knowledge of the Siddhar is a traditional one and should not be limited to a few. Many revealing things can be had if we have further probe into Siddha literature.

Veda Vyasa codified the Vedas, 18 puranas, and 64 arts, and wrote Mahabaratha and Bhagavatam. A team of great Rishis, under Veda Vyasa, did this great work immediately after Mahabharata period. The 18 puranas deal with mainly pre-vedic period and it is essential to try to get historical information from the puranic lore. As Indians we are after the Truth and we have to gather different sources to reach the goal and should not be interested in the mundane history of individuals. So the puranas contain a lot of philosophic lore and valuable historical material. By persevering them for 2000 years and after 20 years of research we have come to the conclusion that the date of Mahabharata was correct. Prof. Srinivasa Raghavan and Sampath Iyengar were able to reconstruct Ancient Hindu Calendar and Astronomy after years of continuous research. By similar effort it will be possible for us to get further knowledge of Ancient Indian History.

These are some of the facts about the ancient History of Kumari Kandam which can be elicited from the Tamil and other sources.

Conclusion

Our analysis of the ancient civilisation of the Tamils in the pre-historic period leads us to some inescapable conclusions. In the first place the "Cradle of Man" is to be located in the continent submerged in the Indian Ocean. Secondly the Tamil language was the oldest language in the world. Thirdly, the tectonic plate theory of the geologists has established beyond doubt the possibility of movement of continents and the submersion of Kumari Kandam in the Indian Ocean. Fourthly,

the name Siva was a dynastic one, Saivism being in origin nothing but "a hero worship" cult and not a religious one. Fifthly, the earliest form of worship was lamp worship and evidence of it can be found in the name Olinadu, a territory of Kumari Kandam. Lastly, there was not one Agatiar but many who presided over the Peetam of the same name.

Some of these conclusions require to be further tested by oceanic explorations. Astronomical calculations have supported these contentions. Even though experts in U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. have accepted these views and have begun further enquiries more research requires to be undertaken for rewriting history.

[Some statements in this paper are either axaggerated or such as to call for further enquiry and research—Editor]

AN OUTSTANDING EPIGRAPHICAL DISCOVERY IN TAMILNADU

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Epigraphy

The most outstanding discovery in the field of Epigraphy in recent years, is the Pulankuruchi rock inscription of King Cendan Kurran, brought to light by the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology, during the village to village survey of Epigraphs and Antiquities. The Trichy District Archaeological Officer, Thiru D. Tulasiraman discovered this epigraph, inscribed on the slopes of a hillock. The inscription is significant in many respects.

It is the longest early inscription noticed so far, running to over 15 metres (45 feet) in length and two metres (6 feet) in height. The record is in excellent Tamil and written with great care, free from orthographical errors. The inscription is dated in the year 192, (*Nurru Tonnurru Irandu*) and day 36, and month *Tai* and is inscribed in the reign of King *Ko-Cendan Kurran*. The epigraph reads:

Ko Cendan Kurrarku yandu Nurrut tonnurrirandu,
Nan Muppattaru Pakkam Tai - Pirai Nal......

Obviously the record is that of Kurran, son of Cendan, the King. The inscription is in three parts.

The second part is completely worn out. Except a few letters here and there, nothing could be made out. Even the first section is damaged considerably at the beginning and also in the middle. The third section is fairly well preserved and begins with the words "Ko-Cendan-Kurrarkku" which is clearly the beginning of the record. It is not clear whether each one of these three sections is a separate record. But it is evident that all the three sections belong to one and the same transaction as the letters, names etc. are absolutely identical. The record refers to a number of *Devakulas, Brahmadayas,* and *Tapatap-Pallis.* Further a number of territorial divisions like Muthurru Kurram, Ayvuvallakkurram, Devanaru Kottam, Avarruk-Kurram, Ceyak-Kottam, Vennadu, Cinmanuru, Kulaluru Nadu, Van Pandi Nadu, Konga Nadu, Devanaruk-Kottam, Cendak-kottam, Matiraik-kottam are mentioned.

It also refers to *Karunjevukar, Ilakkandarumikal. Ulaviyapd Peruntinai, Perumpadai, Brahmadaya Kilavar, Karan Kilamai, Kudumbiyar. Irun Nadu Kappar, Puram Kappar, Muppuru Kappar* and *Neri Aram Ceyvar.*

Besides, the record refers to *Nirnilam* (wet land) *Puncey* (dry land) *Tottam* (groves) and *Kalani* and also refers to lands sold earlier *Virruk kondu Kudutta puncey nilam*).

A few usages found in this record are:

1. *Brahmadaya Kilamayum,* (*Miyat*) *chiyum Kondalal.*
2. *Brahmadayak Kilamaiyum Karanmaiyum Kondalal urut padudal, Kol Kondeludi-k-kuduttal, Elududdal, vel Kuru Ceyal, Kudum-badap perudal, Kurram Tolil ceydal, Irun Nadu Kattal, Kudikalai eval kollal, Neri Aram Ceydal, Puram Kattal, Muppuru Kattal.*

Proper Names

Nallam Kilan Inanguman, Mulan, Kurran, Kannan, Taman Kari, Venattan Nariyan Kari, Pullattevan, Ambar Kilan, Kumaran Pondai, Adukilan Kiran Kari are some proper names worthy of mention.

The record ends with the statement that "I, Venattan *alias* Nariyan Kari copied and executed this deed". Obviously, this is a land deed, the exact nature of which is not clear due to the damaged condition of the record in the middle.

The importance of the record may now be discussed. *Date:* The epigraph is the earliest dated record in Tamilnad, so far brought to notice. It refers to the year 192 (one hundred and ninetytwo) and 36th day. The earliest year so far known is the Saka era 380 (458 A.D.) corresponding to the 22nd regnal year of the Pallava ruler Simhavarman mentioned in a Jaina text Lokavibhaga. The year 192 mentioned in the Pulankuruchi record in all probability is Saka era (270 A.D.). In Tamilnad, the general trend is to record the regnal year in grants but occasionally one of the following three eras are mentioned.

(a) Saka era (beginning 78 A.D.)
(b) Kaliyuga era (beginning 3101 B C.) and
(c) Kollam era (beginning 825 A.D.).

The Pulankuruchi epigraph is not certainly dated in Kollam era, which is too late for its paleography. It could certainly not refer to Kaliyuga era, since the date is too early to think of any script. By elimination the only era that could have been referred to in this record is the Saka era, which gives a date of 270 A.D. in the Christian calendar. The paleography is in accordance with the date. It would thus be the earliest record so far noticed in India, referring to the Saka era.

The two important records in early Tamil Brahmi (Damili) script, referring to the Chera ruler Ko Adan Cel Irumporai, from Pugalur, and Nedunjeliya Pandyan from Meenakshipuram, do not refer to any year either the regnal year or any one of the eras. The colophons of the '*Padirrup Pattu*' refer to the regnal years of the

Chera rulers, but the dates of the colophons are highly debated. The Pulankuruchi record pointedly refers to an era, and thus is the earliest dated land mark in the history of Tamilnadu.

Further it refers to the month of *Tai* by the name "*Pakkam Tai Pirai*". The month *Tai* is referred to in the Sangam literature. The mention of the month as *pakkam* and *Tai* is also met with for the first time in this record.

Territorial Divisions

The territorial divisions *Kurram*, *Kottam*, *Nadu* and *Ur* are referred to in this record indicating that the country was divided into well knit territorial units and that there were suitable officials to look after the various aspects of administration.

Among the territorial divisions mentioned, the following deserve special attention.

Pandi Nadu, Konga Nadu and Kudaluru Nadu are mentioned by the division, nadu. While the *Pandi Nadu*, *Konga Nadu*, and *Ven Nadu* are bigger territories almost ruled by Kings, it is not known how the territory *Kudaluru Nadu* was administered. Whether it is identical with Kambam Kudalur region is also not certain.

That *Konga Nadu* and *Ven Nadu* are also mentioned besides *Pandi Nadu* in this record shows that this epigraph is of considerable importance.

The following are the *Kurrams* referred to in the record;
Muthurruk-Kurram Ayvuvalla Kurram, Avarruk-Kurram.

While the first mentioned viz, Muthurruk-Kurram is known the other two are not so well known and are yet to be identified. It is of interest to note that his region, where Pulankuruchi is located, is called Ollaiyur Kurram, in the ancient inscription. That Ollaiyur Nadu is referred to in Sangham Literature is well known. There is a reference to *Ollai Vali* in this record.

Among the *Kottams* referred to, there is one called Cendak-Kottam. This record is dated in the reign of Cendan Kurran. It is not known whether the 'Cendan-Kottam' was named after Cendan the father of this Kurran.

Devakulas

The record is also interesting as it refers to a number of *Devakulas* and *Brahmadayas*. A careful study of the Sangham literature reveals that Vedic sacrifices are more frequently referred to than temples dedicated to gods, though the latter are not unknown. That the temples were assuming greater importance subsequent to the Sangham age is reflected in this record. That by the sixth century A.D. the temples have become the centre of the social, cultural and religious life of the

people and they inspired the great devotional movements from the 6th to 8th century A.D. This record points to the fact that the movement has started in the Third century A.D.

Brahmadayas

The lands gifted as *Brahmadayas* also deserve special mention. The record uniformly mentions such lands as *Brahmadaya* lands gifted to Brahmins. In later records, the term occurs as *Brahmadeya* and not as *Brahmadaya*. All the early Pallava copper plate charters assignable to 4th-5th century A.D. use the term *Brahmadeya*. Even the earliest Pandya Copper plate of 8th century A.D. mentions only *Brahmadeya* and the same term continues to be employed in the succeeding centuries. The Pulankuruchi record is the earliest Epigraphical record in Tamil land, referring to it as *Brahmadaya*. The colophon of the 2nd verse of *Padirru Pattu*, extolling ihe greatness of Neduncheraladan states that the Chera ruler gifted 500 villages in Umbarnadu as *Brahmadaya* to Kumattur Kannan. It is a pointer to the early date of this record. It must also be admitted that the colophons of the *Padirrup Pattu* collection date back to an earlier age than hitherto held. The Pulankuruchi record refers to *Brahmadaya Kilavar* which obviously shows that such *Brahmadayas* had leaders or representatives known as *Kilavar* (*vruddhas*). Discussing the poet Arisil Kilar, Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, in his editorial note on *Padirrup Pattu*, says that Kilar is an exclusive title of Velala. But this view needs modification in the light of the present discovery.

Kudumbu

The Pulankuruchi record makes a reference to '*Kudumbu Adal*' dividing the settlement into wards for administrative and social purposes. In the well-known Uttaramerur inscription on village assembly, the division of the settlement into 30 Kudumbu is mentioned. This occurs in the context of a Sabha, a Brahmin settlement, so much so some scholars opine that the constitution of wards and the elective system of the village assembly is exclusive to Brahmin settlements. The method of electing a representative by the pot-ticket method, is alluded to in the Sangham literature. However in the present record, the term '*Kudumbu adaperal* is not explicitly associated with *Brahmadaya*. The term '*Kudumbar*' is a general term used by Buddhists, Jains, and Hindus. An early inscription assigned to the beginning of the Christian era, found in Thirupparamkunram mentions one "*Ita-Kudumbigan*'. The Pulankuruchi inscription points to the existence of ward system in the Third century A.D.

Revenue Department

Two important revenue administrative officers are mentioned for the first time in this record.

1. *Kurram Tolil Ceyvar* (administrators of the revenue divisions) and 2. *Ulaviya Peruntinai*, probably referring to Officers in-charge of Agricultural taxations in later epigraphs, *Tinaik-Kalam* and *Tinaikkalathu Kankani*, occur in such contexts. Whether the *Ulavya* is equal to the '*Sancarantas*' of the Prakrit charters, deserve study. Another important officer mentioned is *Neri Aram Ceyvar*. They must be considered the equivalents of he *Dharma-Mahamatras* of Ashokan edicts. Regarding the detailed functions of the departmental Officers, a reference may be made to Radha Kamal Mukherji's 'Ashoka' (p. 29). However, some of the functions mentioned are (a) to secure the pious people from worry and (b) to avert unjust imprisonment or execution or other molestation and procure relief in justifiable (p. 30). This almost corresponds to the word "*Neri Aram Ceydal*" of this record.

There are others mentioned like '*Karum Cevukar*' i.e. Military commander "*Ilak-Kandarmikal*' (roving bards). Another usage in the record is "*Kaval Kondu Arayum Tudai*". This seems to be equal to *Rajjukas* of the Ashokan record. All these usages seem to suggest that there was a well established administrative machinery nearer to the Ashokan administrative structure.

Two more inter-related usages that deserve attention are *Virrukkondu Kudutta Nilam*. This usage is found in later epigraphs where well-drafted documents were executed for sale of lands. It would indicate that by the 3rd century A.D. sale transactions of lands were accompanied by written documents. Further this Pulankuruchi record was supervised (or drafted in their presence) by a number of persons whose office and names are like the following:

1. Nallan Kilan Inanguman a *Ulavia Peruntinai*,
2. Adu Kilan Kiran Kari, a *Ulaviya Peruntinai*,
3. Ambar Kilan Kumaran Pandai also a *Ulaviya Peruntinai*.

In later records the members of a village assembly or *Nagaram* or *Nadu* affix their signature at the end of the document. From this record it is clear, that the presence of a number of officers is required to attest the document.

The early records of the Pallavas and Pandiyas refer to *Karanmai* and *Miyatchi*. This record refers to *Karanmai* and *Karankilamai*.

It is seen from the Pulan Kuruchi record that the transactions transcended a small territory and included Pandinadu and Konganadu. It is an indication that the ruler Ko Cendan-Kurran held sway over an extensive territory. However, the Pulankuruchi record refers to '*Tottam*' a grove or orchard. This word does not seem to occur in Sangham literature.

ON THE HARAPPAN 'YOKE-CARRIER' PICTOGRAM AND THE KĀVADI WORSHIP

ASKO PARPOLA, Helsinki

1. With pleasant memories of previous visits to Tamil Nadu in my mind, I much regret that I cannot personally be among my friends in Madurai in January 1981. I. Mahadevan, who has honoured me with a request to send a paper to be read on my behalf in the section devoted to the Indus script, has however given me the opportunity to be present in spirit and in writing at this Fifth International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies.

Since the time is limited, and I moreover have to introduce the subject by shortly relating the basic premises, this initial presentation of a new interpretation of two Harappan pictograms has to be limited to the essential points. Most of the detailed documentation is left out, and will be published elsewhere. For a fuller exposition of the data mentioned in the introduction, I refer to a paper published in the 1975 issue of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, where a bibliography can also be found.

2. (A) From its age, the number of different signs and their outlook, it is practically certain that the Indus script is similar to the other early writing systems dating from the first half of the third millennium B.C. or earlier. In these pictographic scripts each distinct sign represents a morpheme, basically a word or sememe, later also a grammatical element or a syllable. Some signs, especially when occurring as parts of combined signs or ligatures, function as auxiliary signs, which indicate the sense or sound of the main part of the ligature and thus make its reading less ambiguous.

The signs can be read either semantically (ideographically) or phonetically. In the former case, a given pictogram stands for the object it depicts, and it can be understood without reference to the underlying language. A pictogram is read phonetically if the sound represented by the word for the depicted object in the language underlying the script is transferred to another similarly pronounced homophone word having a different meaning.

(B) Semantically used signs are independent of the underlying language. However, without a statistical-positional-contextual analysis it is impossible to know whether a given sign has been used semantically or phonetically. Since a picture moreover can have a very wide semantic range, such a 'combinatory'

analysis aiming at the narrowest possible definition of the intended meaning is necessarily one of the first and most crucial tasks in an attempt of decipherment.

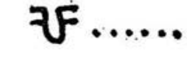
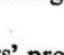
(C) Phonetically used signs, however, provide an opportunity of identifying the affinity of the language underlying the Indus script and thus of a decipherment in the proper sense of the term. Such pairs of homophonic words as are required by the phonetic transfer implied by the rebus principle are highly individual features in different language groups and offer a means of identification. What is required before a search based on them can be undertaken is that a sign can be recognized as one that has been used phonetically, and more particularly, that both its intended meaning and its pictographic meaning can be defined fairly exactly.

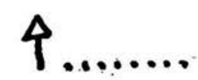
(D) The search can, of course, succeed only in the case that languages nearly related to that underlying the script are known fairly well from other sources. It is most economical to start the search from the most likely languages. Certainly the presence of Brahui in Baluchistan and Afghanistan, which in the third millennium B.C. belonged to the Harappan area, the early Dravidian substratum influences upon Sanskrit from the late second millennium B.C. onwards, and the large percentage of Dravidian speakers in the population of India make this language group the foremost candidate. Apart from the pairs of homophones, the structural features of the languages in question must also be compared, but on account of the nature of the Indus script, such features are practically restricted to the syntax.

3. (A) A very important clue for the decipherment of the Indus script is provided by the fact that most of the Harappan inscriptions consist of seal texts. Their contents can be assumed to be roughly similar to the contents of the Mesopotamian seal texts, which can be read and understood. For it is known that the Harappans and the Sumerians were in contact with each other and had a similar urban civilization which required the use of seals in administration and commerce.

The Sumerian seal texts can be divided into two major classes. The majority consists of owner's seals, where one can read the name of the seal owner with or without further attributes, such as occupational titles or patronyms. A smaller part of Mesopotamian seals contain dedications reading "To so-and-so, so-and-so has given". The recipients of the gifts are gods or, usually, their representatives, the priestly rulers.

(B) This twofold division of the Mesopotamian seal inscriptions has been used as a basic clue by the Finnish research team in interpreting the structural patterns emerging from its analysis of the inscriptions. Here are the most fundamental deductions:

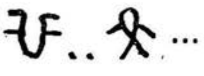
(a)  The great majority of the seals, ending in the most frequent sign , are likely to contain the seal owners' proper names.

(b) 

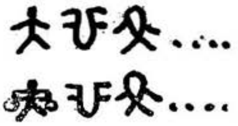
The inscriptions ending in the sign which looks like a spear-head probably contain dedications to gods.

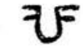
(c)

The signs immediately preceding the spear-head sign, mostly looking like fish, consequently stand for the names of the gods. There are inscriptions which contain nothing else than these two signs.

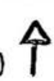
(d) 

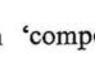
The hypothetical god's names are often part of the proper names, but usually they do not immediately precede the final sign supposed to denote "possession". It may be assumed that the proper names were usually twofold, and that the theophoric element formed the first part, as in such Sanskrit names as Kāli-dāsa or Nāga-svāmin.

(e) 

When the "possession" sign  follows immediately after a "god" sign, it is usually not the last sign of the inscription, but is followed by one or two further signs, among them the sign looking like 'man' and the 'yoke-carrier' sign. These inscriptions are assumed to render priestly titles.

(C) Having thus roughly determined the intended contextual meaning, we have proceeded to compare them with the pictorial meaning. If the pictorial meaning does not coincide with the contextual one, the pictogram may have been used phonetically. In such cases we have looked for possible illumination from Dravidian homophones. I shall mention here only three such phonetic pairs:

(a)  = 'point, pointed end, tip' = * koḍi/kōḍu = * koḍu/kōḍu 'to give (to third person); giving, gift'.

(b) = 'fish' = * mīn = * mīn 'star': The stars, especially the calendrical asterisms and the planets, have represented as astral symbols the deities both in early Mesopotamia and in later India. For instance, the Harappan 'compound'  can be read aṟu-mīn, 'six-star', the Old Tamil name of the Pleiades, and represent either the goddesses called in Sanskrit Kṛttikāh, or the god Kārttikeya.

(c) = 'man' = * āḷ/āṇ, also meaning 'slave, servant, devotee (of a deity)'

In the two last mentioned cases we do not have an actual phonetic transfer, but a semantic development which has taken place within one and the same etymon. This development is however comparable in being so individual that it has not taken place in many languages. Thus the words for 'fish and 'star' may both be derived from the root *min 'to glitter'. Their differentiation goes back to the Proto-Dravidian at least.

(D) Although such coincidences look promising, we should not accept them as final confirmations of our hypotheses, but we should look for further corroboration. Particularly valuable means of checking are provided by the ligatured signs, which may be assumed to represent either (1) compound words, or (2) words represented by just one of the compounded signs, but semantically or phonetically defined by the other sign functioning as an auxiliary "indicator". We should therefore try to decipher the different elements forming compounded signs and see whether or not they fit together. In the case of a compound word, the result must not only make sense in its context. To be really convincing, the presumed compound must also be actually attested in Dravidian, and preferably in an ancient source, such as an old Dravidian loanword in Indo-Aryan, or the Sangam literature of ancient Tamil.

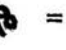
I shall not go deeper into the fish signs here, but just mention that they can be systematically interpreted as compounds representing star and planet names actually attested in Old Tamil. It is also my conviction that the overlapping of semantic/phonetic meanings of some signs in ligatures has been fairly clearly demonstrated. But the more such cases are found, the more reliable the results become. I shall now enter the proper topic of this paper, the 'yoke-carrier' pictogram . This sign has been combined among others with the spear-point sign , whose interpretation is one of the cornerstones of our attempt at decipherment. The ligature thus provides a similar check for the interpretation of the two signs combined in it as does the convergence of the horizontal lines and vertical rows in a crossword puzzle.

4. In the above simplified introduction I have included only some essential points which I consider as still tenable and valid. The actual path leading us to these conclusions has been a bit more complicated. It has involved working hypo-

theses which have in the process of external criticism and further work turned out to be partly wrong and in the need of revision, Since our earlier views concerning the 'spear-point' and 'yoke-carrier' signs are well known but now only partly held, I feel it necessary to retrace our steps in more detail and to define more exactly our present stand. This may at the same time serve as a sample of the corrective attitude that we have from the very beginning considered as essential for a succesful decipherment: all material evidence and relevant criticism pointing to the incorrectness of a given hypothesis must of necessity be duly taken into account.

One of the reasons why just the 'spear-point' sign was originally identified as the most likely sign for expressing "dedication" besides the most frequent sign assumed to express "possession" was that both of these signs were ligatured with the 'yoke-carrier' sign.Since the simple signs as well as the ligatures moreover all occur chiefly at the end of the inscriptions, and paradigmatically alternate with each other in some contexts, we hypothesized that together with zero (i.e. absence of any sign) marking the nominative singular we might have here the most basic endings of a nominal declension :

case	singular	plural
nominative		
genitive		
dative		

The Proto-Dravidian dative case suffix can be reconstructed as *-k(u). In Dravidian, as in many other languages, some case suffixes can be shown to have developed from postfixed nouns. Thus for instance the Tamil locative suffix 'il' goes back to the word 'il' meaning 'house, place', originally 'this place', being a derivative of the demonstrative pronoun i- 'this'. There are, also, languages in which the word for 'giving' functions as the dative marker too. We accordingly looked for a Dravidian word for 'giving' beginning with k- which would have a homophone suitable to the picture of spear or arrow, and thus came to the above mentioned equation = 'point, pointed end, tip' = * koḍi/kōḍu = * koḍi/kōḍu 'to give (to third person); giving, gift'. Similarly, we looked for a Dravidian Plural suffix which would be phonetically close to a word suiting the 'yoke-carrier' pictogram, and came to the equation  = * kaḷV 'stick, pole fastened to a load by which it is carried on the shoulders' = *-kaḷ (plural suffix).

5. There are, however, several facts that go counter the above summarized hypotheses. Let us take first the dative suffix.

(a) Even the most important case suffixes are usually omitted in the archaic Sumerian texts still about 2600 B.C. They had to be guessed and supplied from the contexts.

(b) If the Indus script is based on Dravidian, there is all the more reason to assume that the case markers were usually not written, because in Dravidian the case markers are usually optional, and the case relation can be expressed merely by the position of the stem.

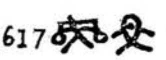
(c) It is against the Dravidian syntax to end a phrase in a noun which is in an oblique case and normally requires completion. In these short seal texts one should expect a noun in the nominative to end the phrase.

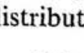
(d) The derivation *-k(u) < * koḍu is most uncertain to say the least, and would in any case date from times preceding Proto-Dravidian (which itself seems to be older than the Harappan Dravidian: the latter is in all likelihood to be equated with Proto-North-Dravidian).

For all these reasons, the hypothesis that the 'spear-point' sign represents the Proto-Dravidian dative suffix seems untenable. However, nothing prevents us from revising the hypothesis and assuming that the 'spear-point' sign expresses "dedication" through a noun derived from the root *koḍu 'to give', such as *koḍu/kōḍu 'giving, gift, present, offering', or even some more complicated derivative, e.g. "one who has given, giver (to god), offerer", or "one who has been given as a gift (to god)" (compare later devadasis). This revision means that we should have originally been looking only for a word meaning 'to give/gift' matching 'spear/arrow (-point)', and not specifically for one beginning with*k-. Yet we seem to have chanced upon just the most justifiable word among all that are available in the Dravidian lexicon. Here are some arguments not originally taken into consideration by us.

According to Tolkāppiyam (Colladigāram 445-8), it is the root koḍu and not ī- (*cī-) or tā- that should be used when the recipient is of higher status than the giver. This is confirmed by the oldest Tamil inscriptions in Brahmi script, recording various gifts to Buddhist and Jaina monks and nuns. The most frequently used verb of dedication in them is koḍu. That this is not just a translation of the Indo-Aryan term dānam is shown by such Old Tamil texts as aganāṉuṟu 22 or Kuṟundogai 362, where the root koḍu is used of sacrifices offered to Murugan, or Tolkāppiyam (Colladigāram 97), where it is used of sacrifices offered to snakes. And if this word is to be represented pictographically, there can hardly be a better way than drawing an image of the homophonous word meaning 'point' or 'tip'. There may have been one further reason for choosing just the image of 'spear-point' to convey the idea of 'sacrificial gift, offering': several Indus seals bear iconography where a buffalo is speared to death, most probably as an offering.

6. There are reasons to revise also the hypothesis that the 'yoke-carrier' sign stands for the plural suffix. We have in fact drawn back this interpretation already more than ten years ago.

(a) There are several cases, for instance immediately after the fish signs, where the hypothetical genitive ending precedes the 'yoke-carrier' sign. Since it is not the case suffix that should precede the plural suffix but vice versa, it is clear that the 'yoke-carrier' cannot stand for the plural suffix unless we are willing to take recourse to the methodically condemnable hypothesis of several different meanings, or to drop the idea that the other sign marks possession. It is impossible to go deeper here into this last mentioned 'possession' sign, and I restrict myself to noting that though it has not yet been convincingly deciphered, there appears to be no reason for a very drastic revision concerning its function. Although it may at the end of the inscriptions rather stand for a noun denoting "property, possession, (one's) own" or 'possessor, owner', it does seem to function also as a possessive case marker. It appears to have a genitive meaning for instance between the 'fish' signs and the 'yoke-carrier', and this impression is strengthened by the fact that it alternates with zero the context remaining otherwise identical. Thus the two brief inscriptions 2375 and 3617  seem to be synonymous.

(b) Still clearer proof for the untenability of the old paradigm hypothesis is the inscription 2472, where the ligature of 'yoke-carrier' and 'spear-point' follows after the hypothetical genitive marker. In this connection I want to point out that the distribution of the plain 'yoke-carrier' sign and that of its ligature with the 'spear-point' sign are very similar to each other, suggesting only a slight difference in meaning. The distribution of the ligature consisting of the 'yoke-carrier' and the "possession" sign () on the other hand, is considerably different, although it, too, mostly occurs at the end of inscriptions.

(c) The 'yoke-carrier' sign occurs alone on some pots, although their broken condition doesnot make such single occurrences entirely certain. This would of course be clear evidence for its being not a suffix but an independent word.

(d) If the plural suffix at all was expressed in the Indus script, it was most likely the suffix *-r used in words denoting human beings and deities. The suffix *-kaḷ appears to have been originally restricted to the non-rational class, where the plural suffix is usually omitted; moreover, the antiquity of this particular suffix is not certain.

7. Before proceeding further to the reinterpretation of the 'yoke-carrier' sign that I have been pondering one whole decade, let us first consider two other recent suggestions.

(A) The Soviet scholars have considered the 'yoke-carrier' sign to be a separate word, which in connection with numerals perhaps means 'burden, weight' as a measure. Dr. Nikita V. Gurov suggests that in the "sacrificial inscriptions" characterised by the presence of the pictogram representing "offering cup", the 'yoke-carrier' sign may have a different meaning. Thinking that these "sacrificial inscriptions" chiefly contain names of gods, Gurov assumes that the formula of their contents is "To X, (god-) protector–(number) of offerings". He arrived at the meaning "protector, defender" through the homophony between the Dravidian words * kā-c-/kā-p- 'pole with ropes hung on the end used to carry loads on the shoulder' and * kā-c-/kā-c-/ka-p- 'to guard, protect'. In other cases the formula may according to him run, on the analogy of Medieval Indian inscriptions, where the officials secure that they will protect the donations, "X (name or epithet) god/goddess will protect (this)". The occurrence of two animals, a tiger and a rhinoceros, on the reverse of one "amulet" with an inscription of a "yoke-carrier' sign, is taken by Gurov as a confirmation that the sign here corresponds to the Old Tamil word kāppu in the meaning "guardian deities of the eight points of the compass'.

The Soviet scholars consider the plain 'yoke-carrier' and its ligatures as synonymous, in spite of the fact that the distribution of differs from the other two signs. In their opinion the sign which they interpret to stand for the oblique/genitive suffix -tt-, merely indicates that the root kā- 'to protect' in these cases has the derivational morpheme *-t-, as in Tamil kāttayāṉ 'a village deity'. To me it seems rather unlikely that such finer details as derivative morphemes were marked in this early script.

(B) I. Mahadevan starts from the hypothesis that the final signs of the seal inscriptions, including all the signs in our former "nominal paradigm", stand for the seal owners and in particular for their official titles. He lays special stress on the semantic value of the pictograms, and seeks their meaning from the symbolism of the depicted objects in later Indian tradition and especially from various official titles of ruling dynasties associated with this symbolism. Mahadevan points out that though the Harappan language probably was Dravidian, it is likely that the symbolism survived the shift of language in North India and that Harappan titles were translated – and also directly borrowed – into Indo-Aryan.

Our "possession" sign is identified by Mahadevan as "jar". Although this pictographic value is byno means evident, Mahadevan goes further and links it with the sacrifices, considering it a symbol of "priest", while the 'spear' sign according to him represents "soldier". The 'yoke-carrier' is compared to many later Indian expressions, which refer to the official's bearing the "load of responsibility". There are, Mahadevan points out, many royal names and titles, such as Bharata, which can be connected with this idea, and which he considers as Harappan heritage. The ligature of 'jar' + 'yoke-carrier' has meant "official with priestly duties", and 'spear' + 'yoke-carrier' "official with military duties".

Mahadevan sees a confirmation to his hypotheses in the dynastic titles Sāta-vāhana and Sāli-vāhana. The former he derives fom *sata-vahana 'jar-bearer', and the latter from *śalya-vahana 'spear-bearer'. Neither of these hypothetical primary compounds is attested in Sanskrit literature, and even otherwise the etymologies are most questionable; previous researchers have usually considered the alternate titles Sātavāhana and Sālivāhana as synonymous variants, and connected them with words meaning 'horse' and 'son' respectively, the horse being an emblem of this dynasty. It can also be asked whether such titles limited to just one and relatively late dynasty are relevant for the interpretation of Harappan pictograms.

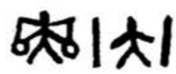
The basic difficulty with Mahadevan's interpretations is that the intended meaning has not been sufficiently limited by 'combinatory' analysis but remains rather general and also uncertain, and ample room is therefore left for arbitrary choices. The ligatures are used as clues rather than as tests: thus Mahadevan arrives at his reading of the sign as cātaṉ (from which he drives Old Tamil âtaṉ) on the basis of his interpretation of the ligature > *sata-vahana.

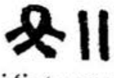
8. The narrowing of the semantic field of the intended meaning through a contextual analysis is thus of crucial importance.

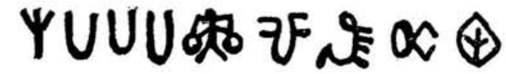
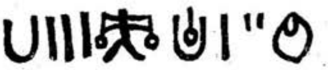
(A) One additional reason why Mahadevan's identification of the sign as a 'sacrificial vessel' appears unacceptableis the fact that the sign obviously has this meaning, as presumed by the Soviet scholars. This was suggested already by Bedrich Hrozny, who, in the midst of much nonsensical writing, correctly observed that this interpreation is likely on the basis of the iconography of some Harappan votive sealings, notably 2774 (Mackay 1937 II pl. 102,9 = 103,9):

Here an anthropomorphic deity sitting on a low dais is surrounded on either side by a snake and in front of these by a man holding an offering vessel and a man

holding his hands up in worship respectively. The Soviet scholars appear to be right in taking the miniature tablets to be "sacrificial inscriptions" on the basis of the fact that they almost invariably contain the sign of "sacrificial vessel' with or without numbers on one side. In some inscriptions, such as 3372 (reverse), the plain vessel is in such a context replaced by a ligature, where a kneeling worshipper extends the vessel: . In the identical tablets 0230, 0728 and 2728, the inscription mentions four sacrificial vessels, while the accompanying iconography shows a man kneeling in front of a sacred tree and extending a similar vessel towards it:

The vessles in the inscription and the accompanying iconography in these tablets are obviously related. This particular context enables us to go a little further than the Soviet scholars, who just generally note that the 'yoke-carrier' pictogram occurs in the "sacrificial inscriptions" defined by the presence of the sign for 'sacrificial vessel' with or without numbers. The 'yoke-carrier' sign appears to be directly associated with the very sign of 'sacrificial vessel' in several cases. Thus the inscription 1532 is closely parallel to the previously cited inscription , and the sign combination  recurs several times, making also an entire inscription. What is the meaning of ? I have suggested that it is a ligature of the sign = ('intervening) space' = *veḷ(i) and = 'man' = *āḷ, and that it should be compared with Tamil vēḷ-āḷaṉ 'liberal person' (TL after Pingala-Nigaṇḍu, glossed koḍai-y-āḷaṉ), vēḷ-āṇmai 'gift, bounty liberality' (ib.), vēḷvi-y-āḷaṉ 'munificent person' (ib.), later 'Brahmin'. At least in the last mentioned word, the first element of the compound is a Dravidian word meaning 'sacrifice' (DED 4561), possibly a derivative of the root vēḷ 'to want, desire,request, beg, pray for' (DED 4548). One difficulty with this interpretation is that the sign is not similarly ligatured in other cases where it seems to allow an

interpretation with this phonetic value:  = veḷḷi-mīṉ 'bright or white star', i.e. Venus (note the connection of veḷi 'intervening space, open and empty space, outside' and veḷi 'to be bright, to be clear'), – murugu-vēḷ, etc. I cannot go here deeper into these interpretations, which I have already discussed elsewhere, but draw attention to two further inscriptions, where the 'yoke-carrier' sign occurs side by side with the 'sacrificial vessel': 1583 — 2757 (one side)

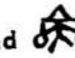
 and 3316 

In the last mentioned case, the reverse shows a man kneeling in front of a deity standing inside a pipal tree, with a markhor looking on behind the worshipper, whose hands have been raised up. All these references suggest that the 'yoke-carrier' is somehow closely related with sacrificial vessels.

(B) Another contextual basis for my interpretation is the parallelism between the 'yoke-carrier' sign and the 'man' sign after the 'fish' signs followed by the "possession" marker. It was noted above that in Dravidian the principal word for 'man', *āḷ/āṉ, also means 'servant, slave, devotee', a meaning which suits particularly well for the assumed meaning of a priestly title. An external confirmation to this hypothesis seems to be provided by the fact that several seals with unusually elaborate and clearly religious iconography, among them such famous seals as those depicting the "Proto-Siva" and the "Pipal God", bear inscriptions ending in "Servant of (the god represented by) the star..". These seals seem to have belonged to the earthly representatives of these deities, their high priests. In the case of the "Pipal God", this priest is represented even in the iconographic picture understandable to illiterate people, too: the high priest is kneeling in front of the deity, his hands raised in worship, and wearing a similar elaborate headdress as the god.

These two contexts narrow the semantic field of the 'yoke -carrier' sign to "priestly official, sometimes perhaps just devotee of a deity, who has something to do with sacrificial vessels containing offerings". When turning our attention now to the pictographic meaning of the sign for a possible confirmation of this hypothesis, we should first see whether a suitable meaning is conveyed by the picture directly, ideographically, or whether we should look for a phonetic transfer (as has been suggested by the Soviet scholars).

9. When turning our attention with this question in mind to the religion of the Dravidian-speaking South India, we are immediately struck by the prominent

position occupied by the carrying-yoke in the religious worship of Murugan, that very diety who has the highest claims for an ancient Dravidian origin. The kāvaḍi used in the worship of Murugan is usually a pole with a decorated semicircular arch over it, into which is fixed at the centre either an image of Murugan or his favourite weapon, the spear (vēl). It would, I think, be too naive to think that the ligature of 'spear' + 'yoke-carrier' would refer to a kāvaḍi provided with such a spear-symbol, though the similarity in the distribution suggests that there is very little difference in meaning between and  . But the ancient scribes would not have made special effort to distinguish functionally meaningless variations. The word kāvaḍi means 'carrying-yoke', and its original function is revealed also by the small pots of votive offerings hanging from it. These offerings carried to the deity of a given temple in fulfilment of vows may consist of things such as milk, water, rose water, milk of tender coconut, toddy, arrack, honey, sugar, fruits, camphor, sandalwood paste, flowers, eggs, crowing cocks, fish, meat, sacred ash, spears, or even serpents which are believed to be miraculously transformed into agreeable offerings in the presence of the deity. Here, then, we have a carrying yoke intimately connected with "sacrificial vessels of offerings".

But kāvaḍi is also a caste name of a division of the kuṛavar, who are known already from the Sangam literature as wandering gipsy-like mountaineers worshipping Murugan, the god of the hilly tract. Edgar Thurston mentions kāvaḍi as the name of the Kuṛavar, who carry offerings to Perumalswami at Tirupati on a carrying yoke. In another place, he mentions the kāvaḍi as one of the three main groups of Kuṛavar who have fixed duties at religious ceremonies. While the two other groups take care of decorating the god, dressing him in the festival attire, and dragging the temple car and singing and shouting during its progress, the duties of the kāvaḍi consist of carrying the god and the regalia in procession and of burning incense. Here, then, we also have a priestly official connected with the carrying yoke and a particular deity. It may also be pointed out that devotees, who dance the kāvaḍi-āṭṭam with the carrying-yoke on their shoulders on their way to presenting offerings, may get into trance; in such a condition they are considered as possessed by the god, and function as the god's mouthpiece to passers-by inquiring him about their future.

10. There is, however, one complication. Although the word kāvaḍi is widely distributed in South Dravidian languages, it does not occur even once in Old Tamil literature. Had the kāvaḍi worship occupied the same position in the Murugan cult in ancient times as today, one would expect to find a reference to it in such works as Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai or Paripāḍal. But there is none.

The earliest referenee to the kāvaḍi cult, in the Sthalapurāṇa of Paḷani, one of the principal shrines of Murugan, dates from A.D. 1628. This text contains a

legend about the origin of the Paḷani hills and the kāvaḍi worship. The hills are said to have originally been Part of the Kailasa mountain, carried to the South by demon Iḍumbaṉ (Sanskrit Hiḍimba) on behalf of sage Agastya, the introducer of brahmanical culture to South India. Iḍumbaṉ carried the hills by means of Brahman's stick (daṇḍa) – the staff of the ascetic and the brahmanical student –, with snakes of the earth as the ropes with which he could fasten the hills at each end of the stick. When Iḍumbaṉ was at Paḷani subdued by Murugan, this god conceded to him the boon of becoming his gate-keeper, and promised that whoever should offer vows carrying a kāvaḍi similar to Iḍumbaṉ's would be fully blessed.

This legend, together with the absence of the word kāvaḍi in earlier Tamil literature, clearly suggests that the word and cult have come to South India from the North, perhaps at the same time as the name Subrahmaṇya. The name of this northern deity, identified with Skanda and Murugan, is also not found in Old Tamil, but is very popular today in South India. A northern origin of the kāvaḍi worship, as assumed here, does not destroy the hypothesis that it may be of Harappan origin, but on the contrary strengthens it, taking it close to the regions of he Indus civilization. But this only on the condition that we can clearly show that religious use of the kāvaḍi is found in North India, too, and not only nowadays but also in antiquity, and that it is of non-Aryan and more particularly of Dravidian origin.

11. The word kāvaḍi does in fact have close cognates in several Indo-Aryan languages, at least Marathi kāvaḍ, Gujarati kāvaṛ, Hindi kāwaṛ/kawaṛ/kāwar/kawar, Old Awadhi kavari, all meaning "carrying yoke', and Oriya kavaṛiyā 'one carrying a carrying yoke', probably also Sindhi kāvāṭhi 'carrying yoke'. Of these at least the Hindi words are used with special reference to pilgrims who use the carrying-yoke for fetching water of sacred rivers. Related Prakrit words are attested fairly early in Jaina texts. Thus Vimala Sūri, traditionally dated to the first century, but probably of the fourth century A.D. in his Paumacariya (75, 52) written in Jaina – Mahārāṣṭrī uses the words kāvaḍa m. 'carrying pole, and kāvaḍia m. 'carrier of a carrying pole'. On the Dravidian side, similar words are found in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Tulu, Telugu, Kolami, several dialects of Gondi, and in Pengo.

Although a number of the Dravidian words may be borrowings from Indo-Aryan, there is general agreement on the ultimately Dravidian origin of the etymon. The first part of the word is unquestionably the Proto-Dravidian root *kāñc-/kāc-, 'to carry on shoulder; carrying-yoke'. This is one of those ancient Dravidian words intriguingly resembling Proto-Uralic, in this case Proto-Uralic *kanta- 'carry, bear', in some languages also 'to give birth': cf. also Proto-Dravidian *kaṉṟu 'young, child; to give birth'. In Tamil this root for 'carrying' appears in the form kāvu, and is found several times already in Sangam texts in the meaning of 'carrying-

yoke'. Thus for instance Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaḍai 171 and Cilappadigāram 15:205 refer to cowherds bearing on their shoulder an uṟi-k-kāvu, where the word uṟi is a Dravidian word for "a rope network for placing pots etc., hanging from a beam of the roof or the ends of a carrying pole". Besides Tamil and Malayalam, the root is known from Parji, Gadba, Gondi, Konda, Kui, Kuwi, and possibly also Malto.

Indo-Aryan has borrowed this etymon in the meaning "carrying-yoke", the attested forms being Sanskrit kāca (lexx.), kāja (Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra 2,22,15; Rāmāyaṇa 2,55,17), kāñja (Hiranyakeśi-Dharmasūtra 5,146); Pali kāca, kāja, Prakrit kāya, kāva, kāa, and Sindhi kāyo, kāo. In other Indo-Aryan languages the word seems to be attested only in the widely distributed compound, which in Pali appears in the form kāja-hāraka 'bearer of a carrying yoke', and in Prakrit as kāhāra. The fact that it is not attested in Sanskrit literature before about 300 B.C. clearly points to a non-Aryan source.

The word kāvaḍi is in *Tamil Lexicon* and *Hobson-Jobson* analysed as a compound of kāvu + taḍi 'stick', but the latter part seems to me rather to be another word, also of Dravidian etymology. I mean the cognates of Tamil aṭṭam, whose basic meaning is 'crosswise, across', hence 'cross direction, opposition, obstacle, impediment, etc.' (DED 73). It has been borrowed into Indo-Aryan, too, where for instance in Marathi a number of words mean 'any piece of wood put crosswise, (āḍ-, etc.). In Kannada, the word aḍḍe is used as such in the meaning of 'carrying-pole' (which is put crosswise on the shoulder).

12. The Dharmasūtras and the Jātakas attest to the hunters and forest hermits (e.g. Ṛṣyasṛṅga's father) using kāca/kā(ñ)ja;'carrying pole' for bearing meat, wild roots and fruits and other food items. In the Vedic texts, another word, Sanskrit vivadha, used of the 'carrying-pole'. Though this word is of Indo-European etymology, the passages in which it occurs prove it to be an object used in religious contexts of non-brahmanical origin, which may well go back to the Indus civilization.

The carrying yoke does not figure in regular Vedic sacrifices, except as an illustrative symbol when a balanced arrangement of liturgy etc. is discussed. But Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra 1,12, 1-3 prescribes that when one is about to bring a bali offering to a caitya, and the caitya happens to be in a far off place, he may send the sacrificial rice cakes in baskets on either side of a carrying yoke carried by a messenger (dūta). This is one of the few Vedic references to caitya worship, which is generally considered to be of Pre-Aryan origin. The popular religion of early Buddhist and Jainta texts consists mostly of the worship of caityas, which were either funeral mounds or sacred trees with or without railings or more elaborate shrines. And from the iconography of the Indus seals we know that the worship of sacred trees was certainly an integral part of the Harappan religion. I am told that it is even nowadays a common practice in Karnataka to send offerings to far off temples, such as Srisaila in Andhra Pradesh, through the mediation of wandering

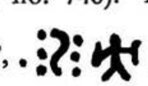
saiva ascetics. They carry the offerings to the god in their carrying yokes (called usually kambi in Kannada), and return to distribute the prasadam.

Other, much earlier Vedic texts give a more detailed description of a somewhat similar sacrifice, from which the South Indian kāvaḍi worship of Skanda-Subrahmanya-Murugan may ultimately be derived. This sacrifice, called Tryambakahoma, is most intimately connected with Rudra, the Vedic predecessor of Śiva and Śkanda. Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 2, 6, 2, 17 (and after it Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra 5, 10, 21 and Āpastamba- Śrautasūtra 8, 18, 9) prescribe that the baskets or bundles (mūṭa, generally derived from Dravidian mūṭṭai etc. 'id.'), with cakes (apūpa) for Rudra, are to be fixed on a carrying pole (called veṇu-yaṣṭi 'bamboo stick' in SB & KSS, vivadha in ApSS). The carrying pole with the baskets is then carried into the northern direction, until one comes to a tree, a dry stump, a bamboo or a termite hill, where the carrying yoke is to be hung, fixing it with black and red threads so high that a cow cannot reach it, with this mantra: "This, O Rudra, is thy part, with this provision go over to the other side of the Mūjavat mountain, dressed in skin, with the Pinaka weapon in thy hand, and with thy bow unstrung." The Brāhmaṇa text explains that Rudra is thus sent away to his mountainous home with provisions supplied for his journey, it being the usual custom for those who set out on a journey to carry their food with them.

Rudra is thus supposed to travel carrying a carrying yoke with food on his shoulder. In Atharva veda 15, 1 he is the prototype of a wandering ascetic. Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra 3, 1, 8, & 3, 2, 6, says that the vivadha belongs to the few paraphernalia of a mendicant, who dressed in black skin begs alms in a village from door to door, carrying a carrying pole. Such an aṉṉa-kāvaḍi is still in South India the characteristic of a beggar whose role every pilgrim setting on his journey with the kāvaḍi on shoulders is said to assume (cf. *Tamil Lexicon*, s.v. and Edgar Thurston, *Ethnographic notes in Southern India*, Madras 1906, p. 355). That the carrying pole indeed was an emblem of the ascetic already in very early times, is evident from the obsolete sacrifice called muny-ayanam, which is described in Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra 16,30. Here a śramaṇa(!) bearing a khārī-vivadha wanders along the Sarasvati river, cursing his opposers. Even more interesting is the passage in Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 3,245-247, where an old man (sthavira) wearing dry goat's skin and a carrying yoke with apupa cakes and clarified butter mixed with curds in its baskets, dances (nṛtyati) in front of a beautiful lady engaged in the ritual of her brother's funeral, and smears her with clarified butter, promising victory to her husband.

From the Vedic texts we may turn to the religion of the Oraons, speaking the North Dravidian language of Kurux, which seems to continue, like Brahui, that Dravidian dialect which was spoken by the Indus people. At the spring festival of the Oraons, the pujari and another person each carry two earthen jars filled with

water by means of a carrying yoke to a sacred grove, where they are placed in the four directions of the compass. The four vessels are left standing there overnight, and rain omens are read from them at the sunrise. (Cf. S. C. Roy, *Oraon religion and customs,* 1928, repr. Calcutta 1972, p. 144 f.) It is relevant to note that the numeral accompanying the sacrificial vessel sign in the miniature tablets of Harappa may vary between one and four, but never exceeds the latter.

A highly suggestive parallel for the religious use of the carrying yoke is finally supplied by the archaic Chinese inscriptions. The pictogram , which according to Bernhard Karlgren probably depicts 'a man with a carrying pole on the shoulder' is used to write the word meaning "sacrifice to the spirits of the four quarters" (B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica recensa,* Stockholm 1957, no. 740). The same sign when combined with the picture of "water" or "river", , means "sacrifice in which the gifts are sunk in water" (ibid. no. 656).

It is pertinent to add that the worship of the directions of space is an integral part of the early Vedic cult of Rudra; in the Tryambakahoma he receives an offering at crossroads.

13. We have thus formulated a hypothetical interpretation of the two Harappan signs depicting 'spear point' and 'yoke- carrier' respectively. What could their ligature mean, and is it possible to derive any confirmation to the interpretations from it?

While pondering over this question I was struck by some Prakrit compounds occurring in Jaina texts. One is 'kāva-kōḍiya' m. in the Aṇuogadārasutta (Anuyogadvārasūtra, a canonical text of the Svetāmbaras), the other is 'kāya-kōḍiya' m. in Abhayadevasūri's 11th century commentary on the sixth aṅga, Ṇāyādhammakahāsutta 1,8. Hargovind Das V. Sheth in his Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo (2 ed., Varanasi 1963, pp. 237a, 240a) gives as their meaning 'a man who carries loads by means of a carrying yoke' (kavar se bhār ḍhonevālā). In Pali there is, moreover, the compound 'kāja-kōṭi' 'the end of a carrying pole' (thus T. W. Rhys Davids & W. Stede, The Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary,* London 1925, p. 203a), found in Jātaka I. 9 & V. 200. The last mentioned passage occurs in the Isisinga (Ṛṣyasṛṅga) story, which runs in H. T. Francis' translation (1895, p. 103) as follows: "Then she thought: "This boy because he has been brought up in a forest does not know that I am a woman, but his father will know it as soon as ever he sees me, and will ask me what business I have here and striking me with the end of his carrying-pole, he will break my head. I must be off before he returns...."

Rhys Davids and Stede (p. 202b) gloss the Pali word 'kāca' as follows: "a pingo, a yoke, a carrying-pole, usually made of bamboo, at both ends of which baskets are hung (double pingo). Besides this there is a single pingo (ekato-kājo) with only one basket and 'middle' p. (antara–) with two bearers and the basket suspended in the middle." That 'kāva-kōḍiya' refers to a bearer of an 'antarākāva, or of a palanquin, both of which are to be carried by holding from its end (kōḍi), is confirmed by the following words recorded in the Tamil Lexicon s.v.: 'kōḍiyar' "those who carry a palanquin at its two ends" (Yal. Aga.), 'kōḍiyaṉ' "bearer of palanquin or vahanam of an idol" (local usage), and 'kōḍi-k-kāraṉ' "one who carries temple vāhanam" (local usage). The sign was interpreted above as depicting 'kōḍu/koḍi' 'point, tip, end'.

It is a significant distinction that prevails between "one who carries sacrificial offerings with a carrying yoke with baskets or pots hanging from either end", apparently meant by the simple 'yoke-carrier', and "the bearer of a palanquin (of the deity)", apparently meant by the ligature. Yet their meaning is close enough to account for a nearly similar distribution. It may be noted, finally, that although the social position of palanquin bearers of the god is not high in India today, in ancient Mesopotamia only the members of the noblest families were entitled to this office.

PLACE SIGNS IN THE INDUS SCRIPT

IRAVATHAM MAHADEVAN

1.1 This paper presents a revised version of my earlier and tentative interpretation of some of the signs of the Indus Script, which appear to be ideograms representing the 'city' and its major constituent parts (**Dravidian Parallels in Proto-Indian Script**, Journal of Tamil Studies, Vol. II, No. 1, 1970:157).

1.2 The interpretations proposed in the present paper are based on certain assumptions regarding the nature of the Indus Script and its probable linguistic affinities. While it is not possible to go into these wider and still unresolved questions within the brief scope of this paper, it may still be useful to summarise, at least axiomatically, the assumptions which are basic to the present model:

(i) Like other early pictographic scripts of the Bronze Age, the Indus Script also appears to be a mixed writing system, consisting of ideographic signs with word values and phonetic signs with word or syllabic values.

(ii) The Indus Script still remains undeciphered and we do not yet have any clues to recognise the phonetic signs in the script.

(iii) It is therefore more profitable in the present state of our knowledge of the script to concentrate on signs which appear **Prima facie** to be ideograms depicting clearly recognizable objects or concepts.

(iv) Ideograms are picture-signs which represent not merely the concrete objects shown in the pictures, but also any idea or concept associated with, or suggested by such objects. Ideograms, by definition, cannot be phoneticised, but possess the advantage of being understood directly. Thus if their meaning or significance can somehow be recognized, it may still become possible to comprehend the context of the inscriptions in which such ideograms occur.

(v) Ideograms in the Indus Script may be recognized by the following lines of evidence:

(a) Self-evident pictograms of clearly recognizable objects or concepts.

(b) Graphic parallels from early pictographic scripts.

(c) Linguistic and historical parallels from later Indian traditions which may be expected to have preserved elements of the Harappan civilization. Such evidence may be available from both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian sources and can be explained on the basis of the substratum influence of the Harappan language and culture.

(d) Textual analysis based on frequency and distribution of signs and their functional characteristics.

(vi) There are several converging lines of evidence to indicate that the language of the Indus Script is probably Dravidian. It is therefore legitimate, at least as a working hypothesis, to search for Dravidian parallels to ascertain the probable meaning of the ideograms and to determine the broad linguistic and historical context of the inscriptions. It is however necessary to emphasise that the interpretations proposed here do not amount to a decipherment of the Indus Script. The ideographic identifications are still tentative and the proposed Dravidian parallels are frankly speculative. The objective of the exercise is to seek meaningful and coherent patterns in the inscriptions, which would hopefully lead to accumulation of evidence and point to the direction of further progress.

2.1 Before I proceed to deal with the individual signs standing for 'city' and related concepts, it is relevant to introduce the notion that the basic uniformity in Harappan town-planning as revealed by archaeological excavations is but a reflection of the Harappan world view. A typical Harappan city is a meticulously planned and highly conscious architectural creation with grid-like streets oriented towards the four cardinal directions and with a fortified citadel on a high artificial terrace in the west dominating the lower city to the east. Judging from the public character of the large buildings found within the citadel at Mohenjodaro, there is little doubt that the citadel was the seat of authority and the power centre in the Harappan polity. While the Indus civilization was unique in many respects, archaeological evidence is not inconsistent with the notion that it shared the world view of contemporary hieratic city states of the Bronze Age. After reviewing the evidence, Mortimer Wheeler has concluded that "the general indication of a combined kingly and priestly rule fits the habit of the third Millennium" (**The Indus Civilisation**, 1966 : 18). Joseph Campell has pointed out how the form and concept of the hieratic city state, the City of God, conceived as a 'mesocosm' or 'sociological middle cosmos' (that is, as an earthly imitation of the cosmic order of the macrocosm) emerged as a seminal concept in the Tigris-Euphrates region towards the end of the Fourth Millennium B.C. and spread eastwards and westwards along the trails of the earlier Neolithic cultures, carrying with it "the wonderful, life-organizing

assemblage of ideas and principles including those of kingship, mathematics and calendrical astronomy" to inspire the later civilizations of Egypt, Crete, the Indus Valley, China and possibly even Peru and Middle America. Campbell has also drawn pointed attention to the conception of the walled city symbolised by the design of the 'Quartered Circle' and has linked it to the earlier ceramic designs of circles, cross, rosette and svastika of the Late Neolithic period (**Primitive Mythology**, 1960 : 144).

2.2 It seems therefore likely that the major concepts around which the Harappan city was organized and which were faithfully reflected in its architecture, would also figure prominently in the inscriptions of the period. Judging from parallels found in contemporary pictographic scripts, it is also probable that important places and institutions like city, palace, temple, etc. would be represented by ideograms rather than by phonetic signs in the Indus Script.

2.3 Place signs in pictographic scripts tend to assume characteristic rectangular or circular shapes representing enclosures and plans or elevations of structures of various kinds. A careful study of the graphic variants of the signs in the Indus script has shown that place signs in this script generally exhibit three equivalent forms, namely, rectangular, rhomboid and oval (Mahadevan, **The Indus Script**, 1977 : 785). It appears that the acute pressure of space on seals caused the evolution of forms from rectangular to rhomboid and oval shapes conforming to the general pattern of tall and narrow signs in the Indus Script.

2.4 Textual analysis of the Indus inscriptions provides further clues to the identification of place signs in this script. In accordance with universal usage, seal texts are likely to contain the owners' names. We know from later historical inscriptions, especially in the Dravidian languages, that place names precede personal names. Many of the Indus texts begin with one or the other of some standard opening formulae or phrases which appear to be regularly placed before names but which are too few to be part of personal names. Hence the opening phrases of the texts are likely to contain place names. This supposition receives further confirmation from the appearance of the small super-script suffixes accompanying the place signs and functioning like grammatical particles (inflections or case-endings) connecting the preceding place signs with the succeeding parts of the texts containing personal names. Since however the same opening phrases are found at all major sites, they cannot be identified with the name of any particular Harappan city. The place signs must then refer to important places or institutions present in every major Harappan city, for example, citadel, lower city, palace, temple, granary etc.

3. Ideogram for 'city'

3.1 A place sign which can be identified easily and with confidence is the 'Quartered Circle', precisely identical with the Egyptian ideogram for 'city'

'town' or 'village'. Fig. 1 compares the Egyptian and the Indus forms of the sign. (References to sources for illustrations are grouped together at the end of the paper).

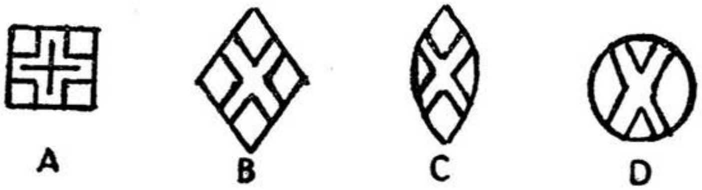


Fig. 1. Ideograms for 'City'

The signs illustrated in Fig. 1 are basically pictograms depicting an 'enclosure' with four 'quarters' or 'blocks' of the 'city' formed by X-shaped, intersecting 'cross-roads'. While the Egyptain ideogram (Fig. 1D) is always circular in shape, the corresponding Indus ideogram assumes characteristic rectangular (1A), rhomboid (1B) or oval (1C) shapes. The rectangular design shown in Fig. 1A does not occur as a sign in the inscriptions, but appears as a pictographic motif on some of the square stamp seals without texts. It is also likely that the 'Quartered Circle' motif is the basic component of the characteristic Harappan ceramic design of the intersecting circles (variants of this design are illustrated in **A Study of the Harappan Pottery**, Manchanda, 1972 : 347). If this presumption is true, we can interpret this famous ceramic design as representing the 'City of Four Quarters' or at a deeper level, as symbolising the Cosmic Order governing the 'World of Four Quarters or Regions.'

3.2 It is interesting that Old Tamil has preserved an expression for 'city' which seems specifically to connote the idea of a *planned* settlement and etymologically connected with the word for 'order, regularity.'

paaLi: (Ta.): temple town, city, town of an agricultural tract, hermitage. *(DED 3383).

paaLi: (Ka.): row, line, regularity, regular order or way, method, rule.

paadi: (Te.): Justice, propriety, nature, quality.

paali: (skt.): row, line, range.

(DED 3384)

(*DED: **Dravidian Etymological Dictionary** and Supplement.)

I have earlier drawn attention to the legends connected with the ancient name of **paaLi** in Old Tamil works (**Dravidian Parallels**, 3. 14). The remote ancestors

of the Velir stored gold in their city called **paaLi** (**Akam**, 3 75). The city was surrounded by walls which shone like copper (**Akam**, 3 72). The city was near a hill called-**eeL-il** (lit., 'Seven Houses'; **Akam**, 152.) These references seem to imply that **paaLi** may be a much more ancient place than its later namesake located in Konkanam to the northwest of the Tamil Country traditionally associated with the Velir (**Dravidian parallels**, Excursus A). Indeed **paaLi** may represent not only the concepts of planned city or orderly government (DED 3383 and 3384) but also the Cosmic Order itself, ideas which take us to the Harappan times and even beyond.

3.3. There is an ancient tradition that the Chalukyas of Vatapi sported a flag called **paali-dhvaja** which, according to the records mentioning it, was the insignia of supreme dominion or overlordship. **Aadipuraana** (Skt.) of Jina Senacharya, the preceptor of the Rashtrakuta King, Amoghavarsha I (814-870 A.D.), explains that **paali-dhvaja** did not mean any particular kind of flag, but denoted an array of flags *in rows and lines in the four directions* (Mahalingam, T. V., **South Indian Polity**, 88). It appears that this explanation is merely based on the meaning of **paali** ('row, line') after the real significance of the flag was forgotten. However the preservation of the detail about the 'four directions' reveals that the flag probably featured originally a motif based on the 'City of Four Quarters.'

3.4 There is an even more interesting survival of the concept of the City of Four Quarters in Old Tamil Tradition. Madurai, the Tamil City **par excellence**, was sometimes referred to as **naaN-maada-k-kuudal** (**Kali.**, 92 : 65). literally the 'Junction of Four Terraces' (so interpreted by Naccinarkkiniyar, **Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index**). The expression seems to be an exact description of the concept of the 'City of Four Quarters' as graphically depicted by the Indus ideogram (Fig. 1.).

4. Ideogram for 'palace'

4.1 The Egyptian ideogram or determinative for 'Palace' and the corresponding Indus ideographic variants are illustrated in Fig. 2.

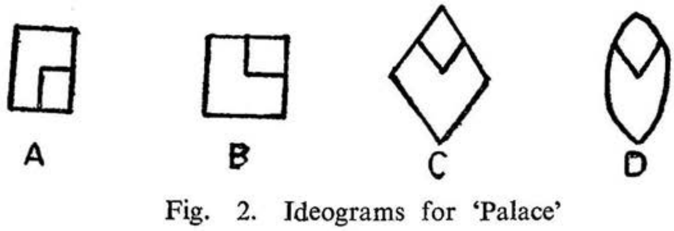


Fig. 2. Ideograms for 'Palace'

The pictogram depicts in plan a 'house' within an 'enclosure' and with a large 'courtyard' in front. The Egyptian ideogram or determinative (2A) is always rectangular but has variants showing the 'house' in any of the four corners of the 'enclosure' and has the meanings 'castle, mansion, palace, temple, or tomb.' The

corresponding Indus ideogram occurs with the usual variant forms, namely rectangular (2B), rhomboid (2C) and oval (2D) shapes. By a lucky chance, the exact Egyptian form is found preserved as the opening sign of a clay seal impression from Kalibangan (2B). It is certain that the graphic variants shown in Fig. 2B, C and D have the same meaning as they occur in identical texts as illustrated in Fig 3.

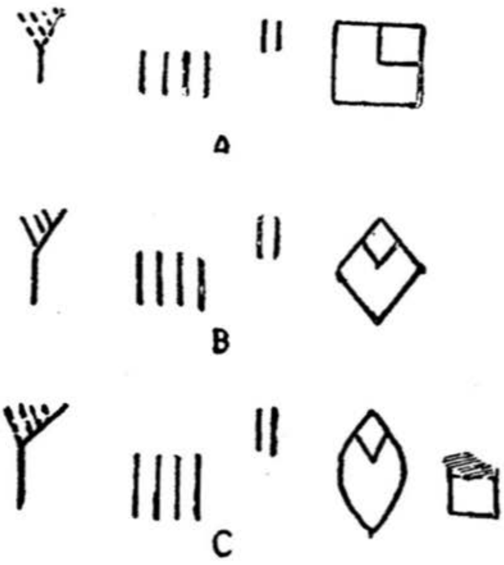


Fig. 3. Texts Commencing with 'Palace' Ideogram

4.2 It is instructive to compare the morphography of the indus ideograms for 'city and 'palace' (Fig. 4).

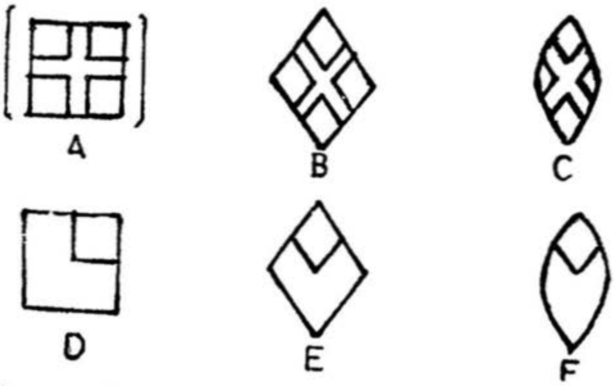


Fig. 4. Comparison of 'City' and 'Palace' ideograms

The upper line in the figure shows the graphic variations of the 'city' sign (A, B, C) while the lower line depicts the corresponding forms of the 'palace' sign (D, E, F). The form is Fig. 4 A is hypothetical and derived from Fig. 1 A. If the graphic design of the forms in the upper line can be regarded as representing the 'City of Four Quarters', the design of the forms in the lower line can be interpreted as depicting *the* Quarter, that is, the 'Principal Quarter' of the city, which in the Harappan context can be none other than the citadel, the most prominent and dominant quarter of the Harappan city. Viewed in this manner, my earlier interpretation of the ideogram as representing the citadel is probably not far off the mark (**Dravidian Parallels,** 3.12). However I no longer accept the Finnish identification of the sign as representing a 'conch' in view of the evidence presented above relating to the morphology of the sign (Parpola et al: 1969-70 b : 21). I now consider that the sign may represent either the 'palace', or in a more extended sense, the 'citadel complex' (within whose area the palace and the temple must have been situated). In either case, this sign represents the seat of authority or the power centre in the Harappan polity.

4.3 This deduction receives strong confirmation from textual analysis. The 'palace' ideogram is by far the most frequent opening sign in the initial position in the texts, suggesting that it represents the most important institution in the Harappan polity. It is therefore very satisfying to find morphographic and ideographic evidence to equate the sign with the 'palace', or more generally with the palace-temple-citadel complex constituting the seat of authority in the Harappan polity. It is remarkable that authority in the Harappan polity is indicated by an impersonal ideogram referring to the 'palace' rather than to a 'king'. Perhaps Harappan rulership was oligarchic. In any case we can interpret the seal-texts commencing with this sign as referring to officials or functionaries acting in the name of the 'palace'. It is of course not necessary that these officials resided in the palace or within the citadel. The presence of large and even palatial houses in the city outside the citadel and the discovery of large numbers of seals with the 'palace' ideogram from the lower city would indicate that the officials or functionaries using such seals resided in various parts of the city.

4.4 It is well known that the title 'Pharaoh' of the ancient Egyptian rulers literally meant 'Great House', from **pr:** 'house' (Gardiner, **Egyptian Grammar,** 1973 : 75). Since the Indus seals also refer to the 'palace' rather than to a 'king', a search was made to identify a Dravidian parallel expression deriving the concept of rulership from the institution of the 'palace'. Consider the following entries in **DED** 8:

aka-m: house, place, inside
akal: inner part of a town or village
aka-ttu: within, in the house
aka-tt-aaN: master of the house, householder

According to old Tamil tradition, Akattiyan (Skt., Agastya) was a sage who was the progenitor of the Tamil race and language and was the leader of the Velir migration from the north into the Tamil country (M. Raghava Iyengar, **Veelhir-varalaaTu,** with references to Old Tamil Works; see also my **Dravidian Parallels,** Excursus A). In the light of the parallels from Egyptian usage and the Indus ideogram, it is perhaps possible to derive **akattiyaN** from **aka-ttu** with the meaning of 'insider' or 'he of the (Great) House'. I do not of course suggest that Akattiyan was the name of a historical person or even of a dynasty. But as the name of the eponymous ancestor of the Tamils of remote antiquity, the expression may well have referred to a ruling class with its authority centred 'inside' a palace-temple-citadel complex.

4.5 The identification proposed above can be corroborated from textual evidence. The most frequent opening in the Indus texts is the 'palace' sign, and the most frequent terminal sign is the 'jar' sign (Mahadevan, **The Indus Script,** 1977, sign list, no. 342). I have suggested elsewhere that the 'jar' sign is a pictogram depicting a 'sacrificial vessel' and ideographically representing the concept of 'priest'. (Mahadevan, **Terminal Ideograms in the Indus Script,** Seminar on Harappan Archaeology, 1979, in press). The most ancient word for 'priest' in Dravidian is probably to be derived from the root **veelh** 'to pray' (DED 4548) and 'to perform sacrifices' (DED 4561). However even by the time of the Sangam Age (around the turn of the Christian Era), the noun **veelh** came to mean 'a petty ruler, chief' (DED 4562), probably as a result of semantic shift from 'priest-ruler' to 'ruler'. The juxtaposition of the signs of the 'palace' **(aka-ttu)** and 'jar'/'priest' **(veelh)** in the Indus texts reminds us of the following legends:

(a) Akattiyan (Agastya) was born miraculously from a 'jar' and was hence known as the 'jar-born' (Kuta-muni, Kumbha-Sambhava etc.) This ancient myth is found even in the Rigveda (vii:33).

(b) Akattiyan led a migration of the eighteen families of the Velir from the north into the Tamil Country (Naccinarkkiniyar on **Tolkaappiyam, paayiTam, porulh, 34).**

The evidence collected above makes it likely that the 'palace' ideogram followed by a super-script suffix at the commencement of the Indus texts corresponds approximately to the Dravidian expression **aka-ttu** with the meaning 'of the (Great) House or Palace', and used attributively with the names of persons or institutions connected with the palace.

5. Ideograms for 'enclosure'

5.1 There seem to be two different ideograms in the Indus Script with the broad sense of 'enclosure', both with Egyptian graphic parallels.

5.2 Fig. 5. illustrates one of these ideograms.

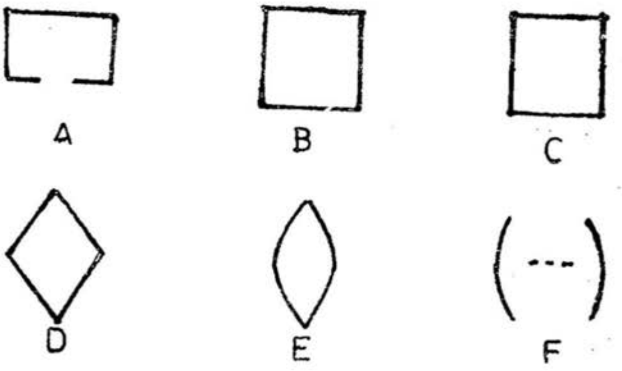


Fig. 5. Ideograms for 'Enclosure'

Fig. 5A is the Egyptian ideogram or determinative for a 'house'. It depicts the plan of a 'house' showing the 'outer walls' and the entrance'. Fig. 5B is one of the variant signs in the Proto-Sinaitic Semitic Script (c. 1800 – 1500 B.C.) depicting a 'house' **(beth)** and used as a phonetic sign with the value **b.** It is generally considered to be derived from the Egyptian 'house' sign; but an independent origin cannot be ruled out in view of the simplicity of the design ('four walls.') The corresponding Indus ideogram shows the usual variations of rectangular (5C), rhomboid (5D) and oval (5E) shapes. The equivalence of these three forms can be established from parallel texts. The pair of 'brackets' illustrated in Fig. 5F does not occur as an independent sign, but only as a ligatured element in compound signs. It is probable that the 'brackets' are derived from splitting up the oval form in Fig. 5E in two equal halves for accommodating other signs in between to form ligatures. Rhomboid or oval forms are also used to form ligatures with other signs placed within the outline or enclosure. It is noteworthy that this ideogram occurs more often in combination with other signs than alone. Thus it appears to function as an attribute to names of persons or institutions to indicate that they belonged to an 'enclosure'.

5.3 The nature of the 'enclosure' can be inferred from a comparison of the morphography of the 'palace' and 'enclosure' signs (Fig. 6).

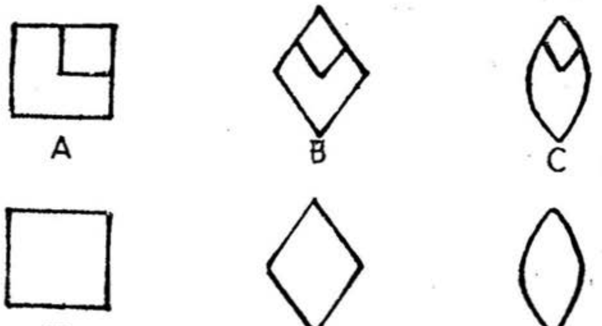


Fig. 6. Comparison of 'Palace' and 'Enclosure' ideograms

It is seen that the forms in the upper line (A, B, C) show the 'palace' within an 'enclosure' while the forms in the lower line (D, E, F) show the 'enclosure' alone without the 'palace'. Thus the meaning of the ideogram in the lower line appears to be 'enclosure around the palace'. It is probably used as an attribute of institutions within the fortified citadel and of persons in the service of the palace or other institutions within the palace-temple-citadel complex.

5.4 Old Tamil literature has several words for palace servants or attendants derived from **aka-ttu** or **aka-mpu** meaning 'inside (fort, palace or house)'. some examples are **aka-tt-ooN** (DED 8), **aka-tt-adimai, aka-tt-adiyaalh, aka-ttonhdu akampadi** etc. **(Tamil Lexicon).** From this evidence it appears likely that while the 'palace' sign (Fig. 2) was associated with the ruling classes, the 'enclosure' sign (Fig. 5) related to minor functionaries like palace servants and attendants.

5.5 Another type of 'enclosure' is depicted by the ideograms illustrated in Fig. 7.

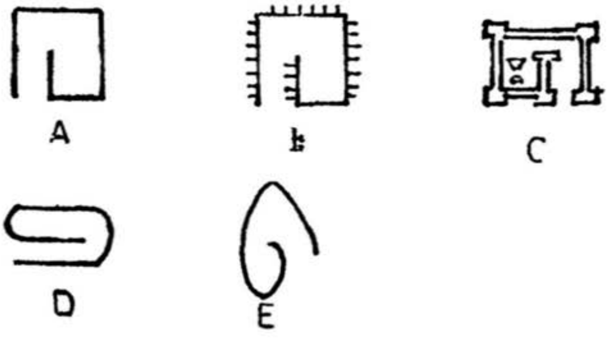


Fig. 7. Ideograms for 'Enclosed Courtyard'

Fig. 7A is the Egyptian uni-consonantal sign with the phonetic value **h.** Fig. 7D is a cursive variant found some in early Egyptian inscriptions. Fig. 7B and 7C are other related Egyptian determinatives or ideograms representing walled enclosures. The Indus ideogram (7E) is closely related to the Egyptian curved variant (7D). Pictographically the signs appears to represent an 'enclosure' with a narrow, restricted entry or passage formed by the overlapping of the surrounding walls. This motif is probably very ancient deriving from Neolithic wooden palisades or reed shelters around human settlements or cattlepens. The broad sense of the Indus ideogram may be similar to Egyptian, that is, some kind of an enclosure or enclosed courtyard or area associated with the palace.

5.6 The whorl-like shape of the Indus ideogram suggests the appropriate Dravidian 'enclosure' words looking to the root **cuuL** 'to surround, encompass'

(DED 2223). The selection of this root is also influenced by the fact that Old Tamil literature has preserved several cognates with the specific meanings of (i) areas or places 'around' a palace, (ii) Counsellors or ministers who 'surround' the king, and (iii) service under the king or in the temple. Some examples are listed below:

cuuL-aka-irukkai	:	a fortified capital **(Tamil Lexicon).**
uuLiyam (< * cuuL)	:	palace or temple service (DED 646).
cuuL	:	to counsel (DED 2257).
cuuLvoor	:	ministers, counsellors **(Tamil Lexicon).**
uLa, uLi, uLai (< * cuuL)	:	place, especially about a king, circumstances (DED 588).
uLaiyavar	:	consellors, attendants **(Tamil Lexicon)**

The literary evidence suggests that the ideogram was employed in the Indus texts probably to denote the 'surrounding' area or the 'court' around the palace as well as the 'courtiers' like ministers and counsellors who 'surrounded' the ruler and constituted his 'court'.

6. Ideogram for 'Assembly' or 'Meeting Place'

6.1 We may now consider the place signs illustrated in Fig. 8:

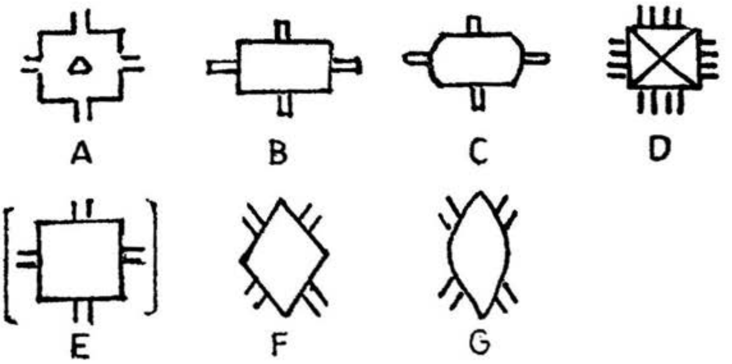


Fig. 8. Ideograms for 'Place of Assembly'

The forms illustrated in Fig. 8A to D are from the early Sumerian Script and those in Fig. 8E to G are the forms of the corresponding Indus ideogram. (The rectangular form in Fig. 8E does not occur in the inscriptions and is conjecturally drawn on the basis of analogy with the variant forms of other place signs in the Indus Script.) While the 'city' sign (illustrated in Fig. 1) shows the 'enclosure' outside and the 'streets' inside, the present sign reverses the arrangement. I now

consider that my earlier interpretation of the sign as 'streets outside the city' to be less likely (**Dravidian Parallels,** 5.10). The Sumerian signs represent a "walled city' (A to C) or 'sanctuary' (D). On this basis I now interpret the Indus ideogram as representing some important place in the city at the crossroads, probably a common place for meeting or assembly.

6.2 Old Tamil works have preserved three expressions for a meeting place or assembly, viz., **ampalam** (DED 145), **potiyil** (from **potu,** 'common', DED 3684) and **maNTu** (DED 3913). While all the three terms provide apt parallels, I think that **potiyil** (from **potu-il:** 'common house') comes closest to the ideographic motif. The association of Akattiyan with Potiyil (supposed to be a hill where the sage eternally resides) tends to confirm this identification.

7. **Ideograms for 'streets' or 'quarters'**

7.1 The 'cross-roads' signs in the Indus Script may be compared with the graphic analogues in other pictographic scripts (Fig. 9):

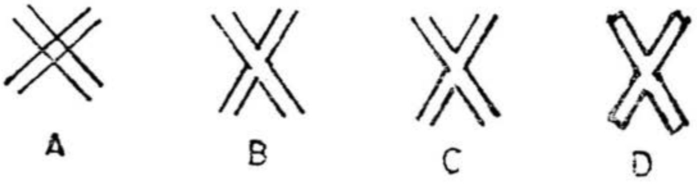


Fig. 9. Ideograms for 'Streets, Quarters'

Fig. 9A and B illustrate respectively the Sumerian and the Chinese ideograms for 'cross-roads'. It is very likely that the corresponding Indus ideograms (Fig. 9C & D) have the same significance of 'streets' or 'quarters'. However textual evidence shows that while the Indus ideograms in Fig. 9C and D resemble each other, they are not mere graphic variants. The 'closed cross-roads' sign (9D) appears most often as an opening sign in the inscriptions followed by a super-script suffix. The 'open cross roads' signs (9C) is rarely seen at the beginning but has a greater overall frequency. I interpret the evidence thus: The 'closed cross-roads' ideogram (9D) represents streets or quarters which were guarded and had restricted access. They were perhaps the quarters of the elite of the city (nobles or priests). The 'open cross roads' ideogram (9C), by contrast, depicts the quarters of the ordinary citizens. Such an interpretation satisfies both graphic and textual evidence.

7.2 Old Tamil literature has preserved two specific terms denoting exclusive and common areas of a city, town or village:

ceeri (< * keeri) : town, village, hamlet, street, passage, quarters, (DED 1669.)

paadi : town, city, village, hamlet, street, section or part of a village, (DED 3347.)

While both the words have broadly the same meaning, there is a marked difference in their usage. The word **ceeri** denotes an exclusive part of a village either for the Brahmanas (as medieval temple inscriptions mention) or for the Pariahs (as in later usage). The idea of exclusiveness is present in both cases. The term **paadi** has no such exclusive connotation and is generally used for areas occupied by agriculturists, herdsmen and other middle castes.

7.3 It may be argued that even if the identification of the place signs in the Indus Script is valid, the place names preserved in Old Tamil literature may have arisen in the historical period within the Tamil country and may have no relevance in interpreting the Indus ideograms. There is force in this contention. However an interesting aspect of the linguistic parallels attempted here is the new insight they provide in the interpretation of the Old Tamil terms. I shall illustrate this aspect with the following examples:

Indus Ideograms	Dravidian parallels	Old Tamil usages
PALACE (Fig. 2)	***aka-tt-i**	**akattiyaN**
COURT (Fig. 7)	* **cuuL-i**	(a) **uLi, uLai, uLaiyar** (b) **cuuLvoor, uuLiyar** (c) **cooLiyar, cooLar**
EXCLUSIVE QUARTERS (Fig. 9D)	* **keeri**	(a) **ceeri** (b) **ceerar**
ORDINARY QUARTERS (Fig. 9C)	***paad-i**	(a) **paadi** (b) **paanhdiyar**

7.4 These parallels bring out a remarkable and hitherto completely unsuspected correlation of the Old Tamil words listed above. The name of the eponymous ancestor of the Tamil race **(akattiyaN)** as well as those of the three most ancient royal houses of the Tamil country **(ceera, cooLa, paanhdiya)** now appear etymologically connected to place names. Here one may recall the traditional legend that the Cheras, the Cholas and the Pandyas were brothers who originally lived together in one place (Caldwell, **Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages,** 1961 : 14). It is also significant that in the earliest of the Tamil works, the terms Chera, Chola and Pandya were used attributively in the manner of place names, *preceding* personal names, and it was only during the medieval period that this arrangement was reversed and these terms were suffixed as dynastic appellations

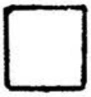
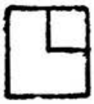
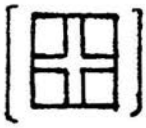
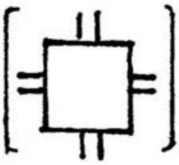
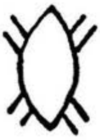
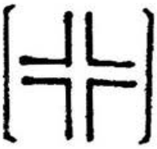
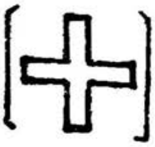
No.	FIGS	RECTANGULAR FORMS	RHOMBOID FORMS	OVAL FORMS	IDEOGRAPHIC MEANINGS
I	FIG. 5				HOUSE, PLACE, ENCLOSURE
II	FIG. 2				PALACE, TEMPLE
III	FIG. 1				CITY
IV	FIG. 8				PLACE OF MEETING OR ASSEMBLY
V	FIG. 7				COURT, COURTYARD
VI	FIG. 9				ORDINARY QUARTERS
VII	FIG. 9				EXCLUSIVE QUARTERS

Fig. 10. Morphographic Analysis of place Signs* in the Indus Script.
(*Forms in square brackets are hypothetical reconstructions.)

following the personal names of the kings. (compare the earlier names like **ceeraN cengkudduvaN, cooLaN nedungkilhlhi,** and **paanhdiyaN nedunjceLiyaN** with the later names like **raajaraaja-c-cooLaN** and **Suntara-paanhdiyaN.)**

8. To summarise, the place signs discussed in the paper are illustrated together with some re-arrangement in a chart (Fig. 10) for comparative morphographic study.

It will be seen that the entire set of place signs is composed of two elements only, viz., (a) an outline representing the plan of an enclosure, place or house, and (b) cross-roads, either open or closed. Secondly, the place-signs with the element (a) tend to occur in three graphic forms, viz., (i) rectangular, (ii) rhomboid and (iii) oval, which are mere variants as may be established by a study of parallel texts. (Some of the forms shown within square brackets are reconstructions of hypothetical earlier stages.) While I have compared the Indus signs with the corresponding graphic forms in Egyptian, Sumerian and other scripts, I do not mean to suggest that the Indus forms were directly borrowed from the other pictographic scripts. The basic elements, namely, 'enclosure' and 'streets' are so fundamental to settled human societies and the graphic motifs so simple that they may have existed from at least Late Neolithic period and may have influenced different pictographic scripts by 'idea diffusion'. In my view, the ideographic identifications proposed in this paper, while still tentative, rest on more firm grounds than the linguistic parallels which require further study before they can be confirmed.

Note on Transliteration

(The system of transliteration prescribed for this Conference is adopted for transliterated Dravidian terms in **thick type**. Proper names and common words printed in Roman type are not transliterated in this style.)

NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1.
- A. Mackay, 1; Vats, 390.
- B. Marshall, 432; Mackay, 579.
- C. Marshall, 59; Mackay, 522.
- D. Gardiner, O.49.

Fig. 2.
- A. Gardiner, O.6; (see also O.7 to 10).
- B. **Indian Archaeology: A Review,** 1960–61, Pl. XLVIII-B.
- C. Marchall, 57.
- D. Marshall, 22.

Fig. 3. A. As in Fig. 2B.
B. Marshall, 246.
C. Marshall, 31.

Fig. 4. A. Hypothetical reconstruction; See Fig. 1A.
B. As in Fig. 1B.
C. As in Fig. 1C.
D. As in Fig. 2B
E. As in Fig. 2C.
F. As in Fig. 2D.

Fig. 5. A. Gardiner, O.1; (See also O.2 and O.3).
B. Diringer, Fig. 12.3 (b) 5.
C. Marshall, 450.
D. Vats, 6.
E. Marshall, 135; Vats, 379.
F. Marshall, 6; Mackay, 262.

Fig. 6. A. As in Fig. 2B.
B. As in Fig. 2C.
C. As in Fig. 2D.
D. As in Fig. 5C.
E. As in Fig. 5D.
F. As in Fig. 5E.

Fig. 7. A. Gardiner, O.4.
B. Gardiner, O.13.
C. Gardiner, O.15.
D. Jenson, Fig. 36.
E. Marshall, 106.

Fig. 8. A. Legrain, Seal No. 431.
B. Falkenstein, 631.
C. Ibid.
D. Barton, 301.
E. Hypothetical reconstruction.
F. Marshall, 227.
G. Mackay, 574.

Fig. 9. A. Langdon, Jamdet Nasr, 136.
B. Karlgren, 748 b.
C. Marshall, 370; Vats, 1.
D. Marshall, 100, 102.

Fig. 10. Illustrations in this chart have been included in the earlier figures.

N.B. Numbers following Mackay, Marshall and Vats refer to seals. Other numbers (except where otherwise stated) refer to sign-lists.

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SECTION 3

ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE

TOWARDS A THEORY OF TAMIL AESTHETICS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SANGAM POETRY AND CILAPPATIKAARAM

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The aesthetics of the Tamils as revealed in the Sangam lyrics and Cilappatikaaram is the finest blossoming of the Indian mind's search for beauty and form. In their art of 'dynamic poise',[1] we find the evolution of a form which is a verbal equivalent to dance and the triumph of the Apollonian over the Dionysian.[2] The purpose of this paper is to trace this evolution from the Sangam lyrics through Cilappatikaaram to Kamba Raamaayanam and relate it to the Indian concept of action and bliss.

Dr. T. P. Meenakshisundaran has referred to the Sangam lyrics as dramatic monologues,[3] but the drama here is of a different kind from that of the monologues of Western poets like Browning. They seem to be sudden flashes into the silent core of life which is caught in all its ordinariness. The flow of life is sliced out through sudden, but simple ripples of language.

Though all lyrics are concerned with an eternal present, in the Sangam lyrics we see a movement which is still, a dance-like centripetal movement, a movement which is self-defeating in the sense that it is a movement towards the still centre. Time is robbed of its chronicity and the sequential order of things described is always absorbed in a simultaneous perception of reality. A Browning monologue also attempts to establish the present-past-future identity, but in it there is more of action and character revelation because of a consciousness of crisis and conflict, but in the Sangam lyrics there is more of the revelation of a quintessential emotional state. Here character and action are stripped of the existential dross, and the imageless essence seems to bloom into life's particularities. Here the soul is presented in a state of dynamic poise through a speech-act which does not imitate reality in the Aristotlean sense, but it reveals the impersonal inner core of action which is static. The reader also achieves an inner equilibrium in participating in this inner core. The Sangam lyrics, by finding a perfect objectification of the inner bliss of quintessential action by various devices, achieve a total form-content synthesis which is possible only in music and therefore we might say that the Sangam poetry is presentational rather than representational.

The Sangam poems create as it were an inner space by providing or being an objective image for a mental state which is non-specific and universal. This aspect is revealed more clearly in the *Akam* poems where the mind is seen through, or sometimes even as, a landscape.[4] The mind is *extended,* as it were into an objective universe and *discovered* through it. The tendency to portray the human emotion in terms of the setting has more than one function: aesthetically, it objectifies or depersonalises the emotion; thematically it discovers a deeper bond between 'natural emotions' and 'nature',[5] and nature being the reservoir of pure emotions seems to provide the symbolic language sought by the human emotion. In human love we see the display of the primaeval energy of which nature is the reservoir. Love is seen as part of a cosmic process of regeneration through death and decay in nature. The fertility of the land (the forest or *mullai*) has an erotic dimension which is also a kind of death, and conversely eroticism is seen as part of a larger fertility myth.[6] The lonely state in the human soul is *paalai* which is the converse of *mullai* when the creative force does not get the refreshing showers of the lover's union and the heat which the heroine experiences is associated with the fire of chastity which the heroine acquires only through the transformation of the fire of love consequent on the absence of her lover.

But in these lyrics there is not only this kind of subject (self)-object (space) identity, but there is also space-time identity. The setting itself indicates or becomes time and the stillness of the Sangam lyrics is largely due to the spatialisation of time and self and ultimately it can be said that in the drama of the Sangam lyrics, we have the pure flowering of the soul which does not require the action of the Western kind.

At the purely formal level also in the Sangam lyrics we see a pull between sculpturesque density and precision on the one hand, and the infinite yearning towards a limitless, unutterable meaning through metaphor, *Ulhlhurai* and *Iraicci,* just as there is both extension and intension simultaneously in the movement. All these things make us conclude that the Sangam lyrics are poetic equivalents of the dance. In the dynamic poise of Indian dance, we see a similar tension between stasis and movement, between objectification and abstraction, between the movement towards a clear sculpturesque image and a tendency to limitless meanings. The visual movements are only emblematic of a silent language which is the goal of all utterances. The centripetal movement in the dance is only an attempt to go to the central peace of which joy or bliss is an external emanation or realisation.

In both the cases the form achieved is the image of the soul in its poise which is manifested as a kind of movement. Whereas Western art intensifies the agitation before cathartic release, in Indian art in general, and in Tamil art in particular, we find the form simply imitating the core of experience and thereby leading to the discovery of that central peace within.

In *Cilappatikaaram* we find a continuation and culmination of this tradition. Again Dr. T. P. Meenakshisundaran has said that *Kaatai* is an extended lyric and that the epic form has evolved from the dramatic lyrics of the Sangam age. The narrative component is very thin and this alteration between the epic narration and the lyrical mode gives the epic the stillness of the dance.

> "If there is so much action at one level, but nothing seems to take place, this retarding element is due to the lyrical intensity. The whole thing seems to be taken out of time–something like this we have in the storm scenes of *King Lear* or the prison scene in *The Duchess of Malfi*. Similarly, in ***Manai Aram Padutta Kaatai***, we have one long lyric from Kovalan preceded by description and followed by a few lines of narration. That one moment is supposed to crystallise the essence of the life of the couple for a number of years. The pattern is description – dramatic lyric – epic narration. But, there is unity because the initial description itself is dramatic and the lyric is also descriptive and both lead on to and are reinforced by epic narration. Here we have a synthesis, or at least an attempt towards it. In the whole epic also we see this evolution – in *Pukaakr–kaanhdam* we have more of description and lyrics, in *Maduraik-kaanhdam* we have more of drama and lyrics; but in *Vanjcik-kaanhdam* the dramatic and lyrical impulses yield place to narration. One is tempted to see here the whole battle between the various trends in the culture and the final victory is for the epic."

and the triumph of the Apollonian over the Dionysian, of the sculpturesque and the spatial over the musical and the abstract. The three ecstatic Dionysiac dances seem to contain the core of the tragic epic. This is parallel to the evolution of tragedy from similar dances of Dionysius in Greece, but whereas there the dance form has yielded the tragedy, in Indian culture it has yielded the epic. The choric *unindividualised* cry is super-imposed and absorbed by the epic form. Even though all the three dances are Dionysian, there is evolution in Cilappatikaaram itself. In Veedduva vari, there is more of the primordial Dionysiac or creative energy, which is counterbalanced by the Apollonian serenity of Aaicciyar Kuravai, Maayoon being more Apollonian and in the KuNtakkuravai, we find a synthesis of both Apollonian and Dionysian, the former subsuming the latter, of which Muruka is the central symbol and this is parallel to the evolution of the epic and the heroine from the terror of primordial Cakti through the Apollonian harmony of Maayoon to the sublime awe and love of Muruka.

The choric characters in all the three dances both intensify and distance the emotion, of the protagonist as in Greek tragedy and they also mediate between the central character and us. Just as they are involved with detachment in the tragedy of Kannaki and it is theirs as well as hers, we also participate in the ritual of purgation and the three dances are objective correlatives to the artistic emotion of the

epic as well as the readers. The love and poise of Muruka is the final goal of this Apollonian poem.

This can be compared to the concept of *Rasa* and *Sthayibhavas* in Sanskrit aesthetics. In Bharata's famous *suutra* it is said that the *rasa* is nothing but *sthayibhava*. To quote Dr. Sundaramurthy, "As a result of the excitement, the *sthayibhavas* flow out as *rasas*. Therefore the difference between the *sthayibhavas* and the *rasas* is only their condition whether they are in excited condition or not. When they flow out they become *rasas* and when they are remaining idle they are *sthayibhavas*." The same idea is put by Dr. P. Lal in a slightly different way. "Bharata suggests that the ninth *rasa*, that of *santa*, is in fact the only real *rasa*, the others being steps to it or ingredients in it".[10]

Abhinavagupta's interpretation gives a philosophic basis to this concept of bliss. As we have already said, the aesthetic effect is inseparable from the Indian concept of action, or the concept of dance as the soul's waiting or surrender. Interestingly both *Cilappatikaaram* and Sanskrit drama have a concept of action similar to the Japanese *Noh*. To quote Prof. Kantak, "In the Japanese *Noh*, for instance, action is so purged of its physical accoutrements that it assumes the nature of stance-action happening out of time in the stillness of the soul. What the *Noh* presents is the flower, the *Yugen*, the final bloom of the tree of action, not the bole, the roots and the worms. Though the *Noh* might drive this idea specifically from Zen Buddhism the *Noh* idea of action and the Indian have at bottom an obvious blood relationship. The distinctnesses are merely family differences".[11] It is interesting to note that the Imagist poems of Ezra Pound, who was influenced by the Japanese art, such as *In the Metro Station*, show striking parallels to Sangam lyrics.

The final phase in the evolution of this concept of action is to be found in the concept of bliss in Saiva Siddhanta and the Surrender philosophy of the Vaishnavite Alvar. In Kamba Raamaayanam which has absorbed the lyrics of the earlier period, we find once again the triumph of the Apollonian over the Dionysian. Even though the characters are more individualised in it, all the characters can be seen as steps to or the manifestations of the still poise of Rama, just as in the thematic level all action is an expression of the silent love of God. The whole epic can be seen as an extended dance, Rama being the still centre and all actors being the *meippaadu* or physical movements of that centripetal dance. We, the readers also through all other "active" characters who are choric, move to the stillness of Rama. Rama extends himself into all the other characters who find fulfilment in identifying with the source and this again resembles Kannaki's expansion and reduction, and again the prototype is the dance: the prototype of all dances being the dancing Nataraja who symbolises the dynamic stasis of all creation and creative work, triumphing over the primordial chaos of the Asūra or formlessness under his feet.

NOTES

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5. Wordsworth, *Michael*, 36.

6. (a) Alexander M. Dubinakshi: An Analysis of the Mullai-Paalai Fragment of Ancient Tamil Poetry: *Journal of Tamil Studies* Vol. 15 June 1979 pp. 88-103.

   (b) *Kuruntokai* 358. We are attempting an erotic interpretation of the description of the passage through forest found in the following poem:

   O Lord, I fear the way's danger
   When you come in the dark through the thick of the forest
   With only the smell of the Venkai blossoms for a clue.

7. *Ibid.*

8. K. Chellappan, pp. 20-21.

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COMPUTER ANALYSIS OF EARLY CHOLA AND PANDYA SCULPTURES: AN ICONOMETRIC STUDY

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The existence of ancient Sanskrit texts on iconography and iconometry is well known. Many of our art historians have assumed that the existence of iconometric canons actually led to the incorporation of canonical proportions in Indian sculptures.[1] Almost all the studies done to date by different scholars are on comparing the iconographic details of the Silpa saastra texts with South Indian sculptures. Now we add a new dimension to the study by taking *iconometric measurements* of the sculptures. All the measurements reported in this paper were taken by one of the authors using anthropometric instruments.

Indian system of iconometry

Canons of iconometry follow a complex system called *taalamaana* in which the basic units are the *angula* (or *viral*) and the *taala* and the latter stands for the length of the palm.[2] The *angula* is either a fixed length (maanaangulam) or a proportion (dehalaabdhaangulam). According to the Indian system of iconometry, a sculpture could be made according to one of the ten main types of proportions from the *eka taala* to *dasa taala* or ten *taalas*. Each type is further subdivided into three sub-types. *Dasa taala* proportions were prescribed for images of male deities so that they appear tall and majestic. But the basic type of proportion is the standard nine face length and it is known as *madyama nava taala* in Sanskrit canonical texts.

The Indian system makes use of the fact persons with disproportionately larger faces appear short and those with smaller faces appear tall. Dwarf figures are made in the four *taala* system where the total height is only four times the face length. When we measured human beings we found that there are people with total height eleven times or even twelve times their face length, but the canons do not approve of such unusual proportions.

In *madyama nava taala* the face is of length one *taala* or twelve *angulas* and the total height is nine *taala* or 108 *angulas*. The length from throat to navel is two *taala*, from navel to top of knee is three *taala*, from the lower knee to ankle is two *taala*. The remaining one *taala* is distributed equally between the height of the foot, kneecap, neck and the topknot. There are two other types in *nava taala*

division. The *uttama nava taala* type is four *angulas* taller and the *adhama nava taala* is four *angulas* shorter.

Two systems of Iconometry

We claim that there are two different systems of iconometry described in the texts – the pure *taalamaana* system and the derived *taalamaana* system.[3] It seems that in course of time the two systems mentiond above got intermingled together and the existence of them has been overlooked by scholars.

We find that the existing *Silpa Saastra* texts do not follow the pure *taalamaana* system uniformly. The second system must have got superimposed on this ancient canonical system and both the systems are found in the texts. A *dasa taala* proportion in pure *taalamaana* system would mean that the total height is ten times the face length. However in the derived *taalamaana* system the very same *dasa taala* just means that the total height is 120 *angulas* or 10 *taala* irrespective of the face length. In the second system some proportions named as *dasa taala* may be such that the face length is only one-ninth of the total height. Sculptors might have wished to make two figures in the same proportion but with different heights and such proportions might have been named after the total height such as the nine *taala* (9 × 12 *angulas*) or the ten *taala* (10 × 12 *angulas*) without reference to the face length.

To support our finding that there are two systems of proportions we have used a technique called cluster analysis[4] – a technique that has been used for comparing Greek sculptures.[5] All the different proportions found in the South Indian *Silpa* saastra texts such as *Silparatnam*,[6] *Kasiyapa Silpa Saastra*[7] and *Sarasvathiya Silpa Saastra*[8] were fed into a computer and different clusters or groups were formed. It was found that in many cases the *nava taala* and the *dasa taala* proportions were grouped together, showing thereby that what was *nava taala* according to the pure system was named as *dasa taala* according to the derived system and had found its way into the texts. Thus we have been able to confirm our claim of the existence of two systems with the use of computer methods.

Even though there is a lot of variation in the proportions in measurement prescribed in different texts, there are certain features common to all the canonical texts. First the face length is equally divided between the forehead, the nose and nose-to-chin.[9] Secondly the pubis is the midpoint of the height of a nude figure. Thirdly deities are prescribed a higher *taala* compared to human figures. Fourthly, children are prescribed a lower *taala* such as the four *taala* of the pure *taalamaana* system. This is because the face length, compared to the total height, is larger for children than for adults among humans. There are some exceptions to the general features, but we shall not discuss them here.

What are the main uses of iconometric studies based on detailed measurements? First, one can determine whether any one of the known canons had been followed in carving sculptures of a particular temple. Secondly, if any sculpture had been carved according to canonical proportions, it may be possible to find the value of the *angula* for that sculpture. Thirdly, even if none of the known canons had been followed in carving sculptures of a certain temple, it will be possible to construct a new canon based on the average proportions of the different groups of figures in a temple. Fourthly, the average proportions recovered from sculptures of a particular temple can be used for restoration work. Fifthly, it is possible to estimate the number of *stapatis* who had worked in a temple on the basis of the degree of resemblance between different figures. Finally one can say whether the same group of *stapatis* was also responsible for carving sculptures of some other known temple.

In Indian art sculptures are depicted in different standard postures and gestures. Some figures may be in a standing posture while others in the dancing, sitting or reclining postures. It is therefore impossible to get iconometric measurements of different parts of the sculpture for comparison, whereas the facial measurements are common to all figures. So, ten facial iconometric measurements were taken on each sculpture.[10] The total face length was taken from the base of hairline (or head-dress) to the chin. The morphological face length was taken from the top of the nose to chin. These values were standardized by dividing throughout by face length. We shall make a detailed study of these measurements with specific reference to the following three temples namely Kailasanatha temple-Kanchipuram, Avani-Gandarpa graham-Kilaiyur and Vettuvankoil-Kalugumalai belonging to Pallava, Chola and Pandiya dynasties respectively.

Pallava sculptures

Kailasanatha temple of Kanchipuram in South India was built by king Rajasimha around 700 A.D. The temple is adorned with exquisite sandstone sculptured panels. All the sculptures are of extraordinary beauty and delicacy but the proportions are quite different from canonical proportions that have come down to us. According to canons, nose must start from a point in line with eyes. At Kailasanatha temple the nose starts from the eye brow itself. The nose is unusually long (Table 1). The eyes are depicted as looking upwards, but such depiction of the eyes is strictly prohibited in the available canons. The nose is unusually long and compared to the distance from the nose to chin, it is about one and half times long. The eyes are also unusually long and narrow. The lips are thick and these are named as Rajasimha characteristics. These characteristics are also seen in the famous painting at Panamalai and in the sculptures of the Shore Temple in Mamallapuram. All these temples were built by king Rajasimha.

Also a computer analysis shows that the figures of gods, goddesses, and male and female attendants have close resemblance.[11] Such close facial similarity would support the theory that the artist was responsible for many figures in each temple.

Early Chola Sculptures

Kilaiyur temple situated on the Trichy–Ariyalur main road was built by Paluvettaraiyar around 9th century A.D.[12] who had close association with the Chola rulers. From inscriptional evidence we can observe that it was once called Avani Gandarpa graham. Of the two towers, the one on the southern side was known as "Thenvayil Sri Koil" and another on the northern side used to be known as "Vadavayil Sri Koil". Both are now called Agasthisvaram and Cholisvaram respectively. One can find beautiful sculptures on these structures.

In Kilaiyur sculptures the nose length is almost equal to nose-to chin (Table 2). The nose is long and narrow. The eye length is about thrice its breadth. The eyes are of medium size. The lips are thin. The face is also equally divided into three parts by the nose. These characteristics are also found in some sculptures of Muvar Koil at Kodumbalur. The eyes of the female figures are more round in shape than their counterparts. Also the female figures have longer and narrower eyes than the male figures.

Pandiya Sculptures

The most beautiful temple of the Pandiya country is found at Kalugumalai,[13] which is a partly finished free-standing monolith which resembles the Dharmaraja ratha of Mahabalipuram. K. R. Srinivasan assigns this monolith to circa 800 A.D.[14] The east facing *vimaana* of the temple consists of three tiers and a number of beautiful carvings are found on the *vimaana*.

Pandiya sculptures have short and very broad nose (Table 3). Compared to the distance from nose to chin, the length of the nose is shorter. The eye length is about twice its breadth. The shape of the eye is almost round. The lips are very thick and they are slightly everted. Only the *vimaana*-bearers have long and narrow nose and thin lips which are rectangular in shape.

We shall compare the iconometric features of the carvings of the three temples from the Pallava, Chola and Pandiya regions of Tamil Nadu.

The Rajasimha characteristics are absent in the Kilaiyur sculptures of early Chola period. The long nose, a feature of Rajasimha sculptures, is not found either in the sculptures of Kilaiyur or in Kalugumalai. In Kailasanatha temple the nose starts from eyebrow itself whereas in the other two temples it starts from a point in line with the eyes. The nose indices (nose breadth/nose length × 100) are 66.5 for Kailasanatha temple 72.4 for Kilaiyur temple and 80.9 for Kalugumalai

temple. Larger the index, broader is the nose. The sculptures of Kailasanatha temple and of Kilaiyur temple have lips which are relatively long and narrow but in Kalugumalai all the figures have thick lips. The eyes of the Kailasanatha temple are very long and narrow while they are very short and wide in Kalugumalai. In Kilaiyur, they are of medium size. In all these three temples, the face breadth remains the same. Contrary to what is often believed, there is practically no sex difference in the face breadth.

We shall now compare the overall proportions of sculptures of these three temples (Table 4) with the *madhyama nava taala* proportions of *Silpa Ratnam*, which is a well known South Indian text. The nose length of the sculptures of Kailasanatha temple is very different from the canonical value, whereas in the other two temples, the sculptures do not differ very much from the canonical prescriptions. As far as nose breadth is concerned, all these three temples do not agree with the canon. The Pallava as well as the early Chola sculptures are not very different from the canonical proportions as far as lip breadth is concerned. However the sculptures of Pandiya period have much thicker lips compared to the canon and the other sculptures. The lip length of these sculptures of these temples is greater than the canonical value. The face breadth is the same in all the cases. All these sculptures have longer eyes compared to the canonical proportions whereas the eye breadth is almost the same as the canonical value. The distance from nose-to-chin is greatest for the Pandiya sculptures compared to the other sculptures and it is much greater than the canonical proportion.

Thus the special features of the Pallava sculptures of Kanchipuram are a long nose, short nose-to-chin distance and long and narrow eyes. The special features of the early Chola sculptures from Kilaiyur are the equality of nose length and nose-to-chin and normal lips as prescribed in the canonical texts. The special features of the Pandiya sculptures from Kalugumalai are short and broader nose, long nose-to-chin distance, wide eyes and short and thick lips. Many of these proportions differ considerably from the proportions prescribed by canonical texts.

We have shown with the aid of a computer, that there exist two systems of proportions in the canonical texts of Indian iconometry. An analysis of sculptures of three temples from the Pallava, Chola and Pandya region shows a considerable difference in facial proportions and many of these proportions differ widely from the canonical proportions. The different proportions indicate how figures with widely differing proportions were considered as ideals of beauty in the different regions of Tamil Nadu during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.

Computations for our study were performed on the IBM 370/155 computer at the Indian Institute of Technology, Madras.

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TABLE 1

Average proportions of Pallava sculptures of Kailasanātha temple. The face length is taken to be 12 *angulas*.

	Variables	A	B	C	D	Overall average
1.	Nose length	5.28	5.30	5.34	5.51	5.37
2.	Nose breadth	3.67	3.41	3.71	3.39	3.57
3.	Lip length	4.61	4.25	4.44	4.06	4.36
4.	Lip breadth	1.79	1.50	1.73	1.78	1.75
5.	Face breadth	11.21	10.51	11.13	11.39	11.21
6.	Eye length	3.28	3.23	3.46	3.50	3.40
7.	Eye breadth	0.76	0.65	0.88	0.76	0.78
8.	Nose to chin	3.64	3.53	3.64	3.40	3.56
9.	Morphological face length	8.97	8.85	9.00	8.92	8.95
10.	Nose length/nose-to-chin	1.45	1.50	1.47	1.62	1.51
11.	Eye length/eye breadth	4.32	4.97	3.93	4.61	4.36

where A: Gods; B: Goddesses; C: Human males; D: Females.

TABLE 2

Average proportions of Early Chola sculptures of Kilaiyur. The face length is taken to be 12 *angulas*.

Variables	A	B	C	D
1. Nose length	4.31	4.75	4.18	4.31
2. Nose breadth	3.11	2.81	3.27	3.12
3. Lip length	4.08	4.39	4.63	4.20
4. Lip breadth	1.65	1.76	1.88	1.70
5. Face breadth	11.31	11.13	11.17	11.27
6. Eye length	2.93	3.68	3.31	3.04
7. Eye breadth	1.00	1.43	1.17	1.05
8. Nose to chin	4.27	4.33	4.20	4.26
9. Morphological face length	8.61	8.98	8.33	8.58
10. Nose length/nose-to-chin	1.00	1.10	0.99	1.00
11. Eye length/eye breadth	2.93	2.57	2.83	2.08

where A: Gods; B: Goddesses; C: Human males; D: Overall average.

TABLE 3

Average proportions of Pandiya sculptures of Vettuvan Koil.
The face length is taken to be 12 *angulas*.

	Variables	A	B	C	D	Overall average
1.	Nose length	4.00	3.64	4.26	3.88	3.93
2.	Nose breadth	3.20	3.11	3.48	3.07	3.18
3.	Lip length	3.97	3.96	4.29	3.62	3.88
4.	Lip breadth	1.99	2.06	2.16	1.93	2.01
5.	Face breadth	11.36	11.09	11.79	11.41	11.41
6.	Eye length	2.79	2.65	2.78	2.67	2.71
7.	Eye breadth	0.89	1.08	1.20	1.07	1.06
8.	Nose to chin	4.99	4.92	5.06	4.76	4.89
9.	Morphological face length	8.81	8.52	8.94	8.56	8.67
10.	Nose length/nose-to-chin	0.80	0.74	0.84	0.82	0.80
11.	Eye length/eye breath	3.13	2.45	2.32	2.50	2.05

where A: Gods; B: Males; C: Vimaana-bearers; D: Females.

TABLE 4

Overall proportions. The face length is taken to be 12 *angulas*.

	Variables	A	B	C	D
1.	Nose length	5.37	4.31	3.93	4.00
2.	Nose breadth	3.57	3.12	3.18	2.00
3.	Lip length	4.36	4.20	3.88	3.00
4.	Lip breadth	1.75	1.70	2.01	1.50
5.	Face breadth	11.21	11.27	11.41	11.43*
6.	Eye length	3.40	3.04	2.71	2.00
7.	Eye breadth	0.78	1.05	1.06	1.00
8.	Nose to chin	3.56	4.26	4.89	4.00
9.	Morphological face length	8.95	8.58	8.67	8.00
10.	Nose length/nose-to-chin	1.51	1.00	0.80	1.00
11.	Eye length/eye breadth	4.36	2.08	2.05	2.00

where A: Kailasanatha figures; B: Kilaiyur Early Chola figures;
C: Kalugumalai Vettuvan koil Pandya figures and
D: *Madhyama nava taala* proportions prescribed in the canonical text *Silparatnam.*

*This value is not found under *Madhyama nava taala* in Silparatnam. However the text makes references successively to *uttama nava taala, adhama dasa taala, madhyama dasa taala* and *uttama dasa taala* which has 13.125 *angulas* for face length and 12.5 *angulas* for face breath. Our proportion is based on this whereas the northern texts usually propose 12 *angulas* for face breadth also.

THE ARTISTS AND ARTISANS

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Definition of the Artists and Artisans

By artists are meant here not only the painters but also the potters, the ivory carvers etc. The artisans are usually the goldsmiths, blacksmiths, brass-smiths, carpenters and stone masons. This paper tries to trace their exact position in the social set up of the ancient Tamilnadu.

In the Pre-historical period

The knowledge of manufacturing pottery and polished implements formed the nucleus for the Neolithic civilization. People of the Neolithic period knew to produce burnt clay vessels and implements of stone and metal.

During the pre-historic period the use of brass and iron for making vessels and implements was on the increase. The findings at Adiccanallur in Tirunelveli district clearly attest the existence of brass vessels and iron implements during the first millenium B.C. in Tamilnadu. They indirectly indicate that there were blacksmiths for manufacturing steel weapons likes words, daggers and trisulas, and brass-smiths for making brass vessels, and metal sculptors for casting bronze images.

It is understood that the potters of the pre-historic period had produced different wares such as black-ware, russet coated ware and black and red ware. They were also able to produce terracotta figures. The potters had also drawn exquisite paintings on pottery. The ivory carvers had produced shell bangles with attractive decorations and the carpenters had made out arrow heads for hunting. The goldsmiths had made excellent ornaments such as rings, pendants, chains, diadems etc. as gleaned from the pre-historic findings found at Vellalur in Coimbatore district and other places in Tamilnadu.

There were efficient artists in the pre-historic period to draw excellent paintings on rock walls. The colour scheme found in the paintings show their skill in the arts of painting and making of paints.

In the Sangam Age

In the well organised society of the Sangam age the artists and artisans had emerged as integral members of the society. Their way of life is well described in

the Sangam literature. It is said that the smiths had the foot-operated bellows for kindling fire and they annealed the redhot iron lump in cisterns of water; sparks (compared to small flowers) flew from their anvil when they were at work. The carpenters are said to have used axes, chisels, vices and pliers in their job. They had fashioned the plough for the fields, the doors for the houses, the carts for the roads and even the harps and lyres for the leisure hour. Learned architects were also there. They knew astrology as well. They constructed the buildings, palaces and temples. They established cities by applying the advanced techniques of town planning.

It is understood that the goldsmith had used the touch-stone known as *kattalhaikkal* for testing the gold while the brassiers had applied themselves to making copper and bronze vessels and chiselled them to shape and surface brilliance. The pearl strand makers had dexterously polished the pearls and perforated them. The shell slicers who were mostly drawn from the indigent and uneducated brahmin class had made bangles from conch.

The potters are said to have laid the dough of kneaded clay on the rotating wheel, beat and activated it by a stick. They wore garlands of *nocci* seed (which was apparently used for burnishing pottery, as is done even to-day) and took active part in folk arts and entertainments. They had also created stucco-figures.

The Historical Period

With regard to the position of the artists and artisans of the historical period it is felt that it would be useful to describe them in their individual capacity. The position of the carpenter could be examined first.

The Carpenter

The word Taccan was commonly used for carpenter, stone mason and architect. During the Sangam period, the carpenter was called *maramkol taccan*. The epigraphs assignable to 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. refer to the stone mason who carved rock-beds for jain ascetics, as *taccan*. Even those who engraved letters on copper plates and stones were also termed as *taccan*. *Taccan* claims that he is the descendant of the Stapatikula. The earliest reference to Stapatikula is found in a 9th century copper plate.

Taccan lived in an *aimpanaicceri* with other kinds of artisans. He was granted land by the villagers.

It is believed that one Kevata Peruntaccan was one of the carpenters who had created the temples at Mamallapuram. Paramesvara taksha of Pataka was the architect who built the Sundaravaradapperumal temple at Uttiramerur. He was supreme among the architects versed in *Vāstu Vidya*.

Taccan was engaged not only in engraving the royal charters and in the construction of temples but also in establishing irrigational sluices and in repairing the boats.

The taccar were learned in Vastu Vidya and agamic rules since construction of the temples had to conform to the agamic principles.

It is gleaned from inscriptions that in every village there was a portion of land as *taccarkani* or acaryakkani. This land had been assigned to the taccan. During the Chola period the artisan taccan was in a position to donate lands to the temples. In one instance Senanayakakoyirperumtaccan who had land in Colakeralanallur had endowed some land as Tiruvilakkuppuram (for lighting lamps) to the temple of Tiruvenkadu Udaiyar.

The Blacksmith

Sangam literature refers to the blacksmith as *karungaikollan*. The royal charters of Pāndya kings were engraved by Perumpanaikarar. Perumpanaikarar may mean the possesser of Perumpanai i.e. the lathe of the blacksmith. Velvikkudi, Sinnamanur and Sīvaramangalam copper plates were all written by Perumpanaikarar. The scribe and the composer of the Tamil portion of Dalavaipuram copper plates were specifically mentioned as *kollar* i.e. blacksmiths.

The Sanskrit portion of this grant describes that Nakkan who was the foremost among the karmaar of the king and the master of all *silpis*, had engraved them. The Tamil portion say that the scribe of this chart was Nakkan who came from the family of those who had carved bow, tiger and two fishes on the golden mountain, Imayam and the father of one who composed Prasasti-sesham of this chart.

The composer of Prasasti-sesham of this chart was by name Pandimarayapperumkollan alias Srivallavan. While the Sanskrit portion praises him in about two lines saying that he was a *kavi* (poet), an *alankār* to Pandiya Dravidar (Dravidar, Tamilar), the important among karmar and one who was always remembering the feet of Siva, the Tamil portion pays him a glowing tribute. It states that he was a descendent of those who made the axe at the request of Siva, a descendent of Sage Manu, was also called as Panditadasan, belonged to South Vaigai nadu, was the chieftain of Kuntur, had several titles such as Tamilabharanan and whose name was Pandimarayapperunkollan. In recognition of their service, the poet and the scribe were awarded the lands named Kannan Kiranvayakkal and Somaci Vayakkal along with three wells.

The copper plates of Ay king Kokkarunandadakkan, the feudatory of Pandya king were also written by one Srivallavapperumpanaikaran alias Aviyalanradakkan. He is also said to have supplied war implements to the king.

During the Chola period kollar were also in a good position, able to make endowments to the temples. An individual Kollan Kumaranicalan alias Viranaranapperumkollan of Neduvayil in Karaikkatticennivalakkurram had gifted forty five sheep for burning a lamp in the day time in the temple of Tirumalavadi Mahadevar.

The Goldsmith

Sangam literature refers to the goldsmith as Ponseykollar. Ponseykollar appears as an important character in *Silappadhikaram*. Alagarmalai tamil inscription of 2-1st Century B.C. refers to the goldsmith as Ponkolavan. But later inscriptions call them as tattar.

No reference is found about tattar in the Pallava period. But there were varieties of ornaments as gleaned from sculptures and inscriptions. These ornaments should certainly have been made by the goldsmiths.

During the Chola period there were some goldsmiths who made the ornaments only to the royal personages. They seem to have been appointed by the government. Kuttan Kanavati alias Kshatriya sikamanipperuntattan was the superintending goldsmith in the time of Rajaraja I. He is said to have belonged the Sirudanam of Rajaraja.

The temples also had their own goldsmiths. Lokamadevisvaram temple built by Dantisaktivitanki alias Lokamadevi, queen of Rajaraja I, at Tiruvaiyaru had appointed Sakkadi Camutaiyan alias Sembiyanmadevipperuntattan as its tattar on the specific instruction of Lokamadevi and assigned its land tattar-ponceykani to him in 1016 A.D.

There was a stone called Ponnarindan for testing the gold during the time of Parantaka Chola. This may be the same as *kattalaikkal* prevalent in the Sangam age.

An inscription dated in 1387 A.D. narrates an interesting account of a goldsmith who was involved in a forgery case. It registers that the accountant Kulala Ambalattaduvan alias Ayirattelunurruvan Muvendavelan had deliberately engraved on a stone stating that he had a house-site and some privileges in the village with the help of the goldsmith Ayirattelunurruvan and the mason Alaivayugandan while he knew definitely that he had no such right; having made this act known Ambalattaduvan had run away. On knowing this the goldsmith and the mason were ex-communicated by their own people. The more interesting point to be noted here is the punishment awarded to the goldsmith and mason by their own fellow men.

There was a great poet of the goldsmith clan in the 16th Century,a native of Nallur, who wrote the *Harichandra Purana* in 1524 A.D.

The Brass-Smith

Sangam literature refers to brassiers also. It refers to them as Kannan. The first epigraphical reference comes from the copper plates of Aparajita. The copper-plates found at Velanjeri mention that the royal seal was embossed by Videlviduku Perunkannan. In recognition of his service he was gifted one share of land.

The next reference is found in the inscription of Rajaraja I from Tanjavur. Amonga number of artisans and others appointed to the temple of Rajarajesvaram by Rajaraja, a brassier's name also is found. He is mentioned as Idaikkaraikari alias Kshatriyasikhamanipperunkannan. He received one share as his remuneration.

The Stone Mason

It is not easy to distinguish the stone mason from the carpenter, because in all early epigraphs the person who worked on stone is mentioned as *taccan*. A few references mention the stone mason distinctly as *silpa acaryan* i.e. the carpenter who produces silpas. But the word silpi stands common to all the five artisans. They all claim to have belonged to *silpikula*.

The Sanskrit portion of the Dalavaipuram Copper-plates states that this grant had been engraved by Nakkan who was the foremost among the karmar of the king and the master of all silpis while the Tamil portion states that they had descended from the family of those who had carved the bow, tiger and two fishes –emblems of the three crowned monarches, Chera, Chola and Pandya on the golden mountain, Imayam. By analysing these two portions one can easily understand that the word silpi here means the person who works on stone.

These silpis had also got lands in recognition of their service. The lands given to them were called as *Silpacaryakkani*. Alangudi, a village in Trichy District had possessed a portion of land as silpacaryakkani and was assigned to Sanduyan Udaiyan alias Sirilango Acariyan during the time of Rajaraja II in 1174 A.D. This Sanduyan Udaiyan alias Sirilango Acariyan might have been a silpacariya.

As these stone masons were temple architects they knew every part of the temples including the secret chambers. Hence their help was sought by the miscreants for stealing the temple ornaments and for forgery. An inscription of Srivirapandya states that the ornaments of Tirunalkunramudaiyar temple had been found stolen. On enquiry Kunran Cherundivanapperumal alias Edirilicolappattan and the mason of that village were found to have stolen them.

The miserable position of a stone mason is revealed from an inscription, wherein it is stated that a stone mason, his wife and their four sons were sold out as *adimai* (i.e. slaves) in 1219 A.D.

During the Vijayanagar period it is understood that the stone masons were highly honoured. In some places their images were installed in a prominent place in the temples. The figures found on the northern gopura of Chidambaram temple are really of stone masons; the label inscriptions mention them as acaris.

The Painter

There are copious references about paintings and the painters in the classical literature. Every ruling monarch of the ancient period had encouraged the art of painting. They were even personally interested in drawing paintings. The Pallava king, Mahendravarman is said to have been a great patron of art and he himself might have been an efficient painter as he is called in his inscriptions as *Citrakarappuli* tiger in painting.

There are a number of valuable paintings still preserved in Tamilnadu. For example the paintings at Kailasanathar temple are as important as the Ajanta paintings.

But the way of life of the artists who drew these marvellous paintings could not be known from the inscriptions. In no plaee is the name of the artist written; a unique exception is an 18th Century painting at Kuricci in Tanjavur district.

Madhavi is mentioned in *Silappadikaram* to have mastered "Oviyaccennul', the text on paintings. But that text is not available now. One can find excellent colour combination in the Pallava as well as Chola paintings. It is still a puzzle as to how they prepared such colours.

The Potters

As stated earlier potters were greatly patronized by the Sangam Society. They produced not only the house vessels but also the urns in which the dead bodies were placed for interring into the earth.

The potters were known as '*Vetko*' i.e. vel + ko. Vel means earth and ko stands for king, hence the king of the earth, since they use clay to manufacture vessels.

They were also called *kuyavar*. As they produce the vessels by shaping pots from clay balls, they may have been called so. These two terms are found in inscriptions also.

The expert potters were called as Perunkusavan. Rajaraja had appointed eleven potters to supply pots to the kitchen of the great temple and paid six shares to them. The street where these potters lived is also stated as Surasikhamanip-perunteru.

In some instances it is found that the potters had acted as scribes for writing the transactions of the villagers. In 1110 A.D. during the period of Kulottunga Chola I, a gift of 6 ma of land was made by the sabha of Panaiyur. This transaction was written by the order of the Sabha by Nurrenman Pakkaradevan, the potter of Panaiyur.

Other Artisans

There were other artisans also like conch slicer and *ratnam* (gem) setter. The conch slicers had produced bangles while the ratnam setters had made ornaments by inlaying ratnam.

SITTANNAVASAL AND TANJORE PAINTINGS: THE TRADITION THEY REVEALED IN RESPECT OF TECHNIQUE AND TREATMENT

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Art, a collaboration between God and man, raising him to the exclusive band of creators and plunging him deeply within and around his handiwork, is a unique result of a unique temperament with its beauty derived from immutable disconcern of his environment. When early man stencilled an impression with his outstretched hands on the dark wall of the cave, he was deliberately making his own mark on the world around him bringing about the bright ideas of chronicling, vision and creation. This story of art has been largely the story of man's continuing search of meaningful marks for shape, movement and image, that can most eloquently express in his experience of the inner and outer world, resulting in the enlargement and perpetuation. Such a man, bestowed with reason, had always been a great thinker. When absorbed in his surroundings, he fell into long reveries, and these were his finest hours. So long as the reveries lasted, he was pondering, imagining and visualising the shape of things to come, according to his wishes and desires about the domestic cravings and comforts in life. It is in this mood that mankind had invented the necessities.

Another characteristic trait of mankind, born out of his innate desire for creation is, his instinct of self-preservation. He had to struggle hard for self-preservation in the surrounding wilderness to escape the perils that abounded in the shape of furies of animal and natural kingdoms. This thought of victory over the sorrounding adversaries and adversities made him discover new and lasting methods to overcome them. But, even amidst the thrill of such struggles for self-preservation, his natural instincts prevailed. He wanted to forget his surroundings and engage himself in his reveries and day dreaming. This led to his hobbies and pastimes.

It is not without reason to assume that man's vanity also contributed in his creation, Vanity always derived pleasure and satisfaction from appreciation and praise. It is this ego that had stood its ground in every creator to do something out of the ordinary. Creation motivated by different desires resulted knowingly or unknowingly in chronicling his present for the future and preserving them for the posterity.

Call it by whatever name, these instincts found their vent in different forms and, in fact, they were the foundation of the birth of fine arts and more particularly 'plastic and graphic arts'. Born thus, the Arts, improved from stage to stage and from age to age in different forms and styles from the initial crude lines to the superfine form of tints of today. It is the theory of naturalists and anthropologists that mankind evolved simultaneously and contemporaneously in different parts of the world according to the climatic conditions. As the various aborigines, progressed in the realisation of their reveries and attained various stages of development, they left the landmarks of their life and their hobbies, particularly the remnants of their fine arts for the benefit of generations to come.

We see throughout the world several pieces of Art treasures, antiquities and ancient monuments are left behind by ancient peoples in the various stages of civilization. To mention a few, Sittannavasal in South India, Ajanta in North India, Sigriya in Ceylon and Sistine chapel in Europe are some of them.

The very first work of visual art created on the Indian sub-continent was prehistoric cave paintings. The paintings most often depict animals and hunting scenes. The pigments used were all natural mineral colours. Some pigments were applied directly with fingers while others were brushed on with plant fibre or some other crude, brushlike object.

Painting deserves an explanation at this juncture. It is in the context of fine arts, the application of colour to a surface for the purpose of adding attraction to images. Human psychology is such that visual attraction as well as glamour is always required to impress the main theme upon the minds. That is why from the bare outline of a picture, images are created by application of colours to attract the attention. The choice of colours normally reflect the whims, fancies and tastes of the artists. But, tradition has regulated the use of colours to choice subjects and it has almost evolved into a formula to distinguish and demarcate the various themes and ideas. While in the western Art the style was invariably natural, in Indian Art the colours have been used philosophically to personify the virtues, traits and characteristics. Each colour had its own meaning when applied to different forms. For example, yellow—pure soul, black—wicked. By such creation of images the artist derived satisfaction not only of his having created a picture to his liking, taste and imagination but also he derived satisfaction in that he was able to convey the significance and inner meaning of his creation.

In ancient India, the art of painting and sculpture was developed and inspired by religion. All arts like all stages of life are embodied by religion. Indian Art is life suffixed by religion and philosophy. Art was dedicated to producing objects of worship in a life ordered by faith. Indian Art of all periods has been close to life both divine and traditional.

The painting of the West is an art of 'mass' and that of the East especially India is an art of 'Line'. The western artist conceives his composition in contiguous planes of light and shade and colour. Indian painters express form through a convention—the convention of pure lines and in the manipulation and the quality of this line, the Indian artist is supreme.

The painting was symbolic in its expression of the spiritual life of India. The dominant note was religion and the chief feature was mysticism. The painter as a priest, learnt religion, with his art. The traditional artist of India was considered to be the great descendent of the Lord of Arts—*Visvakarma*. *Visvakarma* was well versed in all arts, a man of all round genius. He was an architect, a painter, a sculptor with a knowledge of dancing, music and philosophy. So the paintings of India are the sculptor's paintings closely related to the art of dancing. There was no separate group of artists for paintings alone.

There are six limbs of paintings described in Vatsyayana's *Kamasutra Rupa Bhedha* (The knowledge of appreciation), *Pramanam* (The correct proportion, measure and structure), *Bhava* (Action of feeling on forms) *Lavanya Yojanam* (Infusion of grace, artistic representation), *Sadrisyam* (Similitude), *Varnikbhanga* (Artistic manner of using brushes and colours). All these principles and laws were faithfully followed in Indian paintings.

The *Chitralakshanas*—this theory of painting deals with pictorial art in the religious sense connecting them with the images of gods.

Vinaya Pithaka a Buddhist Text of 3rd–4th century B.C. refers in many places to the pleasure houses containg picture halls which were adorned with painted figures and decorative patterns. Painted halls are also described in Mahabharata and Ramayana. These early mural paintings may be assumed to be the proto-type of the carved and painted picture galleries of the subsequent periods of the Buddhist Art, such as the painted cave temples of Ajanta situated now in Maharashtra State near Aurangabad.

There are 30 caves chiselled out of solid rock in a semi-circular fashion. The execution covers a period of eight centuries from 2nd century B.C. to 7th century A.D. The painters of Ajanta had realised the true glory of Buddha, the story of whose life was adapted by them as a motif to explain the external pattern of human life. These wall paintings of Buddhist caves represent a comprehensive record of religious, social and cultural life of the people and their attitude towards life.

The paintings of Bagh caves in Madhya Pradesh correspond to those paintings of Ajanta, but, they are more earthly and more human than those at Ajanta while the earliest Brahmanical paintings are the fragments found in Badami caves. Here

the modelling is much more sensitive in texture and expression while the outline is soft and elastic.

Next series of all paintings to survive are at Ellora, a site of great importance and sanctity. A number of Hindu, Buddhist and Jain temples were excavated from the living rocks. The most impressive of these is the Kailasanatha temple, where fragments of paintings on the ceilings and walls of the different parts are seen. The Ellora paintings are a departute from the classical norm of Ajanta paintings. They can be very well considered as the medieval character of Indian painting.

Tamils, so we know, have unique characteristics of their own and it is not surprising that they had made advancements by leaps and bounds in the field of fine-arts ; relics and remnants of which are found throughout the country. One is at a loss of imagination at the magnitude of relics that had been swallowed by nature when the sea suddenly rose in rage and embraced into its fold the major portion of the Lemuria continent, the birth place of ancient Tamil and at a later stage the Poompuhar and Mahabalipuram parts of the Tamil Nadu. At least nature had been magnanimous to leave the present Tamil country untouched so that the generations of Tamils were able to proudly exhibit their art treasures.

Tamil nadu is the abode of fine arts specially paintings from time immemorial. Kings and religious heads of Tamil nadu patronised and developed fine arts, particularly painting as the media of their ideologies. Numerous literary evidences are also found in Sangam and other literature. We can see evidences of painting in Tolkappyam. Tamilians expressed their thoughts through paintings from the very early centuries. These were called *Oovia Eluttu.* The word *Eluttu* itself signifies *Ooviam*—painting. Even before 1800 years, it seems that there was a text book on painting. In *Manimekalai* which is considered to be an early Buddhist epic, it is clearly noted that Madhavi, a classical dancer was trained fully in the art of painting. The line goes

"Oovia chennul urai nur kidakkaiyum
KaTTuth turai poogia PoTTodi nangai"[1]

There was a reference of a drawing without colour as *Punaiya Oooviam*[2]– outline drawing. In *Nedunalvadai,* a literary piece of the 2nd century B.C. it was stated that the ceilings in the queen's bed room were beautifully painted. The same *Nedunalvadai* describes the picture gallery of a Pandiya king, calling it *Chitra Madam*[3]

Pari Padal[4] also described wall paintings representing the mythological story of Indira and Akalikai. We are coming across so many evidences regarding the existence of wall paintings in *Pattinappalai, Madurai Kanchi, Nattrinai, Kuruntohai, Kalithogai* and *Silapathikaram;* Oooviam, Ooviyar, Kannul vinaingar, Vattigai ceiti, Eluttunilai maadam, Eluttunilai mandapam, Chittirakuudam, etc.

Except these the following lines occurred in the *Nannul*–a grammar of the 13th century.

> Maadakku chitiramum maanagarkku goopuramum.... and
> Chitrappaavai in attaha adangi.

These show that the ancient people attached more importance to painting. The painters' brush was called *turigai, tugaligai* and *vattigai.* The palet was referred to as "Vattigai palagai". The traditional development of wall painting in South India is well defined in a proverb : *Chuvarai vaillalavo chittiram varaital veendum.*

It is an acknowledged fact that the monumental paintings of South India start from the early Pallava dynasty, i.e., from 7th century. A.D. Mahendravarman-I a Pallava emperor of the period was known as *Vichitra Chitta* (the curious art minded one) and *Chitrakara Puli* (a tiger among painters). The traces of line and colour in some temples like those at Mamandur show a great phase of paintings of the time of Mahendravarman.

Towards the end of the 7th century A.D., the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram was constructed by another great Pallava king Rajasimha. It is interesting to learn that Queen Rangapathaka the consort of Rajasimha, evinced great interest in the field of art and helped her husband to come out with flying colours in his historical and epoch making ventures. The paintings of the Kailasanatha temple stand as a peerless testimony of the Pallava period.

The painting representing Somaskanda has revealed the wonderful flourish of the line drawings composing figures of seated Siva and Parvati with baby Skanda in the centre and the *ganas* of Siva on one side at his foot and a charming attendant of Parvati beside her at the edge of her seat. Even at Panamalai belonging to the same age, we see paintings of a beautiful goddess with a crown on her head and an umbrella held over her head.

Pandiyas who were the contemporaries of the Pallavas developed the same character in the art of painting.

Sittannavasal Paintings

Of the many examples of South Indian painting, those at Sittannavasal stand unique in character and style.

Sittannavasal paintings are of recent origin compared to the heritage of the Tamils. In the history of mankind, particularly the Tamil race, the period 600-700 A.D. is not a very remote past but a very recent one giving the evidence of the skill, ability, appreciation and creativity of the fine art of painting.

The beautiful frescoes at Sittannavasal were first discovered by Mr. Gopinatha Rao accidentally and public attention to the same was drawn by Prof.Dubreuil. The dancing girls from the Sittannavasal frescoes are marvellous and are executed in a very superb style which excelled all the contemporary paintings of the age.

Sittannavasal (10° 36' N. 28° 43' S) is a village about 15 kms. northwest of Pudukkottai, headquarters of the former Pudukkottai District. The Tamil name equivalent to Sittannavasal is *SIR ANNAL-VAYIL*. It means literally the abode of great men or Siddhar. Here is seen a hillock running north to south and about 200 feet high on the eastern edge of which there is a natural cavern. In this cavern, altogether seventeen beds were scooped out from the surfaces of the rock in different periods. All of them were meant for the Siddhar.

On the western side of the hillock there is still another Jaina cave and this rock-cut edifice was most probably constructed by the Pallava ruler Mahendra varman-I (A.D. 600-630) which in style and technique very much resembles the identical construction at Mandagappattu and Mamandur.

The original plan of this cave temple consists of a sanctum-sanctorum (*Garbagraha*) with a rectangular portico (*Ardha mandapa*) in front and a projected architrave supported by two pillars while an inscription[5] on the facade informs us about a Jaina Acharya named Ilam Gautaman who had renovated and embellished the *ardha mandapa* and added a *muka mandapa* during the reign of the Pandiyan King Sreemara Sree Vallaba (C. A.D. 815-865) also known as Avanipasekara. Thus we see that this cave temple underwent two phases of constructions and in each phase we have reasons to believe that the entire body of the temple excluding the floor levels was profusely painted. The earlier paintings which can be ascribed to Mahendravarman was thus overlapped in most occasions by the painting of the period of Ilam Gautaman. The following Tamil inscription supports the facts.

Tiruntiya perumpugal devadarisanattu
Arunthavamunivanaipporutselvan
Aranikilar nilamai Ilan Gautaman enum
Valankelu Tirunagar Madurai Asiriyan
Avanipa sekara seer kelu sengol Srivallaban.[6]

The Pallava influence, judging by the plan of construction, the shape of pillars, the lotus medallions carved on the pilasters of the niches on either side of the sanctum-sanctorum and other details of the architecture characteristic to Mahendravarman's style is seen here. From this we can understand that the cave temple was originally a rectangular cell with reliefs and an unfinished ardhamandapa in front. It was later renovated during the reign of the Pandiyan king Avanipasekara by the Jaina Acharya in the 9th century. Further strength is lent to this view

by examination of the paintings on the ceiling. In 1942,[7] while Dr. S. Paramasivam and K. R. Srinivasan were engaged in cleaning the paintings, they noticed a patch of an old painting, representing conventional carpet designs, over which a new layer of painting was superimposed. The superimposed layer was probably the work of Ilam Gautaman. The new layer is laid over a ground of plaster over which the paintings that we see today are put up. These paintings it will be seen are of a much later period and furnish a connected link between Ajanta and the Tanjore paintings of the Chola period. According to M. S. Sundara Sarma,[8] the whole of the cave must have originally been covered with paintings, for traces of them could be seen everywhere. Even the sculptures exhibit traces of plaster and colour. On account of age and partly age long negligence and indifference we have only few paintings that have become darkened and faded. Besides, the plaster having fallen out at several places, the remaining part is also darkened by smoke from fire lit in the cave by resting monks.

This cave temple is a simple and elegant one measuring 24 feet by 12 feet and the height of the ceiling from the floor is about 11 feet. It consists of a cubical sanctum-sanctorum (garbagraha) with a rectangular veranda in front, facing west. The facade of this veranda consists of the pillars, a cubical top and bottom with an octagonal belt between the cubical parts and two pilasters of the same type, one at either end, all supporting corbels with roll ornamentations and a medium flat hand over which runs the architrave beam with a projecting cornice (*Kapotam*). On either side of the garbagraha is a niche in which is shown a sealed figure of a Jaina Tirthankara carved in high relief almost life size. There is a flight of two steps with surual *Yali* (Gargoyle), balustrades leading to the *garbhagraha*. On the north and south walls of *ardha mandapa* are niches. The southern niche contains a crude figure in bas relief seated in *Dhyana* pose with a five hooded serpent above the head. The figure represented is obviously Parsvanatha, the 23rd Tirthankara. A similar niche on the northern side of the veranda shows a figure in the same dhyana pose with a single umbrella. An inscription on the bottom of the pillar reads as Tiruvasiriyan.

After entering the sanctum-sanctorum we see on its back wall three bas-reliefs in a row, two of which represent Jaina Tirthankaras. There are triple umbrellas (*Mukkudai*) over their heads on the north and in the centre, denoting that they are certainly Tirthankaras, while there is only one umbrella over the head of one on the south. This may mean that he is just an acharya like the figure in the veranda with a single umbrella. On the ceiling of the sanctum-sanctorum there is a conspicuous wheel, representing Vijaya Chakra or Dharma Chakra of Jaina.

The ceiling of the sanctum-sanctorum and veranda contains paintings. The paintings present the following divisions.

I. A canopy of carpet design is over the Parsavanatha's niche, with full bloom lotus flowers and buds against the background of leaves.

II. The ceiling on the north over the niche of Tiruvasiriyan contains a similar canopy of carpet-design with the background of circular floral designs.

III. The ceiling of the sanctum has a carpet pattern canopy over the sculptures on the back wall with ornamental borders and pattern of squares and circular within. The circular present crosses with two figures above and two lions below, while the interior of the square contains circular floral design.

IV. On the ceiling of the shrine and veranda, the most important theme is a lotus pond with flowers, animals and men etc.

V. The bottom side of the beam divided into three spaces between corbels shows on one face, a canopy with lotus and foliage issuing from makara heads and on the other two faces canopy designs of conventional floral patterns.

VI. There are paintings on the rolls of the corbels as well as the medium bands of two central corbels showing foliage and lotus buds, while two different panels are marked by springs of foliage. The facade beam presents floral design, painted bands and parallelograms coming to the cornice above the facade. We notice that the under surface is divided into five parts by four bands. The central area is painted with the canopy of lotus flowers and lilies, the bands on either side of this showing figures of hamsas. The bands at the two ends are filled with canopies of conventional floral pattern.

VII. Then on the pillars of the facade are painted two dancing apsaras.

VIII. The painting on the top of the southern pillar reveals on its northern face, a king with his queen standing behind him, while a man is in front.

Much of the paintings on the face of the pillars, pilasters on the walls and the painted stucco on the roughly finished sculptures is lost.

Originally the entire cave temple including the sculptures was covered with plaster and then painted. The paintings now extant are found on the ceiling, beams and the tops of the pillars. M. S. Sundara Sarma is of the view that the cave was originally intended to be painted.

On the ceiling of the sanctum is carved a conspicuous wheel which though resembling Buddha's *dharmachakra*, actually represents the Vijaya Chakra of Jaina. The colour scheme of the ceiling consists of two patterns one geometric and the other floral. The geometrical pattern which occupies less space than the floral spreads over a part of the three figures carved on the back wall. The subject matter

of the geometric pattern is the dharmachakra in which pairs of Gautama Gandharas in miniature forms are grouped in places formed by meandering bands and superimposed by a pair of lions.

The meandering bands lead to circular and square geometric insets. Evidently the subject matter is dharmopadesa of the Tirthankara and the interpretation of the *Divyadhvani* that emanated from the Tirthankara by the two Gautama Ganadharas during the Samavasarana of the Jains.

The geometric pattern is highly conventionalised as one can notice in Indrasabha at Ellora, which is a Jaina cave of the 9th century A. D. This design repeats in various insets formed by intertwining bands and is contemporaneous with the adjoining floral design.

The renovator during the period of Pandiyas painted scenes such as a delightful lotus pond in the rest of the ceiling of the sanctum-sanctorum and the veranda. In the picture is seen a pond full of lotuses, lilies, men, animals etc.

The picture depicts a pond in its natural environment. The scene presented is peaceful, tranquil and serene in nature with the intermingling of flora and fauna in their natural setting. The lotuses are in different stages of blooming. The lilies present a different picture. The lotus. natural consort-the Sun is received with joy by them. On the other hand lilies appear to be gloomy on account of the disappearance of their counter-part the moon. Varieties of fishes are depicted in the picture. The *Makara* also finds a place. Elephants have entered the pond to enjoy the fun and beauty. The tusker is shown plucking a full bloom lotus, with its trunk. Another elephant is enjoying itself by spurting water all over the place. The third elephant happens to be a silent spectator. Two buffaloes, one in a belligeraent mood with rolled out eyes and haughty posture appears to look with scorn and anger on the intruder, whereas the other buffaloe is enjoying itself by immersing in the mud and water of the pond. Two sets of birds are depicted. A mother bird and her little one on one side. The little one seems to be agitated and apprehensive at some disturbance and is fluttering its tiny wings with open beak, as if appealing to its mother for assurance and protection. The mother bird with angry eyes and in a fighting posture is looking in the direction of the intrusion and at the same time appears to console and reassure the younger one, by its side. In a different place other pairs of birds are making love to one another and appear not to be distracted by the disturbance and tumult in the pond caused by the elephants, buffaloes and human beings. The fishes jump over here and there. The various postures of the fishes show that their natural habit is being disturbed by others and, as if seeking a place of security, are jumping from one place to another. The eyes of the Makara fish, which is akin to that of a human being are attractive and beautiful. It is little wonder that the ancient poets have compared

these eyes to the eyes of the deity Meenalosani or Meenakshi. Personally on facing this vivid perception of the lotus pond with all its details, I feel it would represent the ecstasy, one of the treasures of the Jaina. This picture also depicts in full the natural environment prevailing in the pond in the forest. Added to these attractions, the artist has not even lost sight of the stems of the lotus or lilies, they intertwine in the available pace and provide a background of contrast with the entire picture. The artist has also brought about the differences in the stems of the lotus and lillies by showing dots in the lotus stems. The leaves of both lotus and lily are green and full and they offer the support and strength to the flowers. The leaves are also portrayed with great beauty. It is in this calm serene lotus pond the artist has portrayed three *bhavyas* with an ascetic face, saintly looks and an impressingly attractive and magnetic personality. Though they are adorned with no jewels, no extra clothing other than their usual *kaupinas*, they have got their charming look and personality. In one place, there is an elder *bhavya* with a younger bhavya by his side. They have entered the pond for their morning ritual and for the collection of flowers for their worship. The elder *bhavya* with a brown tan and sharp and serene eyes with arched eyebrows and long ear lobes in plucking a lotus with his right hand, while on his left hand, rests a basket with flowers already collected. The younger one with the yellow tan, also of great charm and attraction is holding in his left hand a lotus flower while the other hand is probably extended to receive the flowers that are collected by the elder. The respect, the regard and humility which is exhibited in him show that he is the disciple under the elder bhavya. Even their eyes tell the distinction. Another bhavya with the same brown tan, arched eye-brows, ascetic looks and long ear-lobes is holding a lily in his right hand and lotus in its left, apparently in a mood of satisfaction and contentment after the collection of these flowers. In short, the whole picture is of tremendous beauty bringing out the nature of man, the flowers and fauna in its own setting but at the same time revealing the interdependence of one another in the cycle of Mother Universe. The artist has portrayed the fanfare in the pond and at the same time there is nothing artificial or out of tune in the themes depicted and there is no room for unnatural imaginations running amuck. The conception of the artist is full of understanding of nature and the slight movements exhibited in the fishes, birds and animals display their natural habit and behaviour. There is also nothing out of place in the portrayal of the *bhavyas*, where characteristics are brought about with insight and understanding of their life style.

This scene is in consonance with the grammatical requirements mentioned in the *Chitra Sutra* chapters of the *Vishnudharmottara* or *Sivatatvaratnakara* and *Silpa Ratna*. It also conforms to the standards that we are accustomed to in respect of the present day compositions. In short it has life in it and illustrates the most important theme of Jainism, namely Samavasarana. It refers to the region of the tank, the

second Kathikabhumi (region) where the *bhavyas* or the good ones rejoice while washing themselves as they pass on from region to region in order to hear the discourse of the Lord in the Samavasarana structure.

The lotus tank scene has baffled identification. Dr. Dubruil[9] who with Gopinatha Rao discovered the paintings declared that this lotus tank was probably a scene from the religious history of Jaina which he himself admitted he did not know. Other writers such as Sarma[10] and Metha[11] did not agree with the view of Dubruil though they could not offer any better solution. S.R. Balasubramaniam[12] gave an identification which takes us a step further that the subject matter is from Jaina mythology. Ramachandran[13] is of the view that almost all the Jaina monuments and temple commonly represent this scene of Samavasarana.

A detailed description of Samavasarana is given under the painting in Tiruparuttikunram. In *Sripurana*, this region which is the second in Samavasarana is described as delightful with fishes, birds, animals, and men frolicking in it or playing in it. The bhavyas are said to get down into the tank, wash their feet and please themselves as best they can. And Sittannavasal paintings shows this tank region with those men pleasing themselves by gathering lotus flowers, while animals such as elephants, buffaloes and birds and fishes are frolicking about and pleasing themselves too as best they can. The pose and expression of bhavyas have a charm. Other writers too accept Ramachandran's view in this respect.

All these details are painted on a ground of plaster directly over the bare-rock surface. In the lotus pond, the leaves are green with black-outlines. There are red lotuses yellow stemmed with dark red outlines. The buffaloes and other animals are dark green with black outlines. Human figures are in red and yellow. The background is red in many places with beauty which compels attention. One of them is represented as of a deep red colour and the other two are orange in colour. The colour shows the merit of their souls as it is said that orange (*Pitalesyam*), white (Sukla lesyam) and red (Padma lesyam) are believed by the Jains to be the colours of pure souls, while black (Krishna lesyam) and indigo (Nila) and grey (Kapota lesyam) are appropriate with the wicked. According to Dubruil, the two bhavyas are of dark red colour and the third is of bright yellow. According to the colour theory of the Jains these bhavyas are the pure souls having the good fortune to attend the lord's discourse in the Samavasarana and have to pass through several regions before they reach their respective Koshthas in Lakshmivara Mandapa. Samavasarana is also the theme of the painting on the ceiling of the sanctum-sanctorum. So the lotus pond in Sittannavasal with all its details represents one of the attractive heavens.

The architrave over the pillars of the facade is painted on all sides. The bottom face of the architrave which is supported by the corbels of the veranda pillars

is exposed to view as in an aisle in three places between the corbels. The Central part reveals a canopy design with lotus and foliage issuing from designs of conventional floral patterns. The corbels which we already noticed as fitted with roll-ornamentations are painted red, green and yellow on the rolls. The medium band of the two central corbels are embellished by realistic lotus buds and foliage while those of the two outer pairs are similarly embellished with springs of foliage. The outer face of the beam, or to speak correctly the western face of the corbels and above, is decorated with foliage and flowers, conventional flowery designs and painted bands in circles, squares and parallelograms. The painter has not forgotten the cornice for its undersurface which is divided into five areas shows in the centre a canopy design with lotuses and lilies and, in bands on either side of this, hamsas with conventional plumage and, on the bands at the ends, canopies of conventional floral patterns.

The famous paintings of the two dancing *apsaras* are seen on the cubical parts of the pillar of facade. The dancing girls exhibit all the feminine charms, beauty and expressions, with poses within the grammatical prescriptions of Natya Sastra. The painting could not be identified due to its obliteration below the hip region.

The beauty and charm of the dancing girls is not the one of ordinry wayward (dancing girls) but have some divine attractions in them. They evolve the scene of bhakti and respect, unlike the vulgar physical emotions evolved by ordinary woman. The youth and exhuberance evince the divine lure in them. The artist has added fineness to the pictures by adorning them with ornaments. Though they have ornaments from head to foot, there is nothing out of place nor is their physical features marked. The ornaments only add attraction. Arched eye-brows, sharp eyes, long nose, purple lips and expressive looks all boast of the artist's expertise intelligence and knowledge. One figure is turned towards the left and the other to the right. Though the right had shown the 'abayahasta', the left had by its crossed posture reminds us of Lord Nataraja's arm. This may be the forerunner to the Nataraja of Chola period. This figure is adorned with the same ornaments, the face is bold, eyes are clear and sympathetic, the ornaments particularly the ear-rings are in rhythm to the tune of the dance.

The painting resembles the sculpture model in the Tanjavur temple of the 11th century A.D. The left hand should be taken as representing Lata Hasta, i.e., extended like creeper. The right hand of Rechita also here is held in Tripataka position. The painting is obliterated below the waist line. It is this painting that figures in almost all the writings of the earlier writers on Sittannavasal. The dancing apsaras is profusely decorated ; the ears have patrakundalas inserted in the distended ear lobes. The hair collected in a heavy *kondai* fashion behind has flowers tucked into it here and there. The hands have beautiful ornaments while the neck presents the close fitting Kanthi and necklaces of beads, one of them extending below the breasts.

Jasmine garlands and a fluttering scarf can be made out on her right. The outlines are in red while the body colour is yellow.

Both the dancing apsaras are treated with singular grace, their supple movements being rendered with ease and charm and sureness that could result only from the closest observation and aesthetic insight.

Prof. Dubreuil[14] was of the opinion that "This charming dancing girl is a *devadasi* of the temple, for, in the seventh century, the Jain and the Buddhists had come to terms with God with regard to the introduction of dancing girls into their austere religion".

Sundara Sarma[15] strongly denies the contention of Prof. Dubreuil regarding the symbolic significance of the apsara dancing girls.

Mehta[16] was so much attracted by these dancers, he burst out as follows : "It was left to the artists of southern India to crystallise into immortal form, the rhythm of dance and the energy of dynamic movement as seen respectively in the glorious figures of swaying apsaras, loaded with jewelled ornaments, broad-hipped, narrow-waisted, powerful and graceful as panthers and in the noble conception of Siva as Nataraja the Divine Dancer".

The two beautiful figures of the dancing girls probably represent the celestial damsels dancing on the professional path leading to the Samavasarana.

The two dancing figures tell us about the dance of creation in which we are to be optimistic because of the certainty of the gesture of the inner feelings which unfailingly lifts us up in cases of real need. That indeed was the outlook of the master painters of this cave at Sittannavasal.

On the northern face of the same southern pillar are the portraits of a king with his queen behind him in dark red outline and a man coloured red in front. There is in the green background what appears to be part of a pavilion of a chariot. This painting shows the king's love of portrait paintings. Portrait paintings have been encouraged and developed in South India in the early period itself. The figures of the king and queen though obliterated clearly reveal the subtle charm and grace. Mehta[17] identifies it as Ardhanarisvara or Mahadeva. We are unable to accept the identification of this figure as Ardhanarisvara or Mahadeva. The figure is surely that of a king accompanied by his wife whom he probably leads and who in this case may be the royal artist, Mahendravarman-I while the figure behind him, that of his wife and that he is in the act of accompanying her to the shrine. A chakravarthi suggests that as the Samavasarana forms the central theme of the painting the king may be assumed to be Indira leading his wife Sasi to the Samavasarana, but there is so much to be said in favour of this.

The above identifications would all be right only if the figures of the king and queen were noticed. There is also a figure of a man with distended earlobes, probably a mendicant on the extreme left, while it is possible to identify that part of what appears to be a pavilion behind the king as probably a chariot or part of a mandapa or a niche, it is clearly and equally possible to take in the hanging floral festoon and the figure of the mendicant like the man in front of the king as additional features that go into the set up of a shrine or a hall where the king and queen have come to pay their respects to the mendicant. If so, this scene may refer to Mahendravarma I paying respect to his Jaina Guru when he was a Jaina before he became a convert to Saivism. But, it makes it difficult for Mahendravarman I of the 7th century A.D. to be the person meant, through the excavation of this cave temple is primarily of the 7th century A.D. as its architectural details show and old Tamil inscription in verse on the surface of the rock near the southern end of the facade affords the needed key to our problem. As we saw already it refers to the reign of the Pandiyan King Sri Vallabha in whose reign a Jaina acharya from Madurai by name Ilam Gautaman renovated the Ardhamandapa and the Mukha Mandapa to it. It can be said that the Pandiyan King Sri Vallabha and his queen are the persons meant in the painting who are probably visiting the Jaina Acharya Ilam Gautaman also called Madurai Asiriyan at Sittannavasal. Sittannavasal was in the Pandiyan territory in the 9th century A.D. when Avanipasekhara Sri Vallabha ruled.

The king Avanipasekara is in the act of going with the queen to the shrine guided by Jaina Acharya Ilam Gauthaman.

But the paintings are true frescoes in nature, nearly 13 centuries after their creation and proclaim to the world their superb quality. The artist, the creator of these paintings had shown his skill right from the outline to the finishing touches. The usual method of drawing them is to begin with the outline in one of the three modes, Binduja stippling, Patra-cross hatching, Reikhika-fine lineation. The detailed study and investigation by eminent researchers and art investigators have failed to disclose any pouncing or stippling. But a firm outline had been drawn with red ochre. Whatever the method of drawing the outlining was it has been drawn in clear bold strokes with "thuriga"-brushes. After this outline the colours and tints have been added to the picture at appropriate places in an imposing manner to bring out the character and expression of the figures. And finally the black outline has been drawn after giving finishing touches to the painting as a whole. According to Sarma, the "Kumkum stem" which the Indian ladies use even today in their toilet is the theme that was used for the preliminary outline. The alkaline nature of the fresh ground converted the yellow and the stem into a rich red colour wich was then fixed by outlines of different appropriate colours, then parcelling out the ground for subsequent coats of colour. The outlines there emphasised with suitable tints here and

there when the surface moisture is one, but when the ground is still damp, light shading by hatching and stippling is indulged in and afterwards before the ground completely dries up, the whole surface is given a polish with small prepared pebbles.

The elegance and neatness of execution of these paintings bear an eloquent testimony to the method employed.

Investigations also revealed that the colours used are very few. But the artist is an expert in the mixing of the colours into a wide variety of shades. The colouring is by the use of natural colours. Blue, green, yellow, black and white pigments were used. The colour scheme is simple, harmonious, blended and attractive. The background contrast is given by the linear outlines of red and black. Though centuries have passed the colour shades and the creations have stood the test of time. The redoing of the pictures have not changed or affected the originality.

From a study of the painted stucco, it is clear that the technique adopted in the execution of these paintings is one of *fresco-secco* or painting in lime medium on plaster. The stucco is composed of the rough coat of lime plaster with a fine lime wash thereon. The lime wash was probably given while the plaster was still wet. The thickness of the stucco depends upon the nature of the surface of the wall and the ceilings.[18]

Some eminent scholars believe that the first layer of paintings found in the ceilings of the Sittannavasal cave temple are of fresco-secco technique whereas the second layer of paintings of the Pandiyas are of true fresco.

The only inert material used with lime is sand. Only local mineral colours were used. It is difficult to say exactly how these pigments were prepared and made ready for painting. Pigments sensitive to alkalis must not be used. The pigment layers were really superimposed. Lime was the binding medium. Glue or gum is used for the treatment of black colour.

Pigments

White	—	Lime
black	—	Carbon
yellow	—	Yellow ochre
red	—	Red ochre
blue	—	Lapiz lazuli or ultramarine
green	—	Terre verte
bluish green	—	A mixture of terre verte or ultramarine and Lapiz lazuli

Tanjavur Paintings

The Brihadisvara Temple at Tanjavur built by Rajaraja Chola in the 10th century A.D. proclaims the grandeur of the art during the Chola period. Till the recent past every one wondered at the architectural design, execution and conception of the Brihadisvara Temple. Still more wonderful are the paintings which have been recently discovered on the inner walls of the dark passage—surrounding the main shrine directly underneath the Vimana or the tower. The accidental discovery of these paintings by Thiru S.K. Govindaswamy has revealed the high standard of South Indian paintings. There should have been a regular picture gallery of the Chola in that place but for the upper imposition of another layer of paintings and pictures put up during the Nayak rule. Whatever may have been the motive of the Nayaks in doing the later paintings or undoing the earlier paintings by putting a screen on the new paintings, it has been felt that this action on the part of the Nayaks only helped to preserve the Chola glory of the past. It may be that the Tanjavur paintings are only a continuation of the Sittannavasal paintings in technique and style. Further there is no marked difference in conception, execution, form, ornament, action etc. But definitely there is improvement and progress towards perfection of the Sittannavasal tradition which had been obtained in an even and smooth manner in the Tanjavur paintings. Though the faith and religion expressed in both the paintings may be different, in that Sittannavasal reflected Jainism and Chola paintings Saivism, still the technique and style reflected in both are the same.

Undoubtedly there are some fragments of very early Chola paintings at Narthamalai, Malayadipatti and other places. In Vijayalaya Choleswaram at Narthamalai there are traces of paintings on the walls, showing the dancing figure of Kali and Gandharvas on the ceiling in the ante chamber. But the Brihadisvara Temple at Tanjavur is the real art treasure of the early Chola painters in their skill and proficiency.

The Sanctum Sanctorum of Brihadisvara Temple has a vestibule 1.88 ms. (6½') in width between the two parallel walls of the Garbagraha. Vestibule consists of 16 chambers. Each side of the vestibule measures 17.07 metres (56'). All the chambers have recesses. The wall surface of these recesses and in some, the adjoining jambs, have provided the lithic canvas for the Chola paintings.

On the northern wall one sees the artist's dexterity concerning the animal forms and the natural environments. Here the artist through his expertise depicts an everyday life in a forest. One sees the various animals such as lions, tigers, bears, monkeys, deer and reptiles like the python being protrayed in their characteristic moods and postures. Here a deer, its face turned the other side is seen scratching its back with its hind hoof. A monkey is perched on a densely foliated tree. There is also another monkey couple coaxing each other nearby. A porcupine with all its spines sticking out is seen standing by with a ferocious look as if ready to charge.

Another interesting feature in the exposition is the display of the Yali (a legendary animal form) with more lively decorations. Other birds like the peacock, duck and the owl are depicted in blithesome motion. These ducks remind us of the ones in Sittannavasal cave temple. All these elucidate the artist's proficiency. His treatment of the subject with the use of the right type of colour enlivens the scene. His handling of the bear especially it's face with the use of simplified lines to bring out the ferocity and agility of the beast should well be appreciated. In such a beautiful forest we see Siva as Bhikshantanar in his usual costumes and a dog. The figure is drawn with admirable skill.

On the western wall a huge panel displaying Siva in a Yogic posture watching two apsaras dancing to the beat of drums played by a dwarf Gana and Vishnu, while other celestials are floating about in the air sounding their musical instruments. There are also a few cardinal figures seated on the fore-ground watching the celestial display. In the above ostentation Siva as Yoga Dakshinamurti is squatting on a tiger skin in a delicate but firm manner with loin cloth tied around his waist. There is also the yoga-patta—ascetic's band of cloth across his waist and right knee. Siva as Yoga Dakshnamurti watching the dance of the two apsaras in all its grace, serenity and dignity. This painting of the Yoga Dakshnamurti with full ornamentation such as *kiritam* and *kundalam* is a scene of tranquil divinity.

The two lovely maidens who are dancing to the beat of the celestial orchestra are beautifully attired in pearls and other ornaments. Their execution of movements is powerful and supple with slender waist and graceful *mudra.* They are well worth watching by their distinguished audience.

In this aspect we should be proud to note tht the Indian artist is the only one who has shown the flying of celestial beings with bold strokes divulging the graceful bird-like movements, to display flying without the slightest use of wings or such like objects. In the paintings the Indian artist makes best use of what is allowed to him like the passing clouds, costumes and ornamentation, etc., to suggest their action of flying.

Another remarkable figure of a dancing apsara is also seen nearby. Her body twisted wonderfully with legs crossed, face turned backin the graceful mudras and the slender body forming a very beautiful *banga.*

A fine portrait of Rajaraja I and his guru Karuvur Thevar occupies the lower left corner showing them in a mood of reverence before the Lord Dakshinamurti. Rajaraja I and his Guru are depicted in various scenes. But the figures facing north are fresh in colour. The treatment of these paintings records the glory of the Chola portrait paintings.

The figure of the emperor resembles the beautiful Bodhisatva Padmapani—the great masterpiece of Ajanta paintings. It also resembles its early portrait paintings of the Pandiyan King at Sittannavasal. Only the head dress is different as Rajaraja wears only the jatamakuta, instead of the crown. This similarity may be due to the same artist class Viswakarma following the same Chitralakshnas whether in the North or the South.

Certain major events in the life of the Sundaramurthi Nayanar are also depicted on the same panel. The lower layer shows the marriage scene of Sundarar. Lord Siva is depicted as an old man who is creating a scene, and disturbing the tranquility of the function by claiming his rights over his servant Sundarar. Sundarar in his marital dress, looks very frustrated and irritated with apprehension and fear in his eyes over this untoward incident. He appears to be at a loss of words when the old man flourishes the palm–leaf apparently the document of rights over his slave Sundarar. The gathering at the marriage are in a state of shock and surprise at this unforeseen development. The marriage scene of Sundarar is characterised by realism and a deep insight into details.

Especially the cooking scene, for in stance, is shown with great attention to minute details like the actual cooking with utensils and vessels—a big water pot with handles and lid, a big bowl with a three legged basement, firewood, cauldron tilted down to earth—(*kanji vadithal*, men and women working in the kitchen, one is shown drinking the *kanji*), etc. The artists study of the minute details of human nature in everyday life is brought out in this picture.

From the wedding hall Sundarar plunges into the service of God and begin. his pilgrimage to the temples of the south ultimately ending at Thiruvanjaikkalams There he ascends to the heavens and attains oneness with God. This scene is really very interesting.

Saint Sundarar and Cheraman Perumal are shown below hurrying thither on an elephant Airavatha and a horse respectively ascending to Kailasa. The elephant is shown in the dark brown outline with white trappings outlined in red. Its divine origin is indicated by the trifurcated tusks. Cheraman is outlined in dark brown colour ; saddlery is in white and in red. It is humorous to see a figure clinging to the tail of an elephant in the hope of attaining heaven atleast in that short cut way, as some lazy people want to attain greatness without any effort. Here we see the deep understanding of human psychology by the Chola painters.

Another scene on the northern wall shows Cheraman worshipping Lord Siva in a temple in Thiruvankkjikalam. The surface of the flanking jambs have also been painted on delineating this fast moving and time spread theme. On the top, the scene of Kailasa is depicted symbolically, Siva and Parvati witnessing a dance by two celestial dancers. The presence of Nandi and Ganas is also there. There is a

female figure akin to the tribal belle standing at the extreme right reminiscent of the forest scene. There is also a male figure looking very much like a hunter.

On the other side of the wall, there is a dancing figure of Nataraja Adavallan in the hall of Chitsaba which is shown in magnificent dimensions. Next to that is the Kanakasabha in a smaller dimension to accommodate the emperor Rajaraja and his three queens in diminishing sizes draped in beautifully designed sarees in white, yellolow and red colours. The body is revealed through the transparent drapery and shows the mastery in craftmanship of the textiles of that period. The transparent character of the drapery reminds us of Lord Buddha's *Toga* of the Gupta period. The ornaments and various kinds of decorations with garlands enrich the scene. The Chitsabha and Kanaka Sabha were crowded by devotees and attendants in reverence and devotion. The dress of the Chola warriors is interesting. They wear full coat and a loin cloth on their waist. In another corner we see many storeyed buildings with tiled roof and 'kudu' decorations.

The figure of the dancing Nataraja, *Adavallan*, is exquisite in workmanship and enormous in proportion. The flower is natural in its beauty. The cobra wriggles and dangles from the divine body. The figure of Adavallan is the favourite God of the Chola artist. Th conception of Adavallan is a symbolic representation of the universe—Adavallan is the greatest creation by the Chola artists without any comparison.

This panel reveals the versatile genius of the Chola painters in handling the human form as well as other objects. On the opposite wall, there are some charming miniature figures of women in diminishing sizes, showing the perspective of distance.

The master artist of the Cholas excelled in his portrait of Lord Siva as Tiripurantaka. The southern surface of an inner wall facing north exhibits the pictures in the most graphic and dynamic manner. Tirupurantaka is shown as riding on a chariot driven by Brahma. He is accompanied by Lord Muruha on his peacock and Lord Ganesa on his mouse and Goddess Kali on her lion. Nandi is depicted as pilotting the chariot. Tiripurantaka is in a fighting posture on the platform of the two wheeled chariot. The wheels represented Surya and Chandra. His eight arms carry the traditional weapons like shield, bow, etc. One arm is taking an arrow from a quiver and a spare quiver is lying on the base of the chariot. The divine blend of different moods is fluently brought about in the facial expression of Tiripurantaka. In the eyes we can see anger and hate, but on the lips we see the ascetic smile. One cannot help wondering the combination of antithesis clearly expressed as in the face of Tiripurantaka. The flight of the asuras is depicted here more realistically ; in spite of the dissuasions of the women folk by their clinging to their arms, fear on their face and tears rolling down the cheek, the asuras are portrayed with fierce eyes, flaming hair, upraised weapons with their indomitable spirit

of do or die. One asura is seen lifting a big boulder to throw at Siva. The facial expressions reveal the hatred and fear of the Asura. The Asura guru Sukracharya is shown surrendering in despair to Lord Siva. Still lower down in the panel one Asura is shown carrying Sivalingam the symbolic representation of Siva Sakti. This picture indicates the result of the war between Tiripurantaka and asuras.

In the words of Sivaramamurthy this is a great masterpiece of Chola art—"the paintings at Brihadisvara Temple constitute the most valuable documents on the painter's art during the time of the early Cholas, all the grace of classical painting observed at Sittannavasal, Panamalai and Kañchipuram being continued in this fine series".

This is superb in its rhythmic composition, concept of form, and dimension. The emotions and sentiments depicted in this panel have no equal in any contemporary paintings. Majesty and valour are etched in the face of Tiripurantaka and gloominess and utter despair are brought out in the faces and postures of the female asuras. The Gods and the demi-gods at the feet of the Lord are looking on with wonder. A portrayal of the unusual and grostesque in the shape of the ganas is humorous.

It is no wonder, Rajaraja and his court painters chose this theme. Here what they depicted was not the story of the Tiripurantaka, but the story of himself-Rajaraja as a great warrior, a great benefactor and a king among kings.

Another interesting painting is Ravana lifting Kailasa. The ten headed Ravana is in a fine shade of green, who attempts to lift the mountain shown effectively by the neck bent low and a face showing strain with open mouth. Parvati is frightened and clings to Siva from whose arm the snake had slided and fallen to lie coiled on the ground. This brings out the vigorous movement clearly. Onthe the lower part of the panel the Devas and Ganas, some in fright, others in postures of trying to dissipate the efforts of Ravana are seen. The panel is not yet fully exposed and it may turn out as one of the best paintings of Tanjavur.

The colours are soft and subdued and lines firm and delicate, the expression true to life and above all there is an ease in the contours of these figures which have a charm all their own.

The Chola paintings are superb in the beauty of the rhythmic lines and grace of form and more than amply fulfilled the dictum of the ancient Master, that line drawing—Punaiya Oviam is praiseworthy—his capacity for analysing the complexities of the human form and then rendering in his picture what is essential by means of a simple line. The elements of jewellery ornamentation is in such a profusion on these walls that one stares in wonder at the wealth of the imaginative and inventive skill of the goldsmiths of that time. The drapery reveals the skill of textile design and craftsmanship.

As for the element of colour scheme "that captivates popular hearts even remnants of faded colour that still stick to these surfaces are enough to help the play of our imagination in trying to guess how bright and fresh they must have been in the days when the Chola monarchs gazed proudly at them".[19] The human figures have been painted with minute details of every part with a high level of finishing. It shows their workmanship. "The long and lustrous eyes, the elevated nose in perfect relief, the sweet and graceful lips, the lovely chin and full cheeks, the arched eyebrows, the ringlets of hair, the beautifully curved ears, the singularly attractive neck are typical of the high human conception of the beauty of semi-divine form"[20]

The animals are also equally attractive in every detail. The picture of the rider on the horse—Cheraman Perumal is equally attractive in every detail. There is a grace in the way in which he holds the reins in one hand and the long whip in the other. The painting of the "Triumph of Marlborough" by the great portrait painter Sir Godfrey Kneller in the National Portrait Gallery, London, flashes past my mind's eye whenever I think of the grace of the Cheraman Perumal and the horse. In both the paintings, the posture of the rider is majestic and attractive ; especially the tilt of the head, holding of the reins and the wielding of the whip. The horses which are well proportioned and charming with their fore legs gracefully bent in a galloping posture appear to be alike, creating an impression that artists of whichever period they may be and whatever country they may belong to, have the aesthetic and artistic taste and their imagination is one and the same irrespective of the considerations.

The figures of the dancers with the supple form, graceful and mudras and beautiful *bhangas* reveals the painters' high proficiency in the art of Natyasastras. The remarkable rhythmic quality which characterises Indian painting throughout the ages, the poise, the grace of movement and the eloquent gestures of the figures, are undoubtedly the result of the painter's deep insight into the beauty of movement he learned from a study of dancing, as an intimate knowledge of the art of dancing was considered essential for the painter. The drummers and the celestials playing musical instruments clearly depict the knowledge of the art of music.

Various emotional expressions—*Meippadugal* like *viram*, *perumitam*, *viyappu*, *nahai*, etc., are depicted in a most deft and dexterous manner can be seen in the Chola paintings. On the whole, the paintings in the Brihadisvara Temple, as Sri C. Sivaramamurthy puts it, "are an exquisite Devakula Chitrasala." These paintings are the most noteworthy elements of that magic conception and workmanship that stand there on those walls of the unfrequented passage, to inspire and guide willing recipients of art knowledge and culture who approach them with humility and love that cleanse and purify the disciples' heart and turn it into a spotless receptacle, pure and crystalline like a limpid sheet of water in a lake."

The paintings of the Nayak period (17 to 18 century A.D.) whcb mark the beginning of the degeneration of art in India exhibit in themselves that unpleasing tone

of colour and vulgarity of line which are so obnoxious to the eye, that rebels in the beauty of the rhythmic lines and grace of form of Chola paintings that peep out from underneath.

The Nayak paintings in the upper layer though not beautiful are interesting from the point of view of the glimpse it gives of a clear picture of that period with all the life of the people, the elaboration of costumes, ornamentation and other details.

The panels depicting various scenes relate to mythology. In one panel we see Indira on the elephant Airavatham, Agni on a ram, Yama on a buffalo, Varuna on a makara, Marut on a deer etc. Though various animals are depicted they cannot compete with the reputation of the Chola paintings.

In another panel of Amritha Mathana we see the devas and the asuras churning the ocean Thiruparkadal. Other gods and goddesses are present there. Here the representation of Kamadenu—a unique figure of Indian art accompanied by Airavatha elephant and Uchaisrava horse is interesting. On one side we see Dhurvasa who is gathering a garland and offering it to Indira.

On another side Durga is fighting with Sumba and Nisumba. She is in alidha pose as a warrior. But when we think of the great masterpiece of the Chola Tiripurantaka it is no where. We can appreciate it only as a beautiful folk art.

In one scene Vishnu is depicted as gathering lotuses from a tank to offer worship to Siva. The picture of Vishnu is in action as if plucking flowers but never can it be compared with the bhavyas in the lotus pond of Sittannavasal.

There are labels in Tamil and/or Telugu describing the themes of these paintings. In these pictures, there is a continuation of conventionalisation of the Vijayanagara period. The figures are represented with pointed nose, fierce eyes. angular contours, limbs and so forth. The peculiar conventional arrangements of the garments on the body with patterns are characteristics of this period.

So many scenes of folk art of the Nayak period covering the great beautiful pictures of the "Devakula Chitrasala" of the Cholas are really a regrettable one.

There are two groups of paintings in this temple. The earlier one is in the Ajanta or the 'classical' style of Indian art, and is important since it is the only perfect specimen extant in India of the Hindu art of classical painting.

The paintings are executed on the walls of the dark passage surrounding the main shrine of the temple. The walls are built of large blocks of hornblendegneiss the and over them has been spread the lime plaster for the beautiful 'classical' paintings dating from about the 10th century A.D. and belonging to the Chola period of Indian history. Over this and completely covering it, is another

loosely bound layer of paintings of about the 17th century A.D., which was executed during the days of the Nayaks of Tanjavur. The latter group of paintings is cruder than the Chola group in technique and style and forms a type of folk art.

"The technique adopted in the execution of these paintings is fresco, on binding material having been used with the pigments. It represents a continuation of the older painting processes in India. From the different samples of painted stuccoes examined so far, the Chola paintings are in fresco-buono technique and the Nayak in fresco-secco technique. The stuccoes are almost alike in both these cases. They are composed of the Rinzaffo, a first rough coat of lime plaster, followed by the intonaco a second coat of fine lime plaster with the pigments thereon".

Except sand nothing has been used as an inert material along with the lime. Only local pigments were used. It is a wonder how the Tanjavur artists preserved the harmony of colour on the walls of the dark passage. The pigments are held more firmly. The paintings were retouched in lime medium as a finishing coating.

Pigments

White	—	Lime
Black	—	Carbon wood charcoal or lamp black
Red	—	Red ochres
Yellow	—	Yellow ochre
Brown	—	Brown ochre
Blue	—	Lapis lazuli or ultramarine
Green	..	Terre verte
Yellowish green	—	Ultramarine and yellow ochre
Light blue	—	Ultramarine and lime
Bluish green	—	Terre verte and ultramarine
Flesh Tint	—	Mixture of red and white Red ochre and lime.

Technique

The painting of Sittannavasal and Tanjavur present common features both in technique and application. First it appears that a rough plaster coat is applied to the surface, be it the face of a rock as in Sittannavasal or the face of a wall as in the circumambulatory passages of Brihadisvara Temple. Because of the unevenness of the surface, the plaster got itself attached firmly. On the said plaster, a fine coating of lime wash was given, on this lime wash is applied the paintings, that is the different colours used by the artist for expressing his ideas. The artists of ancient times were almost like yogis. They have offered their paintings as an object of worship by bringing out the divine qualities in the pictures they painted.

Extensive studies had been undertaken by eminent authors and research scholars as to the method and materials employed in such paintings, among which the

technical studies published by Dr. S. Paramasivam as early as the 1930's are outstanding. He carried out investigation into the techniques and materials of Indian wall paintings at a number of sites, including Sittannavasal and Tanjavur. On the basis of his researches, he divided Indian paintings into four groups taking into account the preparation of the pigments and the binding medium employed. In this classification, paintings at Sittannavasal and Tanjavur fell into group II in which fresco techniques have been employed. We may now elaborate on the techniques at Sittannavasal and Tanjavur.

Sittannavasal, as already stated, is in a cave structure in a small hillock. The rough stone surface supports the plaster firmly. The studies reveal that rough plaster was first applied to the rough surface and then the coating of lime wash was given and the ground consisted of lime and fine particles of sand. Over the rough plaster a smooth coating of lime wash had been applied. Thereafter the paint layer was applied with different colours.

It was observed that the artists applied the first coat of rough plaster to a thickness of about 2.5 mm. In a few places, the thickness varied from 1 to 8 mm., according to the inequalities of the surface. The plaster then received the lime wash to a thickness of about 0.5 mm. The surface was polished and rendered smooth, probably with a trowel or stone. Since the binding between the plaster and the lime wash is generally quite strong, it is evident that the latter was applied while the former was still wet. In cases where the binding is not strong, the rough plaster probably dried out before the second layer was applied.

"Experiments were conducted to study the nature of the materials of which the ground is composed. A micro-section of the painted stucco revealed two lines of cleavage at depths of 0.4 and 0.9 mm., respectively, below the painted surface, suggesting two separate junctions or three distinct layers. The first junction is between the paint and the lime wash and the second is between the lime wash and the rough plaster. The painted stucco is approximately 3.4 mm., in thickness but varies widely according to the inequalities of the surface of the carrier. The rough plaster is about 2.5 mm. thick and the thicknesses of the lime wash and the paint film are 0.5 and 0.4 mm. respectively."

Chemical examination of the layer of lime wash showed that pure rich lime having no hydraulic properties was used in the smooth coating of lime wash. It also did not reveal any marble dust or powdered shell or lime stone having been used as inert material and that only sand had been used. The investigator was of the firm opinion that fresco methods and techniques were employed in laying the ground.

"The varieties of colours used by the artist of Sittannavasal was found to be white, black, yellow red, blue, and green and mostly the paintings are restricted to the use of these colours. On the contrary, the test revealed that gum had been used as

binding medium with black, and lime was the principal binding medium. There was no infiltration of the pigments into the ground but the layers were neatly super–posed and a section shows clean flat edges".

"It is difficult to say anything about the actual method of execution. According to some artists, Indian paintings were painted by pricking and pouncing the outlines through cartoons. In the Sittannavasal works, there are the outlines, but no trace of pricking or pouncing is visible. Since they are executed in lime medium, it is not easy to note the extent of the ground that was covered in the course of a single day. Joints in the plaster are more easily visible in true fresco technique than in lime medium. Further the coloured background green, red and yellow, nearly obscures the joints".

Dr. Paramasivam had conducted investigation into the method and style of painting in the Brihadisvara Temple at Tanjavur, The method of investigation adopted by him is to decide first —1) the ground on which the painting is executed, 2) the material or the pigments used in elaborating the design and 3) the means by which these materials are so attached to the ground as to make the work firm and lasting.

Of the method of execution according to Dr. Paramasivam, nothing definitely is known. One peculiar feature that distinguishes Tanjavur painting from that of the western paintings is that it was possible to trace the joints of the work done from day to day in the west but no joint has been observed in the Chola frescoes. The expert opinion of Dr. Paramasivam on the comparison of style is given as follows :

"One speaks of the great and noble art of Ajanta paintings, but one misses the Ajanta craftsmanship. It must however be admitted that the art of painting and the excellence of the artist is closely linked up with craftsmanship. While the art of Ajanta is truly great, its craftsmanship is very poor indeed. This great art with its craftsmanship influenced the art of Bagh in the north. It followed the ancient trade routes into Central Asia and influenced the art of painting in Khotan and in innumerable sites round about the Great Taklamakan."

While the Ajanta craftsmanship influenced the paintings in the north, it had no relation to paintings in the South, of which the one at Sittannavasal forms the earliest. Hence, Ajanta craftsmanship may be designated a northern craftsmanship for purposes of convenience and for reference.

In contrast to the Ajanta plaster, that at Sittannavasal is very well consolidated and firm. It is not softened even by prolonged action by water. The colours are bright and transparent. These factors go to show the superiority of the Sittannavasal craftsmanship over the one at Ajanta. While the Ajanta craftsmanship

follows broadly such Sanskrit texts as *Vishnudharmottara*, *Sivatatvaratnakara* and *Silparatna**, the southern craftsmanship has nothing in common with these texts.

The ground plaster in Ajanta, Ellora, Sigiriya and Bagh, which is covered by a thick lime wash and is painted, is of mud, mostly clay or alluvium and silica or sand mixed with small quantities of lime and other organic materials such as cow-dung, husks or vegetable fibres acting as binding medium. This technique is "Tempera". The paint is of mineral colours with glue mixture which serves as a fixative. The examples cited which fall between the 1st and the 7th century A.D., are grouped by Dr. S. Paramasivam as Group I technique.

Conclusion

We have discussed the state of art, particularly, painting for a period of one thousand years in our part of the country. The Sittannavasal, originally built by the Pallavas in the 7th century A.D. was renovated by Ilam Gautaman in the 9th century A.D. under the patronage and protection of the Pandiyas. Emperor Raja-raja Chola employed his Court artists to do the paintings in the Brihadisvara temple in the early 11th century and the Nayaks reimposed their painting in Tanjavur in the 17th century A.D. Though the theme and character varied during the course of all these years the principle, style and mode of execution remained the same. True fresco technique has been employed for doing all these paintings.

In India, the most famous paintings are the Ajanta cave paintings, which are tempera in technique. World famous art critics and art historians like John Marshall have made comparative studies on these Ajanta paintings and of the paintings of Michael Angelo a well known painter of the Renaissance period in Europe. Unfortunately, Sittannavasal and Tanjavur paintings are not so well known as Ajanta paintings. Only recently certain art historians and art critics have evinced interest in these paintings and Dr. S. Paramasivam has subjected these paintings to a close scrutiny and investigation of their style, method of execution and technique. Viewing the various aspects, we can come to the conclusion that the Sittannavasal paintings are equal to those world renowned classical paintings of Ajanta in style and at the same time they are far superior in technique.

From whichever angle you may look at, the Tamil artist has been superior in choosing the place of execution (the cave Sittannavasal and the inner circumambulatory passage in Brihadisvara Temple), in preparing the ground for the pictures, in mixing of materials like lime sand, in the choice of natural colour pigments, drawing the outline, etc. The peculiar characteristic which is absent in contradiction to the west is that none of the investigators is able to perceive any joints in the paintings. Whereas, in all European paintings they are able to discover the joints and tell

* These texts are of a later period.—Editor.

to the world the days the artists had taken for completing the works they are not able to do so in respect of the Tamil paintings.

Tamilians with a long tradition and hoary past have always encouraged the development of fine arts. But for the unfortunate loss of Lemuriya and Poompuhar we would have had many landmarks of par excellence in the field of painting. What remains now is adequate enough to speak eloquently of the tradition, skill and sensitivity of Tamil art.

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NOTES

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CREATIVE PERFORMANCE IN TAMIL SCULPTURE : AN ETHNOGRAPHIC RESPONSE TO ART HISTORIANS[1]

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Leading Indian and Western specialists on Hindu visual art present us with two totally different characterizations of the traditional artist at work: creative versus repetitious, dynamic versus lifeless. Scholars of the calibre of A. K. Coomaraswamy and D. N. Shukla illustrate creative processes from the perspective; equally distinguished scholars such as S. Kramrisch and A. L. Kroeber give us quite another view.

Their respective characterizations of the creative processes are so much at variance that it is not immediately apparent how they may be reconciled. Nonetheless, direct consultation with practicing *stapatis* (master sculptors and architects)[2] promises a partial solution to the problem and examination of the pre-suppositions and inferences of those who are at odds permits even greater clarification of the situation. We shall see that it is possible to understand why the two groups of specialists disagree with each other and it is possible to discern a fundamental (but unnecessary) error in the approach taken by many Western scholars. Let us begin by scrutinizing both descriptions of the Hindu visual art tradition. After that, I shall go on to discuss my own preliminary ethnographic research among *stapatis*.

Two Portraits of Artists at Work

One way of portraying Hindu artists at work could well be termed "Western" because of the nationalities of most[3] of the art historians and general culture historians who employ it. It is more accurately labelled "empirical." The "empirical" scholars begin for the most part with art objects, making inferences directly from them as to how they have been produced. Some are explicit about valuing visual "realism" and concern themselves with evidence of correspondence between works of art and their unique models. This is consistent with the value they place on originality and freedom of artistic expression. Most of those we are discussing here find what they consider to be retention of forms, "conventional" forms, over the centuries and they draw tediously similar conclusions.

The approach has been traced by one of Coomaraswamy's biographers to John Ruskin's intemperate outburst, in 1858, against what he considered to be

"conventional" forms in the art of India (Bagchee 1977: 80). Certainly, V. A. Smith did much to popularize it with his insistence, from 1911 onward, that iconographic literature "deadened artistic creation" and led to "conventional" forms during the so-called medieval period (eg., n. d.: 5, 11, 119, 121). A. L. Kroeber, in his monumental survey of civilizations, summarizes the findings on Hindu India thus: "sculpture settled into essential repetitiveness around 800 or soon after" (1944: 259). He remarks on the gradualness of "alteration" and the lack of "fundamental changes of direction," but he grudgingly allows that there were about ten centuries during which "some creativity was still active" after the fifth century "peak" (1944: 260). H. G. Rawlinson speaks of the "usual conservatism" of Hindu architects and cites what he interprets as their emulation of earlier works (1952: 172-173). Kramrisch, with her intimate knowledge of Hindu art, is able to say that, "at the end of the creative period of its development, "the stone sculpture of South India "continued its lingering death through another six or seven centuries of iconic output" (1954: 38). Later, she says of image making that the "craft continued to be practised after traditional art had exhausted its resources. Even today images are being made to serve the formalities of the cult" .(1954: 44). Finally, in recent writings, Goetz talks of Colha and Paanhdiya sculpture after the tenth century as "lifeless repetition of the hieratic formulas pescribed by the *Silpasastras*" (1959: 179), de Riencourt refers to "stereotypes" in the art (1961: 118), and Bussagli and Sivaramamurti speak of "exceptional" continuity, absence of "revolutions", "permanence of traditional techniques and . . . recurrent use of symbols" (1978: 311).

How different this sounds from the dynamic phrasing of Coomaraswamy and Shukla as they detail, from within the tradition, the correct processes by which artists realize mental images (Coomaraswamy 1957 [orig. 1917]: 27-31; 1934: 3-57, 113-117, 121-138, 166-167; Shukla 1958: 81-83) and by which others experience appreciation (Coomaraswamy 1957: 38-40; 1934: 28). Repetition and emulative attention to previous works of art have no place in the picture. The artist should approach his task in a state of purity and discipline and with a thorough knowledge of texts describing the attributes of his subject. Disciplined concentration upon the *dhyaana mantram* (verses defining the attributes) allows his mind to draw to itself and identify with a visual image, as in worship. He then employs the techniques and skills he has learned to fashion a substantive representation of that which he holds in his mind's eye. So read the prescriptions.[4]

E. B. Havell is an interesting example of an Englishman who knew and understood Hindu art in these terms. Although his knowledge was by no means as deep as that of the others I have just cited, he became a persuasive advocate of this insider's perspective (1920: 32-33, 36-39, and *passim*).

The Place of Knowledge in the Cultural System

Knowledge and processes of attaining or cultivating knowledge figure quite differently in these two portaits. The "empirical" scholars who have been quoted come from a cultural world (a) in which art works are thought of commonly as constituting (or being an essential part of) an emergent or ever changing tradition[5] and (b) in which the two kinds of knowledge regarded most necessary for an artist are perceptual and technical. When they are confronted with the place Hindu artists are said to give knowledge, as expressed in canons, formulae, and symbols, their interpretation is that such knowledge stands in the way of the artist's experience and interferes with creativity.[6] Formulaic work is disparaged not only because it is stifling to the individual artist's freedom, but, also, because it is contrary to normal and desirable[7] processes of tradition growth. Traditions are continuously created by human endeavour. They represent accomplishment, yet it is proper and progressive to leave them behind. To be overtaken and ruled by tradition is to be strangled by the past. Some Indians have adopted this particular aspect of the Western "empirical" approach.[8]

Hindu theories of knowledge are a complex field of study in themselves. I shall limit myself, here, to a few obvious remarks about knowledge of Hindu artists within the theoretical framework already outlined. Although we could say that the artists seek knowledge of their tradition, it is not a knowledge of anything so ephemeral as events and artifacts in time and space. The tradition they seek to know is something totally different, phenomenally, from the tradition of the "empirical" scholars. So, too, is "knowledge". We are talking about attempts to reach through to foundations. Success in doing so presupposes perspective, training, and the discipline not to get caught up in what we think our senses tell us about the substance of things. If we were to refer to that which the artist seeks to know as a theory, it should be patently clear that this theory would be anything but empirical generalization. It is more in the nature of an ancient charter, a description of the pure form of a structure. When the artist does acquire knowledge, this makes possible, in the realm of human behavior and physical objects, a counterpart of the form of the theory. But it is disturbed by entropic processes, by corruption and limitations of the human senses and intellect (Gardner 1978), resulting in the appearances of form that we know empirically. No one taking this view would predict a close fit between corresponding forms in the theories of art and in practice. Yet, to the extent that there is a relation between knowledge and practice,[9] it is one in which knowledge facilitates performance rather than hindering it. Freedom from the knowledge would be a strange thing to bring into the picture. What would we mean by such freedom? Freedom from knowing what to do? Think of the freedom a person would have, if he were allowed to stand, enthusiastic but untrained, near an open grand piano or a fine vina. He woud be free to rub, to blow on, or to throw lumps of earth at the strings. He would even be free of the hindrance of

tuned strings. Ah! Artistic licence. Yet, we would not be likely to hear from him anything we could recognize as well formed music. We can return to this example later. It is one of the keys to our conclusions.

An alternative Portrait

My 1978 field study of *stapatis* was a brief but preliminary round of enquiry. The object was to locate and become acquainted with practising *stapatis* and their work, to facilitate eventual detailed study of the place of knowledge in Hindu art. This is still to come. During the course of ten weeks, I consulted with twelve *stapatis*, at least two of whom worked with each of the following techniques: lost-wax bronze casting, hammering of metal, stone carving and wood carving. Some were accepted masters and some made very modest claims with regard to their training and capabilities. They were located throughout Tamilnadu: in Mylapore, Mahabalipuram, Kumbhakonam, Swamimalai, Madurai, Palani, Nagerkoil, Mayiladi and so on. The survey concerned everything from techniques and training to their criteria for evaluating works of art. In some instances, I was able to sit in their workshops and observe the routines.

One of the most obvious things about *stapatis* and their knowledge is that there are stages of learning. What is more, there are interesting points of correspondence between levels of learning which *stapatis* have reached and the ways in which they evaluate both art works and the place of texts in art.

A boy, prototypically the artist's son, though perhaps a brother's son or some other close agnate, is first given the duty of performing various menial services. These may be as simple as fetching water, but they establish and define his role as a dutiful dependent. In accordance with his attentiveness he is assigned additional, progressively more important technical tasks, such as heating wax for modelling (in lost-wax- bronze casting) and rough chiselling (in stone). Through his attendance, he has opportunities to watch the advanced techniques of the master who initiates a piece, supervises the contributions of any apprentices and workers, and does prescribed, final finishing work. The boy is exposed to plans, sketches on a workshop blackboard, and terminology for basic forms such as postures and gestures. Yet, for some time, it is apparent that he remains largely a learner of technique. That could be called the first of three fairly distinct stages of his learning.

When his aptitude and readiness are established, he will be given regular lessons in the textual knowledge as well, this being the start of what I have called a second general stage of learning. For sons, particularly, it goes on for years, parallelly with further practical technical advancement. Some of the texts consists of information about materials and techniques, or auspicious times for work. Much of it, however, is iconographic information about appropriate bodily proportions

and other attributes of particular forms of the many possible subjects. One such text is called literally "mental images" (*Ruupadhyaanam*), more prominent are *Kaasyapam, Mayamata, Maanacaara, Maanucaara, Visvakkarmiya Vaastu Sastram*, and minor works such as *Saarasvatiya Suutra Saastram* and *Brahmiya Suutra Saastram*. There are many others. Some *stapatis* are guided mainly by memorized texts of, say, *Kaasyaapam*. Master sculptors may possess 3 to 5, or even more, inherited manuscripts, written with stylus and carbon on palm fronds (*oolai cuvadi*). These are written in Sanskrit, using Tamil grantham script. Today, there are printed books, in Tamil translation, of some basic texts; these I found more in the possession of young men whose training had been brief.

Finally, it is possible to infer that an unusually promising heir to the tradition, after demonstrating his ability to acquire textual and technical knowledge, may be led to a new relationship with the texts. Thereafter, though still respected and revered, the texts come to be appreciated as instruments by the artists, whose mind, eye, and hand are now prepared for their part in pursuit of the goals of artistic expression.

The stages of learning have been portrayed as fairly distinct in this preliminary statement. That requires corroboration. The same must be said of the number of stages; they almost certainly need subdividing. It is clear, nonetheless, that the place of knowledge in art is quite different for those at different levels of advancement.

Some who work devotedly as *stapatis* remain at the level of craftsmen, their textual training having been brief or limited. Accordingly, each has a specific and limited repertory; three of those I talked with, if supplied with an image, drawing, or photograph of a new form, will undertake to reproduce that form. They are usally frank about their limitations. Although the total sample of my consultants is too small for meaningful statistics, I found that those I term craftsmen clearly revere the texts and express a preference for works of art which they understand to be formally correct, true to the saastras. Thus, one of them selected the big *Nataraja* of the Tanjavur Art Galley for praise and gave as his reason its "correct proportions."

Stapatis who are more familiar with texts tend to be formalistic in their selection and evaluation of great works, but there is evidence that, in addition, they base their judgement somewhat upon Hindu theories of expression.[10] Along with correct proportions, there must be a flexing of the forms, group compositions, and so on which express suitable temperaments and emotional states. These *stapatis* demanded that the works do so subtly and effectively, with appropriate grace, balance, or forcefulness. Two *stapatis*, when asked why they had selected particular sculptures as good, rose to their feet and danced. Fortunately, I knew the

pieces. They offered me in their dance, in one fleeting moment, an action expressed (but, perhaps we should avoid saying "caught" or "frozen") by the sculptor, such as Parvati's reaction to Lord Siva's touch in the bronze *Kalyaanhasundaramuurti* of Tanjavur. Such a piece of art, for them, represented living inner reality and movement (Skt. *prana* or *cetana*, see Ray 1974: 108-109). Another work judged to be highly expressive was an early Cola (stone) *Arttanaariisvarar* in the Madras Government Museum. For these second stage *stapatis*, contemplation and meditation have played a part in the grasping of wholly new realizations of form. As some of them put it, though, once a good conceptualization has been realized, there is no need to repeat the meditative act. One expressed the view that meditation had not played a role in art for 80 to 100 years; others, by contrast, held that it figures, even today, in the work of a *stapati* who receives a commission to do an especially fine votive image.

Among some of those whom I judge to be the most knowledgeable sculptors, I find an orientation which can be called "creativist". As I stated earlier, they insist that texts (on proportions or theory of expression) provide only guidelines within which the artist works. It is the eye, the hand, and the mind of the artist which yield such things as harmony and consistency, lyrical expression, and, in some cases, abstractness. Thus, I find one *stapati* saying that no text ever told the artist how to enhance the feelings expressed by *Mahishaasuramartani* at Mahabalipuram through placing the falling figure, back towards us, in the centre. I was told, too about the "abstract" realization of *Nandi* behind the northernmost of the *Anjcu Çapparam* at Mahabalipuram. Made up largely of curved planes, it is rendered geometrically, rather than in terms of empirical realism. *Stapatis* will disagree with those who call it unfinished because of its geometric form. They sce their earlier colleagues as having sought the abstraction. Again, the piece goes far beyond textual guidelines. Another fine piece used to illustrate their view, that art is from the artist's mind, is an exceptionally expressive *Raavanhaanugrahamuurti* from Ellora.

Half a century ago, Coomaraswamy extracted from early literature passages which expressed the reactions to art of pandits, connoisseurs, masters of the art, the pious, and others (1934 : 99-109). Comparing that early literature with statements elicited in 1978, one is struck by the fact that the roster of types of criteria for evaluation is similar (e.g. technical skill, correct iconography, expression of mood and flavour), enough so to invite thoughts about continuities. Originality, so dear to novelty conscious Western art critics,[11] was no more in the earlier list than in the present one.

Creative performance and Scholarly presuppositions

The creative performance of Hindu sculptors has been approached quite differently by the two groups of scholars whose views I contrasted at the start of this paper. I promised, at that time, some clarification.

It is consonant with their style of scholarship that the "empirical" scholars began with material forms and made inferences about processes which gave rise to them. Seeing continuity of some forms,[12] they drew an oversimple deduction that art was constrained by pre-established forms. Placing low value on that procedure in visual art media, they scored the Hindu artist for his conservatism.

The Hindu scholars, by contrast, approached practice in terms of theory. True to their scholarly tradition, they gave little weight to empirical observation (what a Sanskrit scholar would call, I believe, *pratyaksha*,. relatively a poor test of a theory) in establishing their portrait of the processes. Of the two portraits, the second, which takes into account such things as Hindu criteria of judgement, gives us better preparation for viewing and understanding the actual work of the *stapatis*, today. It permits us to appreciate reasons for some of the variation to be seen in the practices of sculptors. It also provides a framework within which we can understand a variety of processes which bear upon "keeping" the tradition. I do not hesitate to call it the more accurate portrait.

The Hindu theory had told us little about the artists who fail, but then the "empirical" portrait has told us precious little about those who succeed, an extraordinary oversight. Indeed, in describing *stapatis* at different stages of learning, one thing I hope to have made clear is that it is relatively immature artists whose creative attempts have been described by the "empirical" scholars. Even in this disrupted age the *stapatis* have more to offer than that.

Earlier in the paper, I left an undisciplined would-be musician tossing lumps of earth at the strings of a fine instrument. Let us return to his world and his type of art medium. A Western art lover can buy tickets to an Olivier performance of *Hamlet* with considerable excitement. It would be a thrill, indeed, for him to hold tickets the very *next* evening to a Valenti performance, on the harpsicord, of Valenti's favorite Scarlatti compositions, or to Horowitz' golden jubilee performance, which would include Rachmaninoff's Concerto for Piano and Orchestra No. 3. He would read the program notes (as he entered the hall for each of the performances) about how these celebrated artists, after protracted study of the script or score, had reached brilliant insights. He would hope to hear in each evening's performance a concrete rendering of that which the artist had grasped. Would it be too much to ask that the very *next* evening he would be asked to attend an exhibition of Cola bronzes, by brilliant but anonymous sculptural performers who had also studied the scores ?

Broad similarity of a series of performances is a spurious measure of failure in what we call performed arts. I do not know whether there were more liberties taken than at present by early performers of Shakespeare. It is clear, however, that an acclaimed interpretation can, for an age, establish a standard which influences the performances of many. That time period is more likely to be thought of as an

age of achievement rather than an age of repetition, lifeless art, and stultification. My contention is straightforward : the Western scholar, viewing India ethnocentrically in terms of his own culture, has failed to grasp the fact that, in their dynamics, Hindu visual arts bear more resemblance to the performed arts of the West than to its visual arts. The implications for comparative studies are extraordinary.

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FOOT NOTES

(1) I would like to acknowledge a grant by the American Institute of Indian Studies and a Summer Research Fellowship by the University of Missouri Research Council, which made possible this enquiry during the summer of 1978. I must also express my deep indebtedness to Professor A. Aiyappan and the late Dr. V. Raghavan for their great interest in the project. They gave generously of their time and knowledge throughout the period of research and steered me, many times, towards more fruitful paths. (2) They are often referred to in the literature as *ciTpis* (Skt. *silpi*, "artist"), but they generally refer to themselves as as *stapatis*(cf. Skt. *sthapati*, "master of what stands".) Because the *stapatis* work from Sanskrit texts and they use many Sanskrit technical terms, some deviations from the standard orthography for this conference will be necessary. (3) Prominent exceptions will be noted below. (4) For those who recall that Coomaraswamy dealt with a decline in some Indian arts (1957: 33), it is important to note that this treatment of decline and degeneration is specific not general (1913: 26) and that he cautioned art historians not to confuse conventionality with degeneration (1934: 25). (5) This view is expressed, for instance, by Sorokin (1937-41), Kroeber (1944), and Clark (1969). (6). T. A. Gopinatha Rao devotes 7 pages of the preface of his *Elements of Hindu Iconography* to the cramping and handicaping of medieval and later Hindu artists by "artificial rules." He values natural and realistic representation, born of the artist's "own observation and imagination and "true to nature" (1914-16: I, 29-36). (7) We should recall that the "empirical" scholars come from the culture world which has recently arrogated to itself the status of being "developed" as contrasted with "underdeveloped." Its self image is a naive but corrupting derivative of ethnocentrism and an arbitrary belief in progress (which is unilineal and measured empiri-

cally). (8) Thus, T. A. Gopinatha Rao descries the "decadence" and "unplesantness" of later, traditional-rule-bound Hindu art (1914-16: I, 29, 36) and J. Nehru, in a 1952 lecture on arts in general, titled "Tradition and change," champions "growth" and being "dynamic, "along conspicuously Western "empiric al" lines (1962: 27-28). (9) Actually, in Hindu India we find that there has been systematic thought even about practice, creativity, and change in prescribed forms (Coomaraswamy 1934: 19; Ray 1974: 214-217). (10) Schools of theory which visual artists share with poets, and so on. (11) They may be somewhat mollified to learn of the concept of *kula-ciila* (Ray 1974: 214-217). (12) Conspicuously, one finds that it is certain forms, such as *Bhujangatiraaca Nataraja* which are used to illustrate the argument and not, for instance, the more variable forms of *Raavanhaanugraha muurti* or *Kalyaanhasundaram*.

INFLUENCE OF 'DRAVIDIAN' ARCHITECTURE ON OTHER SCHOOL

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A. Of all the categories coming under Fine Arts, Architecture is the most finite, technically exact and visually impressive medium of the aesthetic legacy and in India, it has been the most spectacular and perennially satisfying entity cementing international understanding for the commitment towards beauty (*sundaram*)—as a permanent component of God-head, whose other equally permanent parameters are truth (*satyam*) and auspiciousness (*sivam*).

In so far as South India and Tamil Nadu in particular are concerned, a tradition has firmly been built primarily for religious architecture which, after all, was the chief subsidising agency for art throughout its long and glorious history. By popular attribution of affiliating region and language as the important factors in the exposition of the art spectrum, the term 'Dravidian' has been employed for the architectural school which grew up in the south. Texts on architecture, however, use the word 'Dravida' in a formal and nomenclatural sense and the total style of which this Dravida was a part is applied to the '*Vimana*' model, in contra-distinction to the *Rekha- Prasada* model which is the only other main mode of creating a temple style, and prevalent essentially in the Northern part of India, including its western and eastern flanks and often seen well diffused into the Deccan, due to socio-cultural compulsions. It is enough to state, at this juncture, that the *Vimana* style (which is used in its alias *Dravidian*) is well entrenched not only in the south of India, but had bid fair to swamp the entire south Asian zone comprising such independent regions like Srilanka, Indo nesia, Malaysia, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. All these regions in so far as the architecture (which was its medium) and culture (which was the garb) of the ancient societies of the historical periods were concerned, display a chthonic or consanguine affiliation and this would speak highly not only of the voluntary absorption of the art media but also the politico-cultural matrix of these regions drawing their inspiration in this regard from the parent model of the *Vimana* style of southern India—more specifically the Tamil land.

It would thus be really begging the question to state that the Vimana (or vicariously the *Dravidian*) school had exerted great influence on these zones. It was more appropriately an integration, assimilation and articulation of the same structural model, rather than the borrowal of its features. More legitimately inside India

itself, the Vimana style had snow-balled and culminated in several regional sub-styles, born out of its initial consolidation in the golden triangle of the pristine Kanchi-Vatapi-Vengi embryo (in which the Madurai contribution was itself well inherent). It is thus we have the Pandiya, Chera, Chola, Ganga, Kadamba, Nolamba, Vaidumba, Bana and Rashtrakuta *milieu*. Churned in the vortex of this multi-splendoured ocean of temple building trends, the medieval age witnessed, such magnificent secondary articulations of this school in the Hoysala, Later Kadamba, Vijayanagara, Kalyani-Chalukya and Kakatiya forms, prolifierating over the whole of upper-southern India, and the 20° parallel became well and truly its northern border, seeping well into Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa in this process.

In the formative stages of temple building, in a pan-Indian context it would seem that the play upon the five basic shapes-square, octagonal, circular, rectangular and elliptical (or apsidal)-had been widely current and some rudimentary lower type have also been appropriately applied to them. For instance, *potakara* or boat shape occurs in early records of Central and northern India, as affiliated to Vishnu as Anantasayi Pushpaka which is rectangular, Octagonal. temples for Vishnu are known. *Kutagara* is already well known in the Sangam literature, along with *Chitra-mala* and *Ilanvandikai*. All this shows that the Vimana mode of temples may have at one stage even a wider provenance as a common substratum in the whole of India, especially in central India and Deccan upto 600 A.D. or thereabouts.

B. What are the 'Vital statistics', as it were, of this mellifluous model ? Briefly and empirically stated they are :

(i) Its fundamental *Shadvarga* character elevationally.
(ii) Its sublimation of the diagnostic element in the *sikhara* unit.
(iii) Its versatile flexibility of the *Talacchanda*, grossing from an *Alpa Vimana*, through *Jati-Vimana* to the *Mukhya Vimana* ultimate, of twelve storeys.
(iv) The dichotomised *sandhara-nirandhara pada*.
(v) The inexorable fixity of the width of the sanctum square with that of the base board (*brahmarandra* slab) of the *griva*.
(vi) The harmonic horizontal regression of the superstructure (as opposed to a collinear convergence of the *Rekha Prasada*).
(vii) The firm, and ubiquitous fixation of a *dvarasala* and *prakara bandha*.
(viii) The *parivara* cluster around the main *Vimana*, displaying a confluence or *congeries* of faiths.

The core-renderings of this doubtless superlative aesthetic frame was already accomplished in the opening quarters of the 7th century A.D. and the diversification was almost fully expanded by the beginning of the 10th century A.D. This period from 600-900 A.D. was the watershed for the entire Cis Vindhyan India and S. Asian archipelago. Its primacy was the purposeful product of the bi-polar creativity

of the Kanchi-Vatapi axis : its heyday the imperial Chola phenomena at Thanjavur, Gangaikondacholapuram etc. Its final consummation in maturity the nuclei of Madurai, SriRangam and Chidambaram.

Before we pass on to the influence seen of this Vimana style, *perse* in India and elsewhere, we shall do well to specify the basic delineation of its architectural format. This was largely articulated through :

(a) The pilastered structural components of the storeyed division.

(b) The throwing of a *hara* parapet around each of the floors and terraces.

(c) the diversification of the body of the temple on a square, rectangular, circular, apsidal, elliptical, octagonal and hexagonal modulations, comprising the basic geometric forms in the square (*Nagara*) octagonal (*Dravida*) and Circular (*Vesara*) cross sections. This well establishes the universality of the model, textually and formally, as the self-sufficient vehicle of expression of the abode of macrocosmic God-head.

(d) Its total refrainment from and sacrifice of any artifice or art (in its essential central stages) in the interior elevation, allowing the functional-structural framework to tell its tale. This is unlike the *Rekhaprasada* where the interior is embellished as rich as, if not richer than the exterior. Thus, the Vimana style is symbolically and philosophically more meaningful of the inner and outer content of the universe.

(e) Its total and ultimate focus on and ritual paramountcy of the *cella*, aside of which none of the other iconic niche elements are ritually vital. Its representation thus of the microcosm in the *archa*-manifested divine principle consecrated the cella, of which the temple is the mere corporeal body, is complete.

Such is the traditional attunement of the Vimana model from the time of the protohistoric massive structures like the ziggurat etc. on the one hand down to the historic buddhist magnum *opus* of Indonesia at Borobudur of the 9th century A.D., itself considerably influenced by the Chandis of Java including Prambanan (7th-8th century A.D.) that in general pyramidal design and storeyed or tiered rise, it falls in line with constructions both secular and religious that indigenous artisans had constructed across continuing centuries in west and east Asia.

C. If we are to examine the influence of the *Vimana* school on other schools, of which, as already mentioned, the Northern *Rekha prasada* is the most obvious, we have, in the first instance, to say something about the prevalence of the other schools themselves. It should be firstly realised that the structural features which characterise these schools are of a pattern somewhat different from that of the *Vimana*

style. The *rekha* or curvilinear pattern of the Northern style, is by and large got by an astylar corbelling principle, course by course, so that the *mulamanjari* or the *anda* (which part is also called the *sikhara* of this school), has *lata* or a floriated creeper-scheme-bracing along the cardinal points of what would be called the *bhadra sala* sector of the southern Vimana school. One gets the impression that in the archetypal orginal model which would have involved much timbering, this *lata*-bracing might have been of sheet metal tying up the joints which are liable to be of an *open* type in the central areas of the sides, while the *karna* or corner joints would have been well bonded and would not require secondary reinforcements. This gave the schematically flower model to the *anda* of the northern *sikhara* of which the *manjari* is the main petal scheme and the *lata* , the corrugated sheath outside the ovary. This is further highlighted by the *urah-srngas* or *anga sikharas* or *sringa-haras* that variously overlap with and encase the *manjari* in the Central Indian, Maha Maru and Bhumuja sub-schools of the Northern *Rekha style*. It is only in the *latina* sub style of the Gurjara-Yata region and in the Kalinga style of Orissa, which are also within the *Rekha* class that we do not have these subsidiary reinforcements detailed above. In both of these, the coursed, corbelled structural pattern is more than adequately displayed. We have an indigenous gabled style, known to the medieval *sthapatis* of western India as the *phamsana* roof style which has, however, very wide currency essentially in the areas between Aryavarta and the Dravida Desa. This was reigning side by side with the Chalukya-Vimana style and claims a separate categorization here. This is sometimes termed as the Kadamba-Nagara class owing to th essentially squarish (Nagara) plan of these structures and their preponderance in the coastal Kadamba country. This continues through all across the Krishna valley from sea to sea and is seen also as a viable indigenuous pattern in areas close to Kalinga and Madhya Pradesh, in the regions which were under the Eastern Gangas and the Kakatiya—Yadava clans and correspondingly on the western flank, they appear from the Maitraka period and produce medieval stylization there also. They show a technical divine of this overlapping *phamsana* roof, but integrate it with a regular *rekha prasada* also, as they do not by themselves have a traditional status where they reflect a compact grouping as in the entire Krishna valley and lower Godavari doab and the adjuncture plateau regions of Bastar and the tribal tracts of Telingana, they always sport a regular *chaturasra sikhara* of the *shadvarga Vimana* order, thereby indicating their affiliation mainly to the *Vimana* order. It is their sturdy, if somewhat unconventionally plain format, that had also had a profound influence on the Kalinga order, where, in addition to the *Rekha* which dominate Kalinga, it is seen integrated or separate as the *Khakara mundi* and the *pridhadeul* categories which are unlike any corresponding feature in the *Nagara Rekha prasada* school of Northern India in the Madhyadesa. One gets a clear impression that it is a filiated sub-school of the Dravadian or Vimana style and impels integration in the adjacent areas of Kalinga, Ma dhya Pradesh etc., and even in Gujarat, one may feel that its indigenous Maitraka and later *phamsana* order with their ubiquitous overlapping layers of *Kantra* and

Kapota mouldings picked out with a regular series of *nasikas* all along the latter and pilasters all along the former might have been the architectural essayings of the *Dravida* ethnic groups among which Gujarat is also included in the linguistic Pancha-Dravida enunciation. Be this as it may, we witness a two tiered structure of the Vimana school, one traditionally described in the silpa texts and the other moored in the simplified mass articulations for construction of shrines wihout too much of traditional conformity or elaboration. Thus conceived, a substratum of this category is pervasively seen in the whole of the area, essentially of the Deccan from coast to coast, and lying between the two viable traditional schools of the Dravidian *Vimana* style and Northern *Rekha style*. This is perhaps the most spectacular evidence for the expansive influence of the Vimana school at grass roots. It is no surprise therefore that the overlapping a stylar corbelled trends both of the *Nagara* in square class and the *sala* or rectangular (*Nida*) class are too frequently to be noted as the important structural forms of the S. Asian archipelago also, apart from the Prakara bandha, central Gopura dvara and the shadvarga vertical classification which is also their invariable adjunct in these S. Asian countries, already named earlier.

D. Coming now to the influence of the constituent elements of the Vimana style on the areas in India outside its main provenance, say, Tamil nadu, we may divide their elements into (1) the pillar order (2) the door frame (3) the exterior *pada* and (4) the layout.

Of these, the pillar order is by itself the diagnostic element of not only a period but also a region. In Tamil nadu, we find from the very inception of the cave style, the depiction of all the constituent parts of the pillar from base to corbel. We see, however, two variant usages in the pillar members, one in which there is a stringent abridgement of the members to a schematic square sectioned *sadurams* or cubical parts one above and one below, with an intervening octagonal part (kattu), these three together representing the shaft of the pillar over which the corbel of a massive duocene curve or *taranga* pattern directly rests. It is very obvious that this scheme had been deliberately adopted in the cave style to reduce the chance of unnecessary damage to its members during excavation, since the rock excavation in granite had been started for the first time only in Tamil nadu in the late 6th century A.D. and correspondingly only in Tamil nadu. This schematic massive simple pillar type is also seen. That there was a well delineated pillar order already extant in Tamil nadu is also clearly borne out by the employment of its design from the very next stage in early 7th century A.D., by which time, sufficient mastery over granite carving had been achieved by the sculptors. This elaborte design comprises a basal *padma* or cymareeta, over which either a seated or standing animal or a cubical portion is seen followed by a fluted part terminating in a *malasthana, padmabandha, kalasa, tadi, kumbha, urdhvapadma, phalaka, virakanda* and *bodhika* or corbel. Of these, the *virakanda* especially is symbolic of the wood-architectural character of the pillar style wherein this member served to pin the *phalaka* below and the corbel above together with the

entablature members that rise above. That there had been other such sections of the pillar where such *tenon* and mortice integration had been employed is also noticed. One such stage is for example the *padmabandha* level upto which the shaft portion of the pillar is one integral piece. Before we deal further with the impact of this pillar order elsewhere we should mention that even the earlier mentioned schematic pillar style of the cave temple with two sadurams and one kattu in between, had itself been unduly current by impact from Tamil nadu, outside the Tamil region, as seen at Vijayavada and as far away in the Maharashtra region as at Bhokardan, the ancient Bhogarasdhana, where an interesting cave temple of the early 7th century exists. This is in spite of the softer rocks that were employed in these afore-mentioned places, in contrast to the granite rock of Tamilnadu. That this was a clear imitation of the mode of Tamilnadu is further shown by certain additional workmanship traits such as a conceal boss on the triangular corners at the base of the octagonal *kattu* in widely separated places of interior Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh and elsewhere.

It may have to be stated that all temples which have a flat roof either of an unadorned kind or of a *samatala vitana* type generally have no superstructure for the roof other than the tower of the main temple over the sanctum and it is seen that even in the Northern *Rehka* style, this happens upto the 10th century A.D. whereas after a practice of creating subsidiary bell-shaped towers (*Ghanta-samvarana* of tiered *nabhi-chanda* courses) start developing in increasing dimension over the sabhamandapa and other altered mandapa adjunct on the axial line like *mukha-chatushki, sringara chauri* etc. It is, however, interesting to see that in such temples of the Deccan like the Hoysala, later Chalukya or Kadamba sub-styles, where the interior clearly adopts a *kshipta* or *nabhi chanda* type of ceilings for the *navaranga* as well as other axial adjuncts, sometimes combined with *samatala* or flattish, or plain coffer types for the perepheral bays of the *Ranga-mandapa* a clear indication that notwithstanding this obvious or studied hybridization of ceiling features of the interior, the basic affiliation with a clearly southern Vimana is emphatically proved by the absence of any crescendo of towers feature on the *roof proper*. This can only show that the interior designing was *borrowed* in these sub-styles and do not vitiate its basic nexus with the *Vimana* school. Indeed, an interesting device which obviates any chance of a roof tower series for subsidiary mandapas in these sub-styles, is the introduction of an *attic* which rises over the inner ceiling tops, covering it fully and spanning it with a regular flat roof tympanic (course) on the top leaving a narrow low passage all over the intervening section. This is invariably seen adopted in the Hoysala, Kadamba and western Chalukya and even sometimes in Kakatiya-Yadava schools(and continued into the Nayak school (of Karnataka) where the ground floor inter or ceiling is often of an ornate, domed character supported by bracket figures of Vidhyadharis of exquisite beauty. This in no uncertain terms provides evidence not only for the status and stamina of the southern *Vimana* school, but also for the deliberate effort on the part of the building architects to sever from the fundamental loyalty to the southern school. Besides in all the cases of these medieval Deccani sub-schools there is a

stylized *hara* parapet all along the terrace which feature is not obtaining in the true *Nagara Rekha prasadas*.

A negative evidence of the impact or influence of the southern Vimana category in the confluence region with the Rekha style in the lower Deccan is the total elimination of the *suknasa* from the *phamsana* type of tiered tower temples, already shown as essentially affiliated to the southern school : and the partial elimination of the sukanasa even in some of the *Rekha* temples of this region as in the Kumara Brahma temple of Alampur and Kudavali Sangamesvara temple. This is, in fact, a proof of a clear feature of *Rekha* type being specifically done away with, in deference to local traditions, at least in some limited cases.

Leaving aside the specialities of the Vimana school (ii) pillar order, let us take the door frame. We have already stated that the interior of the southern style temple is marked by plainness and a schematic presentation of the structural framework. In this the door frame of the cella is clearly the most important. In the reckoning of things under the Vimana style, the door frame of the sanctum has a functional and empirical value rather than any ornamental. In the developed Northern style, perhaps the door frame is the most ornate and visually highlighted part of the interior apart from the pillars and the ceiling. In the lower Deccan which in many ways formed a half way house between functional development and symbolic ornamentation, the sanctum door frame, even of those temples which are clearly affiliated to the southern style tend to have a good degree of art motifs. These in fact begin right from the cave art stage when even in Tamil nadu it was customary to display some specific *applique* details like a *kapota* over the jambs and a *hamsa* or *vyalavari* in the entablature framework but none other. The introduction of a *lalata bimba* in the centre of the beam of the door frame which was ubiquitously adopted in Deccan and the North was not taken recourse to in the Vimana style. Reverting to the functional character of the door-frame in the overall dimensional proportions of other parts of the temple, it could be clearly averred that it had a cardinal basic relationship to the size of the temple as such by being almost always about one third of the total width of the sanctum interior, and about the same size as the width of the pedestal upon which the image of the sanctum (be it iconic or aniconic) rests. This width was doubled for the total height of the image including its pedestal and was approximately one sixteenth of the total height of the temple upto the *kalasa*. Variations can be noticed, but they also keep this cardinal principle in mind that there is a basic measure (*kol*) for every temple creation (something indeed corresponding to the Dehalabhdangula principle of iconometry) which controlled the *vinyasa sutra* of the ground plan, in regard to the *bhadra*, *karna* and *harantara* parts of the plinth and wall, graduated indeed by the *kudya stambha* pilasters of the *pada* and thereby relating the door frame width of the cella of the temple with every worthwhile dimension of the plan and elevation of the *total* temple and thus explaining the significance of the term *Vimana* (vividha-manatvat or vistaratah miyati iti vimanam) as a structure whose

horizontal and vertical tiered or storeyed harmony is susceptible to certain firm principles of proportionate measurement, and thereby making the *Vimana* model an architect's delight and ideal. This principle, notwithstanding some art motifs and ornamentation that may characterise the cella door frame in the Deccani temples, is still adhered to but not so in the *Rekha prasada* types where the door frame received a major attention by its multiple *sakhas* or over door scheme, with the base of the jamb liable to have miniatures of Ganga and Yamuna, besides *pratiharas*, and where a *lalata bimba* or signature mascot is a must and where the *uttaranga* also clearly outlines the *rekha* order of the temple, as different from those of the Deccani southern *Vimana* types where the *uttaranga* also delineates only a southern *sikhara* entablature details comprising *kuta, nasika* and *sala* miniatures. Two elements stand out in this connection. They are(1) that in all such cases, the ornate door frame details are relevant only for an attenuated and compressed anti chamber (*idaikali*) front (which in an original dispensation of early temples, devoid of any front mandapas was providing the only frontward access to the cella of the temple). This holds good for all southern temples and even in the *Rehkaprasadas* every one of the front mandapas added subsequently also have ornate door frames thereby indicating that the original door frame of the cella with its rich door frame was indeed part only of this scheme of all secondary door frames found in different parts of the temple. The pristine plain cella door frame is stuck to only in the *Vimanas* of the Tamil country. Even if some of the sub-styles of the southern *Vimana* school in lower Deccan and Karnataka resort to ornate cella door frames, these are all less ornate in early stages and even in subsequent stages, in relation to those of the *ardhamandapa* and the three *mukhachatushkis* of the triple door (or a single door) entrances of the *sabhamandapa* or *Navaranga*.

2. On the other hand, an ubiquitous element which characterised a truly southern *Vimana* is the presence of reasonably well sized often massive *dvarapalas* or doorkeepers carved in the round and fixed in front of the cella to start with and in due course on every subsidiary door entrance. These occur right from the inception of cave art stage itself. In this respect even the Karnataka and Deccani southern *Vimanas* notwithstanding several of the hybridised features of the Northern style they had imbibed do not give up these massive and dynamic *dvarapala* figures whether in Andhra Desa or Karnataka or even Maharashtra. This is in contrast to the Northern temple tradition wherein the *dvarapala* or *pratiharas* are *always* in diminutive sizes and never in the round and are part of the relief carvings at the base of the jambs. An interesting feature of these door keeper carvings in the northern and the southern temples further is that in the former the diminutive jamb *pratiharas* are of a standardised type without variations reflective of the specific religious affiliation of the deity in the sanctum , Saivaite or Vaishnavite, whereas it is one of the specific impressive features of the southern Vimana that its *dvarapalas* are visually and iconically the filiated attendants of the deity in the sanctum well differentiated as between a Saiva and a Vaishnava temple. In the Sakta or Durga temples it is customary

to have female door keepers. This element indicates that by and large the temples of Northern India follow the *Smarta* pantheistic traditions arising out of the original *Panchayatana* worship and no sectarian differences are recognized among the various divinities in respect of the attendants or door keepers that should be shown. The image in the sanctum however would show in the north as part of the iconic paraphrasing of it, the figures of the consorts (if any), attendants etc. on the same carving, on the flanks, unlike the southern practice where there will be a separate image for main deity and his consorts and no attendants can be displayed within the sanctum.

3. The exterior wall is another element we can examine for its impact on other schools. The *torana* element on the niches of the cardinal points for example is seen in its earliest provenance in the *Kutagara* or hut shaped shrine of the Draupadi ratha of Mahabalipuram, datable to the 1st quarter of the 7th century A.D. They are sporadically found already also in some of cave temples of Tamilnadu as at Dalavanur, in Tamilnadu, Kudumiyamalai, Piranmalai and Tirukkalakkudi-the latter three in the Pandiyan territory. But most of the structural examples in the rest of south India in the other sub-regional schools or contract-schools are employing this torana element only well after this stage, say, from the second half of the 7th century A.D. or even later. Incidentally, it may be stated that *Kutagara* is a term which is already current in the sangham literature, as in Purananuru, as Kutagarattu-tunjiya Peruvaludi, etc. where apparently a *mandapa* shrine of brick and mortar of this hut-shape had been erected over the *pallipadai* of this early Pandiyan king (datable approximately between 2nd and 5th century A.D.) but we do not know if the *torana* element formed part of this erection.

4. The decorative elements of the recessed spaces (salilantara) in between the *bhadra* and *karna* again, included in Tamilnadu from about the early 10th century A.D. a device called the *pushpa* or *kumbha lata* of a sprinkler type receptacle shape whose top fans out with a floral spread. This element continues into the Chola period into more elaborate ornamentation and in the Vijayanagar temples, especially in Karnataka becomes a foliated flower vase type of decoration and a characteristic feature of that period, which can then be termed as a *kumba panjara*. Similarly the use of *bhutavalabhi* for the ground *tala* entablature elements and only a *hamsa valabhi* for the *griva* is seen employed first only in Tamil nadu as at the Dharmarajaratha of Mahabalipuram—a distinction that is borne out by textual specifications also, and while these are found in other areas of south India in other schools later, this distinction is not often well maintained, suggesting thereby that the progenitor model for these emanated from the Tamil region.

5. As regards layout, the prakara *bandha* and *dvarasala gopura* again are first to be seen in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchi and in the larger of the shore temples at Mahabalipuram, both datable to C. 725 A.D. and only much later in other regions. But the important point to be borne in mind is this ritual and landscape delineation

layout is freely adopted in the SE Asian region culminating in the 14th century in the grand *pallippadai* temple of the Devaraja cult at Ankor Vat in Cambodia, bearing evidence to the influences felt over the organisation of the temple confines, by the typical Dravidian mode.

E. It would be difficult to detail the profound impact that the *Vimana* style of the Dravidian country had on the rest of the schools in India and in the SE Asian archipelago within the compact limits of a single paper but it is hoped that enough has been said about the fundamental, symbolic and functional attributes of the *Vimana* School of Architecture—which by the sheer frequency of provenance and strength of its creative stages for nearly a millennium of hectic activity of sthapakas, sthapatis and artisans became the grandest ever temple perspective envisaged in urban societies.

THE ANGKOR MONUMENTS - A STUDY

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As India slowly but surely makes further strides towards an era of scientific and technological advancement, there is a greater awareness on the part of the generation that is passing out that the history of the country should be re-written bringing out the ancient glory and tradition in proper perspective without treating what has been handed down so far as the final word on the subject. There are a number of gaps in history which require to be probed into, to ascertain true facts about the extent of political, commercial, cultural and religious links of ancient Indian kingdoms with other regions of Asia. One such profitable area of research could be the link with Kamboja (Cambodia)—the present Kampuchea. This would bring to light in greater detail the range and depth of Indian influence over this region, more particularly that of Southern India. To quote George Coedes, considered an unchallenged dean of Southeast Asian studies, specially the Khmer history, "In the middle of the fourth century the conquests of the emperor Samudragupta in the Ganges Valley and Southern India provoked a new exodus to the east that resulted not only in the coming to power of an Indo-Scythian in Funan but also in a general resurgence of Indianisation abroad in which Southern India, especially the region dominated by the Pallavas of Kanchi, seems to have played a preponderant role". Funan that is referred to in this passage is the predecessor of the empire of Khmers which later became Cambodia. The story goes that an Indian youth name Kaundinya embarked on a voyage as ordained by a divine spirit in his dream and conquered the woman ruler of a tiny kingdom on Indo-China coast and gradually expanded his domain which became well known as Funan. With the decline of Funan, another kingdom Chenla rose in its place. It is interesting to note tha the period of Chenla kings 6th to 8th century A.D. is said to correspond to the period of the temple building activities of Pallava kings of Tamil Nadu ; particularly the reign of Bhavavarman II of Chenla with that of the Mamallapuram temples.

In course of time Chenla gave way to Khmer empire. Jayavarman II of the Khmer dynasty (802-850 A.D.) founded the kingdom of Angkor. This great king and his successors launched on the construction of gigantic temples spread over vast areas. These temples were embellished with statues, sculptures and highly aesthetic ornamentation. Even after the ravages of time these breathtaking monuments bear testimony to the conceptual profundity and the high degree of artistic expression of those that had toiled to leave for posterity evidence of the glory of the empire. The kingdom of the Khmers was called Kambuja or Kambuja desa.

More than six hundred monuments scattered over the Angkor region have come to light. These include temples, palaces and other monuments. They are built of bricks, laterite and sandstone. The most famous of these is the Angkor Wat, a colossal temple dedicated to Vishnu. The other well-known monuments are Angkor Thom, Bayon, Bentei Srei, Prasat Kravan etc. The whole region was engulfed by tropical forests and remained hidden from the outside world until Henri Mouhot, a French naturalist stumbled upon them while wandering in the forests.

The temples of Angkor are gigantic in size with clusters of shrines on a raised plinth. While in some of them the platform is low, in some they rise high in step pyramidal form. These temples do not conform to the Dravidian temple architecture, the characteristic features of which include Ardhamantapa, Mukhamantapa and Mahamantapa. But it is interesting to note that a small temple dedicated to Siva in Kalliapatti near Pudukottai is a structure without Mantapas—a single shrine on a low raised platform.

Here, mention must be made of Bentei Srei—translated as 'Citadel of Women'. It is a beautiful temple of sandstone with a cluster of three shrines on a low raised platform, very unlike the pyramidal structure of other temples. It is said that two of the shrines were dedicated to Siva and one to Vishnu. But there is reason to believe that one each of the shrines could have been dedicated to Vishnu, Lakshmi and Siva. The name itself suggests it. 'Srei' is a corruption of 'Sri' meaning Goddess Lakshmi. This temple is so profusely and intricately carved that it could be a jewel among temples not only of that region, but anywhere else as well. The scultptured figures in the niches of this temple have attractive features and expressive faces and are in fact significantly more exquisite and enchanting then those in the other temples of the region. Of special importance are the figures of women which are different from those found in the other monuments. Particular mention must be made of the coiffure (*Kondai*) of some and the ear pendants (*pampadam*) that remind us of the characteristics attributable to the Chera region of South India. It is well known that Chera Nadu was part of Tamil country. As compared to these figures the headgear and hair-do of women in the other monuments like Angkor Wat, Angkor Thom and even the monuments of Bakheng and Preah Ko etc. are entirely different. More often they wear headgear or crowns which were the current court fashion then.

Another interesting feature of the Angkor temples is the profusion of dancing figures called *Apsaras*. As we know in our own tradition, *Apsaras* are the dancing nymphs full of beauty and grace. *Natya Sastram* mentions the creation of *apsaras* to delineate delicate graceful movements. Coming to the depiction of dancing figures, temples of South India, particularly those of Tamil Nadu, have a special place. The 108 *karanas* sculptured in the Chidambaram and other temples and the innumerable panels of dancers are noted for depicting the dynamism of movement. They are not mere poses (*Sthanakas*) but freezes snatched from continuous movement.

The dance of the *apsaras* of the Angkor monuments are also moments of movement stilled into sculpture and make an impact on the viewer. The figures are with distinct Khmer features and ornamentation...The two illustrations - one of a dancing figure from the Devi shrine in Chidambaram temple and the other of a panel of dancers from an Angkor monument - will bring out the similarity of movement. In both the lower limb position is 'Ardhamandali' with one leg with *Samapada* foot and the other lifte in *Urdhvajanu*. The hand positions vary.

It is reasonably certain that Indian dance theory travelled across the seas of these countries along with other forms of culture and the practice of the art ws based on it. Here I must mention a very interesting fact pertaining to the neighbouring Thailand. In the Thai School of Dramatic Arts, there is a mask for Sage Bharata, whom they acknowledge as the creator of the art of dance. The mask is held in great veneration and daily *pujas* are offered. The students pray in front of it before beginning their classes. With the cultural contacts that must have existed between the neighbouring countries we can infer that the art of Bharata was known to the people of Angkor as well.

There is some controversy now as to which region of India Bharata belonged and the origin of the art of Bharatam. If we follow the line of argument that *Bharata* who wrote the Natya Sastram either *belonged to or was inspired by the earliar dance styles of the Tamil country*, then it is possible that this art form travelled from here to the South East Asian countries including Angkor.

There are a number of legends surrounding the temples and monuments of the Angkor region. These legends reveal in unmistakable terms the influence of Indian religion and culture in these areas. Of these the legend of the leper king is quite interesting. The leper king who rule Kamboja for a long time pined for a cure. He was told that if he bathed in the water purified by the *abhishekam* performed to *one lakh lingams*, his disease could be got rid of. He was frantically looking for a means to accomplish this. Then he found a way out. The river flowing through his territory passed over a bed of rocks over a considerable distance. He diverted the course of the river and ordered the whole rock bed to be carved with images of Sivalingam. When the required hundred thousand were completed, he let the river flow over the lingams on its original course. After a short distance the river flowed into a waterfall. The king pathed daily in that fall, the water of which was purified having washed the Lingams, thus amounting to the performance of *abhishekam*, and he was then cured. The place is located deep inside the forest without any proper access road. The Lingams are distinctly visible even today in the crystal clear water flowing over the rock bed. The water fall is a short distance away where the face of the king is carved on the rock below the fall. The water flows over his face constantly. There was a statue in one of the terraces called the terrace of the leper king in Angkor Thom, which bore certain marks resembling skin affected by leprosy.

I learn from a team which visited Angkor very recently that this statue has been removed to the museum at Phnom Penh for fear of disfiguration during the recent disturbances. The statue has now been thoroughly cleaned and all those marks have disappeared. A doubt seems to have arisen whether it was the statue of the leper king and if at all there was a leper king. Whether that particular statue was that of the leper king or not, I think that there must have been such a king, having heard the legend and also seen the river bed with innumerable Sivalingams.

There must surely be many other legends prevalent in the area which may be lost to history unless efforts are made immediately to compile them. When analysed they may throw light on certain dark regions in the history of the country that could bring out the missing points in the various stages of its cultural evolution. Though the influence is totally Indian, its style of manifestation in the form of art and architecture is different and distinct in the land of the Khmers. This calls for a well directed research.

Now, research mostly is done by scholars of European origin. Though they are utterly devoted to the cause and painstaking in their endeavour, they may miss some sentimental and sensitive features that may be unique to India and the Hindus. It is said that some of those Hindu temples like the Angkor Wat were also mausoleums of the kings who built them, where after their death either their mortal remains or their ashes were interred. This must be a misconception. For, there is a unique Hindu custom whereby a period of uncleanliness, referred to as *theettu* in Tamil and a *aasoucha* in the North is observed at the death of a relative and even at the birth of a child in the family. The number of days of its observance depends on the closeness of the relationship. It is widely practised to this day and during this period those observing it will not participate in religous ceremonies, auspicious occasions, visit temples etc.

Again, if somebody visits a burial ground or the cremation ground, he takes a bath before he enters his house because the visit has rendered him unclean. If Hindu customs were prevalent as pointed out by historical evidence, even the close relatives of the king would have been barred from entry into the temple following his demise for certain number of days. With such a religious background, it is inconveivable that the reamains of the kings would have been interred in those temples.

To clear up such misconceptions and to get at the correct facts, it is necessary to encourage research with an open mind.

Evidence points to the influence of the various regions of India on the art, culture and religion of this area. It is also generally agreed that South India had exerted a greater influence. There are many references to Pallavas of Kanchi by scholars on the subject. The names of whole lines of kings from Funan to the last of the Khmer kings, Jayavarman VIII, are very much like the names of Pallava kings

(e.g.) Indravarman, Yasovarman, Jayavarman, Rajendravarman, Tribhuvanadityavarman. This and other pieces of evidence point to the fact that ancient Tamils of Chera, Chola, Pandiya and Pallava kingdoms must have had stronger links with far off lands than what is thought of now and they played a greater role in shaping their cultures.

So, there is a great need to rewrite our ancient history to bring to light these links. This may also help study our own past in a proper perspective and to learn about the discontinued and long forgotten customs, life styles etc. Tamil scholars with a knowledge of French, Dutch and the local languages of this region, should take up this admittedly difficult but sure to be rewarding work.

SECTION 4

DANCE AND MUSIC

THE HISTORY OF INDIAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

Indian Music, the pride of our culture, is pre-eminently a well developed system based on scientific principles. It is not only rich in theory and practice, but also has a glorious and colourful history behind. The story of Indian Music from the days of its inception to its present highly evolved form is of all absorbing and perennial interest.

The history of Indian Music includes not merely the glowing biographies of the composers, but also the development of musical instruments, musical scales and forms, besides the evolution of the musical songs and literature. At different stages of development the art experienced within itself the springing up of the basic concepts in the spheres of musical instruments, melody and rhythm.

The musical history of India can be broadly divided into three periods – the ancient, medieval and modern periods. The ancient period extended from the pre-historic times to the 9th century A.D. the medieval period from the 9th to the 16th century onwards. In the ancient period music was principally an applied art. It was a handmaid to the art of dancing. In the medieval period it came to be viewed in its independent aspect as a subject by itself. The most important aspect of this period was the bifurcation of Indian Music into the Karnatak and Hindustani systems. This change came about by the 13th - 14th centuries. During the same period there was also an unassuming fusion of the Tamil Isai with the general stream of Indian Music, which was redesignated from now on as Karnatak music. The modern period is characterised by the formation of the scheme of 72 *meelhakartaas* – the basic scales. Great innovation was made in the sphere of musical compositions during this period.

Indian Music history can also be studied under the Hindu period, the Moghul period and the British period. The Hindu period extended again from the pre-historic times to the time of the publication of the treatise on music, the *Sangita Ratnaakara*, in the 12th century A.D. The Moghul period began with the advent of the Persians and Mangols, when a revolution setin in the growth of Indian Music. Actuated by the irresistible love for the noble art of India, the invaders did their

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best to bring about a fusion of the trio culture – viz. Indian, Persian and Moghul, and reconcile the art with the conquered one. The impact of Muslim culture upon Indian Music was indeed great and the synthesis was of far reaching consequence. Affected by the alien cultures, North India lost its old moorings and developed a changed system of music, while South Indian Music entered into a golden age of music and retained its pristine form. The advent of British rule brought in a foreign musical culture from which the indigenous art tacitly imbibed features conducive to its own progress. The greatest influence of western music is the introduction of violin into the music of South India, in the later part of the 18th century A.D. The instrument was studied with great care by the local musicians who lost no time in adopting it for the purpose of South Indian Music. Another instrument that has come to stay in South India is the clarionet, which was till recently used as an accompaniment in dance concert and at present being honoured with the status of an independent concert instrument. The use of the western bands, orchestras and adaptations of European melodies to Sanskrit Sahityas by eminent composers like Thyagaraja, Muthuswamy Dikshitar and others, are some of the noteworthy features of the impact of European music on the music of South India, with what effect, time only can decide.

The Sources

Approaches to the study of musical history of India are numerous. To mention a few:-

(1) By taking into consideration the different periods in their chronological order and studying the condition of music in all its aspects during each period.

(2) By concentrating on specific topics and studying their history and evolution during the different periods.

(3) By studying the lives and contributions of the Lakshanhakaaraas (musicologists) and Vaaggeeyakaaraas (*musician* composers) to the theory (lakshanha) and practice (lakshya) of music.

(4) By studying the evolution of musical instruments from the past to the present, and

(5) By studying music in general from the present to the past.

The sources which provide materials for the history of Indian Music are varied and extensive. They are classified as—

(1) Works written on music in Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu languages. Some of the important works being *Naatya Saastra* of Bharatamuni (c. 2 century B.C.)

Sangita Ratnaakara by Saaranga Deeva (c. 12th century A.D.) in Sanskrit, Sangita Saara Sangraha in Telugu and *Taala Samuttiram* in Tamil.

(2) Commentaries on musical treatises–e.g. *Abhinava Bhaarati* by Abhinava Gupta on *naatya saastra.*

(3) References to music in the non-sangita literature of sacred and secular nature.

(4) Archaeological evidences – (a) sculptures and paintings, (b) numismatics (c) inscriptions.

(5) State documents and gazettes which give information about the patronage extended by kings and other ruling authorities to music and musicians.

(6) Writings or books by foreign travellers like Abbe Dubois, Sir William Jones, Captain Day and others.

(7) Internal evidences furnished by musical compositions.

(8) Correspondence between musicians and composers on matters musical, private diaries of musicians and patrons of music.

(9) Oral traditions and musical anecdotes.

The present object is to construct the history of Indian Music with the help of valuable materials pertaining to the art of music, collected from those sources which do not have a direct bearing on the development of the art, but have made only a passing reference to it. They throw a flood of light on the growth of the art during many centuries from the earliest times. Some of the references have been of help to scholars in fixing up the correct date of many a musical fact and the concept.

History and science are complementary to each other. The science of Indian music (theory) owes its existence to the different stages of development in the course of the evolution. These stages can become concepts and landmarks only when they stand the contemporary criticism and eventually make their free entry into science. Science can only help us visualise the stages of evolution and their importance as historical concepts.

Materials collected from various sources such as the sacred and secular literature of India and archaeological and epigraphical reports play the greatest part in establishing the validity of the historical concepts in Indian Music. They rightly fill up the vacuum created at times in the past, with authentic reports on the then existing system of music, people's taste, their attitude towards the art and its influence on them. In that way these sources maintain a happy balance, by throwing

sufficient light on the history of the art, which otherwise would have been one-sided, as the opinion of the musician and musicologist would naturally be in the nature of extolling the greatness of the art. History of Indian Music should essentially win the contemporary criticism and judgment of the people. Hence these sources form the foundation for the construction of a detailed history of Indian Music.

The sources for the history of Indian Music fall under two main heads, viz., the linguistic and the archaeological branches of learning. The literary sources comprise the extant literature in Sanskrit, Tamil, and Telugu languages of sacred and secular nature. In order to collect authentic information on the subject as recorded by poets and scholars only original works in all the three languages are to be studied and analysed. Adaptations and translations of original works into other languages are omitted as main sources, for, however much the authors of these works might have tried to preserve in their works, the essence and spirit of the original works, these works will betray the cultural traits and social background of the periods when they were published. Even among the original works those that have a significant contribution to the history of Indian Music deserve special treatment as valuable sources.

The Archaeological source includes epigraphical reports inscriptions, numismatics, sculptures and paintings. Materials relating to these are obtained from the volumes of Archaeological reports, Epigraphical records, Numismatic journals, Monograms on caves, temples and paintings and Archaeological reports on excavations and historical monuments.

Historical monuments of exquisite workmanship are studded all over India like precious gems of invaluable worth. They radiate far and near the glorious cultural heritage of our country. The existing monuments that have withstood the ravages of time, vandalism and negligence offer us a panoramic view of life led by the ancient Indians. By historical monuments we consider not only the colossal edifices such as the stupas, cave-temples, rock-cut shrines and structural monuments, but also sculptures and paintings that were enbedded in these monuments as decorative motifs, bronzes, carvings on wood, ivory, seattite and terracotta, caligraphic engravings on seals and sealings and ornaments and costumes, which focus the facets of Indian culture. In an endeavour to understand the soul of India's culture through music, the finest of fine arts, we at once resort to these historical monuments because they are unimpeachable records of the art of music in its deepest and most universal sense.

This paper narrates how music grew from the pre-historic period to the present day with reference to the evolution and existence of the Indian musical instruments. This narration is mainly based on the pictorial records of musical instruments in the form of sculptures and paintings. At relevant places are

correlated apt references with explanations from the non-sangitha literature in the Tamil language and from the ancient inscriptions in Tamil Nadu.

Pre-Historic Period

In ancient Indian tradition, music, the gift of the Almighty existed even before the birth of man. Music of the cosmos (*anaahatanaada* in Sanskrit) preceded the appearance of man, while man-made music (*aahatanaada*) is only as old as the human race. Thus music and mankind are mutually indebted: man developed music and music enabled man to commune with God. Pre-historic man had to struggle, we suppose, with things that come easily to us today. He had to find how to speak. The natural phenomena were incomprehensible and in his attempt to express his reactions to nature, primitive man realised that he found an easy, spontaneous expression in the rhythmic movements of his body and the melodic modulations of his voice. Therefore, he incorporated dance and music into his religious rites and festivals as media to commune with his gods. Exclamations of love (*sringaara*), mercy (*daya, karunha*), happiness (*aananda*), grief (*cooka*), heroism (*viira*), terror (*bhaya*), anger (*koopa*), humour (*haasya*), disgust (*biibhatsa*) and tranquility (*caanti*) however primitive they were, were man's first attempts at expressing his feelings. Indeed, the story of music from prehistoric times to the present day, is a record of human feelings expressed in rhythm and melody.

Music of the Indus Civilisation

The earliest evidence for a dancing woman is a bronze figurine, found in Mohenje Daro, dated third millennium B.C. It is a vivid representation of a young nautch girl with the slim figure necessary for a professional performer of the dance (fig. 1). Her left arm rests on the hip and reveals a downward thrust of a series of bangles, their further course arrested by the wrist. Her leg, which is slightly forward may be beating time to the music. The object in her left hand appears to be a castanet.

Of the three main families of musical instruments, the stringed (*tata*), the wind (*sushira*) and the percussion (*avanaddha*), the last has the longest pedigree. Crude metal clappers (fig. 2) have been discovered at Mohanjo Daro and Harappa. Taking the hint from nature that sound could be produced by beating sticks or other implements on a resounding object, the Indus man made the first drum, the tabor, popularly known as the "tom tom" or "tambattam". Specimens of this can be seen in the hands of terracotta human figurines (fig. 3) in Harappa. It is a circular drum with a frame covered on one side with skin. Subsequently the tabor was modified by enlarging the breadth of the frame into a hollow cylindrical shell to form a drum with two drum heads. On a seal from Harappa a man appears beating on a long drum before a tiger (fig. 4). Its cylindrical shape reminds us of the drum called *timila* which is popular today in Malabar, South India. The whole

scene illustrates the power of music in taming wild animals. In another terracotta figurine (fig. 5) a woman has another kind of drum in the shape of an hour glass which looks like an *Udukkai*, a drum used today throughout South India. Round terracotta rattles or castanets with small pellets inside were well known at Mohanjo Daro (fig. 6). Musical instruments of the wind group are represented by the number of whistles in the shapes of round balls, birds, pear or a jar (fig 7). Evidently these were *upa-tala vaadyas* i.e. secondary rhythmic accompaniments, played along with the drums in ritual dances.

Harps and lyres represent the string family. A harp is depicted on a Harappan seal (fig. 8). It is a bow-shaped instrument with three strings of different length tied to both ends of the bow. These strings might have been tuned to the three primordial notes of the Vedic music: *Udaatta* (high tone), *Anudaatta* (low tone) and *Svarita* (middle tone). It is very similar to the Sumerian harp called *Al* of the third millennium B.C. The sign on the right resembles the rasp with serrated edges. This instrument has survived the test of time and exists today under the name of *Kokkarai* or *Kokkara* in Malabar as a popular folk musical instrument played while exorcising evil spirits and sickness. A lyre is depicted on another seal from Harappa (fig. 9). It is U-shaped with a cross-bar. There are three strings held in position between the cross-bar and the curvature at the bottom. The Harappan lyre may be identified with the stringed instrument called *Vaanha* of the Vedic Age. This was an instrument with hundred strings made out of a kind of grass called *munji*. It has a resonator, the belly (*mukhabilam*) of which was of the hide of an ox. There were three holes, presumably in a bar placed across the two ends of the stem (*danda*). The hundred strings were divided into three groups: two of thirtythree strings each tied to the two holes at the ends and one of thirty-four strings fastened to the belly on the resonator (*ambhanha*). These pictographs represent utterances of musical value. Such a conclusion suggests that letters or words made up from the musical intonation with which they were pronounced, resembled the tone of the musical instruments we have just described.

The music of the Indus civilisation reveals to us the beginnings of musical history some three millenia B.C. These prehistoric remants representing primitive musical instruments have yielded and will continue to yield as our knowledge advances, invaluable information for the study of the music of India through the ages.

Primitive Music

In Nature there was a wonderful variety of sounds, pleasant and unpleasant. The difference of pitch should have been familiar even to the primitive ear, from the low moan of anguish to the high shout of joy. Change of emotion caused change of pitch. Folk songs were but the natural expression of man's emotions as released by the affecting events of his life with all the charm of simple but powerful rhythm. The tune of the song was a sequence of agreeable pitches within a small compass

suggestive of the mood of the mind and appropriate to the meaning of the words expressed. Thus harmony was struck in co-odination with melody and rhythm.

The rock shelters of the Mahadeo hills in the Madhya Pradesh, assigned to the second millennium B.C., preserve in primitive paintings the secular – folk aspect of – music of the ancient Indian society. In one of the rock shelters is a good pictorial record of the domestic recreation – probably a family gathering in the evening after the day's hard toil (fig. 10). The head of the family entertains his folk with the music of his harp, while her companion conveys the meaning of the song through gestures. The child in the foreground is apparently engaged in imitating the dancer. The harp depicted here has a resonator to amplify the sound of the strings. It could be detached at will. To facilitate this, the strings numbering five are joined to the lower end of the *danhdi* (the bow shaped stem) itself. This evidently marks the experimental stage in the evolution of the *Viinha*. The five strings are tuned by means of the tuning pegs.

In another shelter is painted a battle scene of great vigour, which manifests martial musical instruments such as the double-pipe, horn, trumpet and drum (fig. 11). The double pipe has a common mouth-hole with bells at the lower end. The bell serves to damp the overtones and mellow the quality of the notes produced by the instrument. This was the forerunner of the *Tiruccinnam* which is a pair of brass wind instruments with separate mouth-hole. It is a popular wind instrument used in the temples as well as in other ceremonies in South India. The horn and trumpets are plain instruments without finger holes. The horn is known as *kombu* or *koonhakombu* while the trumpet which has a straight long tube is known as *kaalham*. These instruments are also used even today in the temples of South India. The drum suspended from the neck of the player is slightly in the shape of an hourglass. It is shown being played by both the hands. The drum appears to be small and light weight to be easily carried in marches and processions.

Historic Period

In the historic period it is amazing to note that there is no school of sculpture or painting in India wherein music and dance have not claimed an extensive and lively treatment. The artisans from the past have shown in every creation of theirs, how much they were saturated in and visibly moved by the powerful influence of *sangita* and *naatya*.

Miscellaneous Musical Instruments

The simplest instrument was found by man in his own body. The beat of the heart and the pulse evoked in him the sense of rhythm and at the wake of this rhythmic consciousness he provided the first musical accompaniment to the dance by stamping his feet and clapping his hands. The first manifestation of the clappin

hands is seen in the sculptural panel from Bharhut (c. I century B.C.) in Central India. The tradition of keeping time by this method survives even today in the form of *kummi*, a popular folk dance of Tamilnadu. In Kerala this dance is performed both by men and women and is variously known as *kaikottikalhi* and *kaiadiccuk-kalhi - kummi* performed by men and *tiramarihilkalhi - kummi* performed by women.

The purpose of clapping hands was gradually intensified by the replacement of beating sticks and clappers. The earliest sculptural evidence to beating sticks is found in the Bagh caves near Indore wherein six women are dancing with a pair of sticks in their hands. This dance performance known as *halliisalaasya* became very popular in the Eastern Chalukyan art (8th to 11th century A.D.) as also during the Vijayanagar period (14th - 15th century A.D., fig. 12). This dance, one of the most fascinating folk dances of South India, when performed by women is called *koolaattam* and when performed by men it is called *silambakkuuttu* and *kazhaik-kuuttu*.

Cymbals

The clappers were further modified into a variety of cymbals, by retaining the disc and replacing the handles by tassels of silk or wool or probably of grass in ancient times. Representations of cymbals of smaller size, known as *kaittaalham* and *jaalra* are numerous in the sculptures of the Buddhist stupas of Amaravati (2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D., fig. 13), frescoe paintings of Ajanta (2nd century to 6th century A.D., fig. 14) Ellora caves (8th century A.D.), Khajuraho temples (11th century A.D.) and Chidambaram temple (13th century A.D.) and other places (fig. 15). The pair of cymbals depicted in the frescoe paintings in the vestibule behind the sanctum sanctorum of the great temple of Brihadisvara in Tanjavur offers an interesting study of the instrument.

The bigger variety of cymbals known as *brahmataalham* is manifest in the frescoes of Brihadisvara temple at Tanjavur, in a scene depicting the journey of Seraman Perumal and Sundaramurti Nayanar to *Kailaasa*. The Gandharvas and Apsarasas seen in the illustration form a party of musicians and dancers leading the procession. The *brahmataalham* also known as jhallari from the sound - *jhal-jhal*, it produces, is well delineated in the Sun temple at Konarak (fig. 16, 17). This sculpture of a jhallari player on the second tier of the Jagmohana facing south (height 5') is a captivating specimen of a cymbal player of supreme grace with a facial expression of dignified concentration on the rhythm of the music. The Tamil literature refers to this instrument as *ellari vaadyam*.

The Sun temple at Konarak is situated in Orissa. It is a stupendous monument of incomparable beauty and magnitude bringing to light the emphasis laid on the performances of music and dance in the temples of Orissa during the thirteenth century. One of the colossal standing figures adorning the recesses of the tiers of the

Jagmohana, represents a female musician playing on a pair of cymbals (fig.17). With supreme grace and vigour she is playing the *kuzhittaalham*, a kind of cymbals, with a pair of cup shaped discs, each provided with ornamental tassle-like handles. There is also another type of cymbals depicted in this temple. In the Natamandir is the portrait sculpture of a *naatyaachaarya*, perhaps that of the dance master of the temple itself, whose name as labelled below is *Saumya Sridatta*. The suffix *datta* is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil *Pillai* denoting the families who are hereditary professional dance-masters, the family of *nattuvanar* as they are known today. The variety of cymbals seen in the hands of the *naatyaachaarya* is known as *nattuvataalham*, a flat iron disc and a cup shaped disc of bell metal or bronze.

Incidentally, it is interesting to note the manner in which the small but sweet toned cymbal is held. The posture apparently reminds us of one of the dance *karanhas* (dance poses) codified by Bharata in his *naatyasaastra*, chapter IV. The relevant verse describing the *karanha* called *Padapaviddhakam* (fig. 18) 30th *karanha* runs as follows:

Karyau nabhitathe hastau
Pranmukhau khatakamukhau
Suchividdhau apakranthau
Padau padapaviddhako

meaning —

"The *katakaamukha* hands to be
near the *naabhi* and feet to
be in *suuci* and the legs in
the *apakraanta caari* alternatively."

One of the prayoogas is beating *kaamsya taalha* (cymbals). The hand poses of the musician with the insrument in hand nearly coincide with the description the verse contains, which is further attested by the stone carvings found in the great Temple at Tanjore.

Drums

Among the drums with two drum heads three types are discernible – (i) the hour-glass-shaped, (2) the cylindrical drum, and (3) the barrel-shaped one. The hour-glass-shaped drum generally known as *damaru* or *udukkai* or *dhakka* admits of varieties due to manipulative difference. The sculptural delineation from Amaravati, Bagh caves (fig. 19) and Nalanda (fig. 20) bears evidence to the existence of the *udukkai* in ancient times. The *udukkai* or *dhakka* christened by some scholars as *ankhya mrdanga* appears to have been a concert musical instrument and was included in the orchestral band. The intrument is suspended from the left shoulder of the player, inserting the thump of the left hand into the loop formed by thick

leather brace which runs around the drum shell in the centre. This drum is also called *idai surungupaTai* (i.e. the drum with its central part contracted on account of its shape.) Its resonator is laced with twine. A thin parchment is stretched over the drum heads so as to form the drum faces. In the exposition of this instrument the left hand plays a vital part. By squeezing the central strap by the left hand the tension of the drum skin could be increased or decreased; and with dexterity the seven notes could be played on it. A unique feature, hence the name *idakkai* or *idakka* meaning an instrument which is manipulated by the left hand. The *udukkai* is always associated with Siva. The same instrument of a bigger size with metallic shell appears in the sculpture depicting Siva as *Kankalamurthi* and *Bhikshatana.* This variety assumes the name *davandai.* In Buddhist sculptures the *davandai* occurs in the stupas from Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. In both the illustrations the drum is placed vertically against the belly of the dwarfs who beat the drum with a pair of sticks. Normally the size of the drum is bigger than the *udukkai* although it appears in a much reduced form in sculptures. In Tamil literature, the *Cilappatikaaram, PuTaNaaNuuTu, Teevaaram* and *Periyapuraanham* refer to the hour-glass-shaped drum as *kuTukkai, idakkai* and *aamandirikai,* while *Kallaadam,* a Tamil work of the eleventh century, gives a few other names for this instrument with description as:

Kaittiri – kuraiyudar talaiviri kaittiri – meaning the drum with a small body (shell) and wide drum head; and

KayandalaiyaTiyeNNa kayiramai kaittiri – meaning the drum entwined with leather braces having (drum) heads resembling the wide foot impress of an elephant cub. Yet another variety called *kuTukuTuppai* – an onomatopoetic name – is manifest in the Hoysala art of the 12th – 13th century A.D. at Belur in Mysore State.

The cylindrical drum with a single drum head variously mentioned in Tamil literature as *orukatpaTai, karadigai, marakkaalpaTai* and *mondai,* is preserved in the sculptural pillars at Sanchi, Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda (fig. 21,22). In these portraiture the instrument appears to have been suspended from the left shoulder of the player by means of a strap. It was played with a curved stick (*kunhil*) on one side and by the hand on the other side. This mode of manipulation of the *marakkaalpaTai* as also its structure suggest to us that the instrument must have been very much like the modern *tavil* though smaller in size. While in these representations the drum is held horizontally and played sometimes with a pair of sticks and sometmes by the hands, the one depicted at Sanchi (fig. 23) and in the frescoe paintings in the Brahadisvara temple at Tanjavur is held vertically and played with a pair of sticks and by the hands. This drum in this posture is called *chenda* in Kerala and is one of the principal accompaniments in the Kathakalhi performance.

Among the numerous representations of the cylindrical drum, the one from the Surya temple at Konarak, with improved tuning devices, offers an interesting study. Fig. 24 represents a headless female drummer, illustrating a particular variety of terminating stroke, which involves a heavy slapping on one of the drum-heads which might displace and dislocate the instruments. In order to sustain such characteristic strokes, the drum faces on either side are supported with four wooden pieces in between these straps which help the player to make minor adjustments while tuning the instrument. Besides these tuning gadgets, there is yet another thong running around the drum shell. The insertion of the left hand through this thong ensures the drum face a secured position to receive the heavy stroke of the right hand. The small pieces of straps linking the parallel braces have now been replaced by small metallic rings connecting the twines running parellel in the *pambai* a similar drum, and small wooden pieces inserted between the drum shell and leather braces found in the *dabla* and *baaya* and in the *mrdangam*. The wooden pieces are known as *pulhlhukaTTai*.

Before passing on to the other popular variety of percussion instrument, viz., the barrel shaped *mrdangam*, we come across yet another type, the shape of which is neither exactly cylindrical nor exactly barrel but midway between the two. This drum delineated in Amaravati sculpture (fig. 25) is suspended from a pole carried by two dwarfs and is struck by sticks held by them. This drum known in modern parlance as *bheri* was essentially a ritualistic instrument. It was sounded in monasteries and temples as an overture calling the congregation to worship.

The barrel shaped *mrdangam* is preserved in almost all the existing monuments. Representations of *mrdangam* from the time of the inception of Indian Art in historic period to this day has retained its shape although minor modifications and devices of technical importance have been effected upon the instrument from time to time. In the frescoe paintings at Tanjavur and in the cave temple at Tirumalaipuram the *mrdangam* as it is held and played today is remarkably represented. Again the instrument is manifest in life-size in the Sun temple at Konarak. In an illustration a woman drummer is shown playing on the *mrdangam* skilfully poised between her thighs, an attitude generally adopted by the drummers while dancing to the rhythm of the drum and to the captivating music. The tense pose of the feet of the drummer suggests that she is closely following the culminating crescendo of the rhythm. Correspondingly, while her left hand is placed on the left face of the drum, her right hand raised to her head in a pose of suspense, is just waiting to descend on the right face of the drum at the critical point of marking time. The piece of scarf with artistic folds attached to the centre of the drum is just an illustration, an old practice of decorative panoply.

It is significant to note that the playing posture and manipulation of the mrdangam is impressed as two of the most fascinating *karanhas*, viz., the

mattalhlhi (*karanha* 27) and the *ardhamattalhlhi* (*karanha* 28), fig. 26, 27. The relevant *slookas* from the *naattya saastra* of Bharata muni are as follows:

mattalhlhi karanha – vaamaTakshinha paaTaabhyaam
ghuurnha maanoo pasarpanhai
UTveeshttitaapaviddhaischa
hastairmattalhlhi udaahrtam

"a whirling movement while throwing back the two feet
and moving hands in *udveshttitha* and *apaviddha* movements".

ardhamattalhhi karanha – skhalitaapasrtau paadau
vaamahastascha reechita:
savyahasta: karisya:
syaadhardhamattalhlhi smrtam.

"feet to be drawn away from the position, left hand in *reecita* movement and right hand to be placed on the hip, perhaps on the right drum face."

Again the placement of the hand of the drummer on the drum face aptly reminds us of the notation in rhythm in epigraphical records from Arichalur and Mahabalipuram. The inscription from Arichalur 16 miles from Erode is assigned to C. 200-250 A.D. It is a short inscription in Brahmi script giving in *adavu* language the jati mnemonics practised even today in the sphere of dance. The text of the inscription reads as

(1) ka ta di
dita kita, diki.

(2) (a) tata tatai
(b) tu tu tu tu tu
(c) taatai ditaita
(d) ta di ta tai
(e) di taa taa tai taa

The Mahabalipuram inscription belonging to the period of Mahendravarma Pallava I (7th century A.D.) is found in the Adivaraaha cave and in the *Ramanuja* cave (as it is known today) at Mahabalipuram. The text of the inscription signifies as,

Dhiktaam Dhigastudhiktaam Dhikteeshaam
Yeeshaam navasati hrdayee
kupatagati vimaargakoo rudra:

"Fi – Fi – Fo – Fou : burn them whose hearts know not Rudra, the rescuer of the lost souls."

It is significant to note that the popular soft-toned *mrdanga* also admitted varieties based on the posture in which it was held and played. Traditionally, even to this day, the *mrdanga* is considered to be a principal rhythmic accompaniment in music concerts. The two types of barrel shaped *mrdanga* preserved in the

lithic record are the *uurdhvaka mrdanga*, i.e. the mrdanga placed in the vertical posture and the *aalingya mrdanga* (the embracing posture) i.e. the *mrdanga* placed in the horizontal posture. In ancient Indian orchestra from the historical period. approximately upto 8th century A.D., the *mrdanga* appears to have been invariably played in pairs (fig. 28). This is aptly supported by the pictorial evidences in the sculptures at Sanchi, Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Pawaya, Badami, Ajanta, Ellora, Pittalkora and in the temple complex of the Pallava period at Kanchipuram. In one of the orchestral scenes from Barhut the lady in the foreground is seen playing on the double drum, one *Uurdhvaka* and the other *aalingya*. The orchestra consists of a harpist and flutist along with four vocalists.

There is another pictorial example of the drums in pair from Badami in which the instruments are played as accompaniments to Siva's dancing. Ganesa is seen punctuating the rhythm of the dance with a pair of sweet-toned cymbals. It is indeed a remarkable feat demanding mastery and dexterity on the part of the performer in handling simultaneously two drums placed in different postures. In fact they could even play on three drums – two in vertical posture and one in horizontal position all at once. From the Amaravati illustration (fig. 29) wherein we observe three *mrdangams* – one *aalingya* and two *uurdhvaka* before two lady drummers, three combinations of playing postures may be inferred, viz., (1) the simultaneous handling of one *uurdhvaka mrdanga* and one *aalingya mrdanga;* (2) two *uurdhvaka mrdangas* and (3) two *uurdhvaka mrdangas* and one *aalingya mrdanga.* These inferences throw sufficient light on their practicability as well as their popularity. For, in subsequent ages, this simultaneous usage of drums in different postures perhaps gave the clue to the musicians to evolve numerous drums in pairs and drums with multiple drum heads.

Thus, a pair of *uurdhvaka mrdanga* suggested the emergence of tabla and baya of North India; from the *uurdhvaka* and the *aalingya mrdangas* evolved the three faced one depicted in one of the sculptures from Hampi (fig. 30). The *tripushkara* with the addition of two more drum faces, later became the five faced *panchamukha vaadya* preserved in the niches of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram (16th century A.D.) Again, the four drum heads formed by the two *uurdhvaka* and one *aalingya* together with a central drum also suggested the *panchamukha vaadya.* Lastly, a pair of *aalingya mrdanga* suggested the *pambai* which is a pair of cylindrical drums each one foot long.

Among the drums with multiple drum heads, the *pushkara* or *tripushkara* as it was named by Bharata forms the first stage in the evolution of compound instruments. The three faces of this drum were respectively tuned to the three basic notes sa, ma, and ga, of the three primordial scales of ancient Indian music, viz. the *sadjagraama, madhyamagraama* and *gaandharagraama.* The marvellous sculptural representation of Siva as embodiment of *Nada* from Humpi (c. 14th century

A.D.) offers us an enchanting symphony of percussion instruments played by Himself. He plays on such *taalha vaadyas* as the *damaru*, the *chipla* or castanets, the *pushkara vaadya* and the *tavil*. The *tavil* on the ground is held under control by the god who places one of his legs on it alternately and beats its sides with the other. From the fusion of the *pushkara* and the *tavil* emerges the five faced *panchamukha vaadya*. This drum has a pot shaped resonator with five drum heads on top. The five faces of the drum are named after the five faces of Siva as Sadaasiva, viz., *Isaanam, Tatpurusham, Aghooram, Vaamadevam* and *Sadyojaatam*. The *Kallaadam* mentioned earlier, refers to this instrument as *kudamuLavu* i.e. the drum or *muLavu* with a *kudam* or pot shaped body. The drum is described as having a huge body (resonator) and played by striking the four peripheral faces and the central face,

...........Talai peru mubava
naanmugantatti nadu muga murappa

Arunhagirinaatar refers to this instrument as *kudapanchamukhi*. Representation of *kudamuLaa* is met with in the sculptural panels and niches depicting Siva as the arch Dancer – Nataraja and as Sadyojaata in the temples at Tanjore, Gangaikonda cholapuram, Tarangambadi, Chidambaram, TiruvalanjuLi and other places.

The *panchamukha vaadyam* has to this day been essentially a temple ritual drum. It is played during the annual festival in the temple of Sri Thyagaraja at Tiruvarur in Tanjavur district. It is a huge drum mounted on a four-wheeled carriage. The pot shaped shell (resonator) is of bronze. From its top emerge five hollow cylinders which are covered by skin. The drum heads are invariably of the same level, the central one alone being raised slightly above the peripheral faces The drum is played by both the hands. It is played as solo and along with the *suddha maddalam*.[1]

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Besides the popular cylindrical and barrel shaped drums, we also come across drums of the shape of bowl, flower pot and water pot (pitcher). The bowl shaped drum is referred to as *dundhubhi* and *bhumidundhubhi*. The latter name suggests the very shape of the drum as it is a hollow pit dug in the ground and covered by a skin to form the drum face. This drum has retained its shape throughout the ages. In a few lithic representations, we find only a miniature manifestation of the *bheri*, as in the Gupta art from Pawaya (fig. 31) wherein the instrument is included in the orchestra accompanying a dance concert. The *bheri* in its original size (big) was essentially used in temple rituals and at war time. The Tamil literature of the Sangam period extolls the high honour with which the *bheri* also known as *murasu* was held in the courts of kings and by the people of the country. The *murasu* was included in the royal insignia and hence was guarded zealously, as its capture not only meant the defeat of the army but the ultimate surrender of the

[1] Probably the only other instruments at Thiruthuraippundi in the same district; it is today played by the same player who sounds it at Thiruvarur. —Editor.

suzerainty. It is also considered as one of the *mangalha vaadyas* – an auspicious musical instrument. While the drum was popularly known as *murasu* including the three types, viz., *poormurasu* (war drum), *nyayamurasu*, (drum of justice) and *viramurasu* (drum of valour), *bheri* and *dundhubhi*, it was re-named as *nagaraa* after the advent of the Moghuls. The *nagaraa* is a huge kettle drum mounted on a carriage. The player sits in the carriage and beats the drum with two curved sticks.

The flower-pot drum is only a modification of the bowl shaped *nagaraa* or *bheri*, the curved bottom of the bowl being made into a flat base. This specimen of a small stature but with a wide drum head is known as *tamukku*, and is tied around the waist of the drummer (sometimes held in the hand) and played with a pair of thin sticks. The flower pot drum is generally played in pairs. This is discernible in the sculptured panels in the Vaikuntha Perumal temple at Kanchipuram (c. 8-9th century A.D.) The drums are shown mounted on an elephant's back leading the royal procession. Another pair of drums, conical in shape called *damaaram* is depicted in the Vijayanagar school of art at *Humpi*.

Lastly, the drum with pot shaped resonator is mentioned in the Ramayana as *khalasi* i.e. the drum made of mud pot. Lithic representation of *khalasi* is met with in the cave temple at Ellora, Gangaikondacholapuram (fig. 32) and other places. In modern parlance we have two drums – the *ghatam* and the *tanthipaanai*: the former a classical instrument and the latter a folk instrument.

Wind Instruments

The principle of the whistle head facilitated the production of sound from the vertical column of a tube. The ancient Indians must have known this principle, for, several types of whistles (fig. 7) with a mouth hole and one finger-hole, have been discovered from the Indus Valley sites. Towards the close of the pre-historic period wind instruments developed into simple vertical tubes of short length. Approximately about the period of the rock painting of Mahadeo hills, double pipe, horn and trumpet were in existence (fig. 11). These simple pipes in course of time took different form, with improved blowing mechanism and playing technique according to the musical taste of the people in relation to the occasion on which the instruments were played.

The Vedic literature mentions a few wind instruments which were said to have been played at the time of the Vedic rituals. To mention a few, *picchora* was a kind of wind instrument with a mouth piece (*upamukha*), *sankha* – conch, *naalhi* – a reed flute, *baakura* – wind instrument, *tuunhavaan* – also a flute made of wood, *naadi* – a reed flute, *veenhu* – a flute made of bamboo. The Ramayana mentions *vamsa* (*veenhu* or flute), the *sankha* (conch) and the *tuurya* (*kaalham* or *trumpet*). The Mahabharata mentions *sankha* and *goo-mukha*, a wind instrument probably with the face of a cow at one of its ends as suggested by the name.

Among the wind instruments the conch and the flute claim a permanent place in Indian Art.

Conch (Sankha)

The conch which is the simplest of wind instruments appears with the earliest manifestation of the plastic art in India. From time immemorial, the conch (*sankha*) is made of sea-shell; hence the appropriateness of the very name of the instrument. However, we do find conches with modified device. Thus in the second century B.C., the conch seems to have had an extension tube added to the mouth hole, as depicted in the medallions on the pillars at Barhut. In a comic scene, displaying a lively sense of humour and freedom of fancy, monkeys are shown playing pranks on drum and conch. The tube of the conch is not very long. The instrument is held straight and parallel to the body while blowing.

In the sculpture of Sanchi the shape of the shell is not exact. It is oval shaped and is blown by men as well as women. Its service is sought in procession along with the drums and other wind instruments. In the Amaravati representation two types of conches figure, viz., the conch with its perforated tip being put to the lips while blowing and the conch with a long ornamental pipe attached to the shell (fig. 33, 34). The sound of the conch is generally described as deep and noble and perhaps the addition of the long pipe made it shrill.

After the Amaravati figuration the conch is not to be seen for some time upto fifth century A.D. in the sculptural manifestation of Indian Art. It appears again about the fifth century A.D. as represented in the frescoes of Ajanta, in the art of the Chalukyas, upto the medieval period. An interesting stone illustration of a conch blower is found at Khajuraho in the Dubadeo temple in the centre of the lintel of the entrance of the *garbhagraha*. Here a four armed *ganha* holds a *conch* to his lips while he carries Siva in a pillared chariot. The ganha, a mere quantity is distended with the air which is about to set into vibration by blowing the conch as a way of heralding by sound, the arrival of Lord Siva. This piece of sculpture belongs to 11th century A.D.

During the Moghul period the conch was once again left behind. In our time the conch is still in use and is played during religious ceremonies. Conch with extended tube also exists today with a descriptive piece attached to the other end. To distinguish this from the simple one, it is called *davalha sankhu*. The tube is a little more than an inch long and is made of silver. The tube either has finger holes or is plain. Simple tunes and even compositions can be played on the *davalha sankhu* with tubes having finger holes. The tone of the instrument resembles that of the *mukaviinha*.

Trumpets and Horns

The trumpets and horns were popular wind instruments in the past. Indian art and literature mention these instruments and portray their shape, size and playing posture. The earliest manifestations of the trumpet and the horn are to be seen in the sculptured pillars and architraves at Sanchi. They are invariably blown in the processions along with the drums of different kinds. Two types of trumpet are portrayed. One is a long tube with an ornamental cup-like piece fixed to its open end. The instrument is held aloft conveniently to produce blasts of sound into the atmosphere (fig. 35). The second variety is a long curved pipe, its lower end being shaped in the form of an animal's head (fig. 36). This seems to be akin to the *goomukha* mentioned in the Mahabharata. We may find today a survival of this instrument in the *naagbin* of the Naagas.

Straight trumpets are common in the art of Ajanta, in the medieval sculptures and till date. The best lithic specimen of a trumpet is manifest in the Sun temple at Konarak. In the tiers of Jagamohana two women are shown blowing the trumpet-one shorter than the other. In the temples of South India, even today, the *ekkaalham* and the *gowrikaalam* which is shorter than the other, are sounded during the ritual ceremonies and temple festivals.

The Tamil literary works of the medieval period, *Kallaadam* and *Periapuraanham* mention the trumpet as *kaalham* and *taarai* and the horn as *kombu* or *koodu* and *tuttiri* a miniature wind instrument and the *chinnam* (*tiruchinnam*) a double pipe. Horns as opposed to trumpets are comparatively small instruments with curved tubes and with lesser dimensions. Hence they are named as *koonhakombu* or curved horn. The horn seems to be rare in Indian sculpture. It is manifest in the primitive rock paintings in the Mahadeo hills, in the caves at Badami (c. 6th century A.D., fig. 37) and in the wood carvings from Gujarat (18th century A.D.).

Wind instrument with more than one blowing tube was not unknown in ancient India. The earliest pictorial evidence to double-pipe is from the rock paintings in the Mahadeo Hills. The double pipe preserved in Sanchi (fig. 38) is small in size with a common mouth hole. The pipes are plain and the circumference of the pipes is correspondingly less. This is a proto-type of *tiruchiNNam* played in the South Indian temples. The *tiruchiNNam* is a pair of separate tubes with a bell fixed at the lower end of the tube.

The influx of Hellenistic art in Gandhara has left an enduring mark on the musical culture of India. In one of the sculptured specimens belonging to the Gandharan school of art is to be seen a panpipe and a lyre (fig. 39). The pipes numbering ten including the blowing pipe, are kept in a rectangular box.The box has three holes – one on top and two on the sides. The impression of the tubes

inside the box is precisely depicted by the curves at the lower part of the front side. For all appearance the instrument looks like a reed *sruti*-box. It may also be taken to suggest the reed dulcimer with a blowing pipe kept in a box.

Another compound wind instrument, the *magudi* is carved on a pillar in a mandapa at Krishnapuram in Tirunelveli District. It is a folk musical instrument, played by the snake-charmer. The instrument consists of a bottle gourd with tubes inserted at both the ends of the gourd. The *Kaamikaagamam* calls it as *bhujanga-svaram.*

Flute

Flute held in the normal posture appears in Indian sculpture in early 1st century A.D. in the stupa at Sanchi (fig. 40). This flute is of medium length with the mouth hole within the first quarter of the length of the tube. The instrument is held parallel to the right shoulder of the player. It is not possible to distinguish the number of tone-producing holes. The flute is handled indifferently by men and women. Flute with longer tube is discernible in the sculptures from Gandhara and the art of Amaravati. In the sculpture from Ellora, in the Gupta art from Aurangabad, in the art of Chandelas, in the Pallava art from Mahabalipuram, in the Chalukhya art at Badami, in the Hoysala art in Ramaswamy temple at Kumbakonam, in the pillars at the Vellore temple of the Vijayanagar period, and in the wood carvings from the Jain temples at Gujarat till the beginning of the 19th century, the flute of normal length occurs sporadically.

Besides this, flutes with a large dimension, are also met with in the sculpture from 11th century onwards. In the Duladeo temple and Lakshmana temple at Khajuraho (fig. 41) this kind of flute is met with. Long flute with less circumference occurs in Nalanda – 7th century (fig. 42), Daarasuram 11th century and in Khajuraho 12th century A rare specimen of flute with the decorative piece like the face of yaalh, a lion or an elephant is magnificent in the plastic art in the caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri (13th century A.D.)

In the ancient system of music the flute played a very important role. It was not only an accompaniment following the music of the voice, but also led the voice and the *viinha yaaL* at times, thus holding a high place as the primary drone instrument of the period. The phrase, *narambin tiinkural niTukkunkuLal* occurring in *Kalittogai* (33: lines 22-23) is significant in this connection. It means that the flute measured or controlled the music of the *yaaL*. In other words it checked the *yaaL* from deviating from the original pitch to which it was tuned. The *Çilappadikaaram* (2nd century A.D.) also reiterates this concept in the following line:

kuLalvaLi ninTadu yaaLee

(*Çilappadikaaram* chapter III, line 139), meaning that the *yaaL* was in tune with the flute.

The *AhanaaNuuru* vividly describes the melodious sound of the flute. The sound produced by the contact of the zephyrs on the holes of the bamboo made by the beetle, is said to be exactly like the sweet sound of the flute played by the cowherds.

tumbi kuyinta
vagalaavantulhai koodai mugattalin
niirkkiyangiNa niTaip pinTai vaarkoo
vaaykkuLal paanhiyi naiduvat tisaikkum

(*Aham* – 225)

Koovalan, the hero of *Silappadikaaram* and the cowherds (*koovalar*) belonging to the *mullai* region (pastoral land) were adepts in playing the flute, "*kuLal valhar mullayin koovalar tammodu.*" (*Antimaalaisirappuseikaadai*, 1.15). Adiyarkunallar in his commentary on the *Çilapadikaaram* gives a vivid description of how the flute was made and how it was played. The flute also called *vangiyam* was made out of one of the five materials, bamboo, sandal, bronze, red catachu or coro mandal ebony. Of these, bamboo was regarded as the best material, bronze middling and the others as distinctly inferior. Since the best flute is made of bamboo, the instrument is called by different names such as *pullankuLal*, *veein-kuLal*, *vangiyam* and *veenhu*.

There were three types of flutes, viz., the *konTai*, *ambal* and the *mullai*. *Kalittokai*, *AinkuTunuuTu*, *NaTTinai* and *Çilappadikaaram*, to mention a few, refer to these varieties. In the *Aacciyarkuravai*, *Çilappadikaaram*, the *konTai*, *aambal* and *mullai kuLal* are mentioned in the context of seven girls representing seven *svaras* singing in praise of Lord Krishna. The *konTaikuLal* is made out of the fruit of the *konTai* tree (*cassia*) by scooping out the inner pulp in the form of a flute. *AambalkuLal* is constructed in the form of a water lily stalk with a mouthpiece in the shape of the bud of an *aambal* flower (water lily). And *mullai kuLal* is made out of the stalk of the *mullai* plant (a variety of jasmine). In the *Periyapuraanham* SekkiLaar describes the flute in his narration of the story of *AaNaaya naaya Naar*, a Sivabhakta who worshipped the lord through the music of the flute he played.

"mundai muTai nuun marabin moLinda muTai eLeLundavai
andamudal naaliranhdil aTindu narambuTutaavan
vanda tunhai niTaiyaakki vaayumudal vaLangutulhai
andamilciir idaiyiittin angulhi enhgalin amaittu.

—*AaNaaya naayaNaar puraanham* 13.

The flute was made out of a well grown bamboo. Cutting away four parts from the top and two parts from the bottom and taking the middle portion the mouth hole and the finger holes were bored according to the *svarasthanas* of the strings of the *yaaL*. The finger holes seven in number were made at an interval of one inch "*eeLu viralidaiyitta innisai vangiyam*" (V. 23).

To conclude, it is amazing that the flute to this day has retained its shape, size, playing posture and even the material used for manufacturing the instrument – the bamboo.

Stringed Instruments

Stringed instruments, in ancient times whether bowed, plucked or struck varieties, were commonly known as *viinha*. Later on the name came to be used to denote the fretted instrument. The modern *viinha* before attaining its present form passed through a long process of development giving birth to different types of stringed instruments.

The first stage – the harp stage, in the evolution of the *viinha*, commences with man's realisation of the fascinating sound emanating from the string of the bow while shooting an arrow. Thus the bow string or *vilyaaL* is the earliest stringed instrument in the history of human culture. The reverberating grave sound of the bow string was referred to as *jaya ghosha* and *dhanush tankaara*. The curvature of the bow suggested the body of the crude harp and the connecting gut strings. This was the Indus harp (fig. 8) similar to the primitive Sumerian harp which dates to the pre-historic period of 3rd milennium B.C. The string of the bow was made of vegetable fibre or animal gut. Sometimes twisted bark and strands of grass root twisted together were made use of as strings. Gradually additions and alterations were made to improve the structure of the harp and to increase the tonal qualities by adding a number of sounding strings of different length.

In the next stage, a sound box or resonating chamber was attached to the bow to amplify the sound. The approximate date of this stage can be fixed to the second half of the first millennium B.C. when a mug-like sound box was fixed to the bow (fig. 10). This harp gradually underwent many changes with more complex construction and richness in the volume of the sound emanating therefrom.

The earliest manifestation of the boat shaped harp dates to the period of the Sunga Kanhva School of art, represented by the stupa of Barhut (first century B.C.) in the sculptures of Sanchi and Amaravati and Bodh gaya (150 B.C.) and also in the art of Pawaya, Nagarjunakonda and Ajanta. In all these representations the boat shaped harp was played either by the hand or with a plectrum, a small stick called *koonha*. This harp continued to exist till the 7th century A.D. as could be seen in Indian art and literature.

Ancient Tamil Music

It would be an apt digression, in this connection, to sketch briefly some of the salient features of the ancient Tamil music system and to correlate the description of the boat shaped harp and its varieties focussed in the Tamil literary worke of the *Cangam* period.

The ancient Tamil country was traditionally divided into five main regions. *Mullai* – pastoral region; *Kurinchi* – hilly region; *Marutam* – arable lands; *Neital* – coastal belts and *Paalai* – the dreary waste land. Each region had developed its own peculiar god, food, occupation, drums, music, flora and fauna. These were classified as the nucleus or *karupporulh*, (for conventions of love poetry) out of which developed the culture of the region. Among these the inclusion of music and drums (*paTai*) as basic factors of culture asserts that from the early times, music and rhythm became intimately and inseparably connected with the very life and breath of the worship of gods. Eventually, these twin arts came to be held by the ancient Tamilians in very high reverence. Subsequently they were also resorted to as occupations. These divisions and classifications were in vogue even before the time of the *Tolkaappiyam* (c. 3rd century B.C.).

Music is referred to by the term *yaaL* which in old Tamil was synonymous for either the music or the stringed instrument, the harp, that was used to produce music. The music or the mode used in each of the regions mentioned above, was named after the land in which it arose and was generally used. Thus the five modes were called *Mullaippanh, Kurincippanh, Marutappanh, Neitalpanh* and *Paalaippanh.* This classification based on the geographical environment of the Tamil country was the earliest classification known to the ancient Tamil people. The four major panh *PaalaiyaaL, KurinciyaL, MarutayaaL* and *NeitaliyaaL* were identical with the four of the seven major modes – *Paalai* (*meelhas*) viz., *cempaalai, koodippaalai, padumalaippaalai* and *vilharippaalai* respectively. The corresponding *meelhakarthaas* and *raagas* of these modes are:

PaalaiyaaL	– Vattappalai or cempaalai meelha, 28th mulakartha,	– Harikaamboji
Kurinciyal	– Koodippaalai	– Sankaraabharanha mela, 29th meelhakartha.
MurutayaaL	– Padumalaippaalai	– Mechakalyani mela, 65th meelhakartha.
NeitalyaaL	– Vilharippaalai (An obsolete scale wherein the basic note *aadhaara shadja* is replaced by the *suddharishabha* which	– This is obsolete at present because of the absence of Pancama and the occurrence of two madhyamas.

occurs along with the *chatusruthirishabha*)

MullaiyaaL – Moohana raaga, a transilient scale.

The other three of the seven *perumpanhs* and the equivalent *meelaraagas* are:

CevvaLippaalai	– Hanumatodi	– 8th meelhakartha.
Arumpaalai	– Kharaharapriya	– 22nd meelhakartha
Mercempaalai	– Natabhairavi	– 20th meelhakartha.

To produce these modes, harps with strings of different lengths arranged in a particular order were used. These harps were named after the *panhs* that could be played on each of them such as *MullaiyaaL*, *KurinciyaalL*, *NeitalyaalL*, *MarutayaaL*and *PaalaiyaaL*. The *yaaL* of the ancient Tamil land was the same as the boat shaped instrument with plain strings and without frets, depicted in the Buddhist sculptures from Barhut, Sanchi, Amaravathi, Nagarjunakonda, in the fresco paintings at Ajanta caves, and in the Ellora and Tirumeyyam cave temples. The lithic delineations of this instrument satisfy the vivid description of its shape and parts mentioned in the *Pattuppaattu*, the *Çilappadikaaram* and in the medieval works like the *Jiīvaka cintaamanhi* and the *Kallaadam*. The varieties of *yaaL* mentioned are the *PeeriyaaL* with twentyone strings, *MakarayaaL* with nineteen strings, the *SagodayaaL* with fourteen strings, the *SenkoTTiyaaL* or *CiiriyaaL* with seven strings, *Naarada PeerīyaaL* with thousand strings, *Kiicaka yaaL* with hundred strings, *TumburuyaaL* with nine strings and the *MaruthayaaL* with one string.

In the light of the sculptural delineation of the *yaaL* manifest in the Amaravati sculpture (fig. 43), the different parts of the *yaaL* are described with reference to the details given in the *PattuppaaTTu* and the *Cīlappadikaaram* with its two commentaries, the *Arumpadavurai* and the *urai* of *Adiyaarkunallaar* (fig.44). The important parts of the *yaaL* are:–

Pattal
Poorvai
Tivavu
Ņunhtulhai and *aanhi*
VaTuvaai
Maruppu or Koodu
Kavaikkadai
Vanhar
Purinarambu Kool – Narambuttodaiyal
Tagaippu
Yaappu

Undi
Maadagam
OTTuruppu
PaTTu

Pattal also called *Pattar* and *Kalam* means a vessel or a wooden trough. It is identified with the resonator of the yaaL. The shape of the *Pattal* was,

"*Kulappu vahiyaNNa kavadupadu pattal*"

(Pattu: 2, PorunaraaTTuppadai 1.4)

"like the foot impress of a deer with its central part
slightly raised and both the ends slipping down"

The *CiruppanhaaTTuppadai* describes the *pattal* as resembling the slightly raised central portion of the stomach,

"*VayiTu ceerpoLugiya vagaiyamai agalhattu*"

(*Pattu* 3, *cirupaanhaaTuppadai* 24)

Poorvai: The mouth of the *pattal* was covered with a well tanned skin. It was called *paccai* before being used as cover and was known as *poorvai* when it was stretched over the mouth of the resonator. The skin, before being fastened on to the face of the *pattal* was tanned and painted with a reddish yellow colour like the hue of the fruit of the *kumiL* tree:

"*KaaNakkumiLin kaNiniTankaduppap –*
pugaLuiNaip polintha paccaiyodu".

(*Pattu* 3, *ciTupaanhaaTTuppadai* 225-226)

"The belly of the *poorvai* of the *yaaL* was convex resembling
the stomach of a woman in the early stage of pregnancy:"

"*VilhakkaLa buruvin viciyuru paccai*
veyaa vilhancuuT ceyyoo lhavvayir
raithu mayi roLugiya tooTTam poolap–
pallampottiya pathiyrTu poorvai"

(*Pattu* 2, *PorunaraaTTuppadai* 5-8)

Nunhtulhai and *aanhi*: The poorvai was neatly and closely fixed to the *yaaL* by means of small nails, *culhlhaanhi.* The small holes in the body of the *yaaL* into which the nails attaching the *poorvai* are said to be like the tiny flower buds found inside the unopened sheath of the arecanut palm.

"pariyaraik kamugin paalhaiyam pacumpuuk
karuviruNthaNNa kankkuudu, ceritulhai
yurukki yaNNa viciyuTu poorvai."

(Pattu 4, PerumpaanhaaTTuppadai, 11.7-9)

In the *Malaipadukadaam*, the process of fixing the *poorvai* on the pattal is described.

"kuralvaarnthaNNa nunhtulhai varagin viriiyic
cilambamai pattal paccaiyodu ceertti
ilangutulhai ceTiyavaanhi mudukkip
puthuvathu puNaintha venhkai yaappamaittup
puthuvathu poortha pompoor paccai."

(Pattu 10, Malaipadukadaam - 11. 24-29)

The edge of the fresh skin or paccai painted in golden hue was pasted to the rim of the *pattal*. The position of the *poorvai* was further strengthened by the *yaappu*, a decorative piece, fixed over the *poorvai* on the *pattal* near the rim by means of tiny nails. The *poorvai* was two separate pieces joined in the centre by means of small nails which looked like the eyes or feelers of a crab. The joint was called *polla-moottuthal.*

"AlhaivaaLalavn kanhkanhdanna
tulhaivaaituur Ntha turappamaiyaanhi"

(*Pattu* 2, *PorunaraaTTuppadai* - 11. 9-10)

VaTuvaai: The total quality of the yaaL was enriched by the hole bored on the *poorvai*. This hole is described to have been like the moon on the eighth day after the new moon and was called *VaTuvaai.*

"enhnhaattingalh vadiviTTaagi
yanhnhaavillaavanaivaru vaTuvaai"

(Ibid, 11. 11-12)

Kavaikadai : A small piece in the shape of the crescent moon attached to the tail part of the *pattal* was called *Kavaikadai.*

"piTaipiTanthaNNa piNNeenthu kavaikadai"

(Pattu 4, Perum paanh, 1. 11)

Unthi : literally means the slightly raised part of the stomach. In the *yaaL* it was the raised central part of the *poorvai* covered over the face of the *pattal.*

"agaduceerbu porunthiyalhaviniTtiTiyaathu
kavadupadakkavaiyiya ceNTuvaangu unthi"

(*Pattu* 10, *Malaipadukadaam*, 1133.)

Vanhar : The curved upper portion of the stem of the *yaaL*.

Koodu or *MaTuppu*: The stem of the *yaaL* was called *koodu*. This was in the shape of an arch, the broader end of which was attached to the *pattal*. The curvature of the *koodu* is compared to a snake erecting upright a portion of its body with its hood.

> "*paambanhanthaNNa oongiru maTuppu*"
>
> (Pattu 2, Porunar, 13)

Tivavu or *Vaarkattu* : This consisted of a number of rings corresponding to the number of strings each *yaaL* had. These rings were placed on the upper end of the *koodu*. The strings of the *yaal* were attached to these rings. The purpose of the *Tivavu* was to adjust the tension of the strings by moving these rings either upward or downward. The *Pattuppaattu* gives an apt description of this as,

> "The Tivavu on the koodu was like the bangles worn by a woman on her arm which could be loosened or tightened at will."

> *nedumpanhai tiradooN madanthai munkaik*
> *kuTuntodi yeeikku melinthu viingu tivavu*
>
> (Pattu 4, Ferum paanh 11 12-13)

and

> *Maayoon munkai aaitodi kadukkum*
> *kanhkuudu iTukkai tinhpinhi tivavu*
>
> (*ibid.* Porunar, 11 14-15)

The *tivavu* was like the beautiful bangles worn on the dark arm of a maiden and was manipulated to and fro on the koodu to tune the sweet toned strings so that clear pure notes could be heard. ‸ne *Malaipadukadaam* also compares the bangles with the *tivavu*:

> "*toditirivaNNa tonhdupadu tivavu*"
>
> (Pattu 10, Malaipadukadaam).

A third simile is given in the *CirupaanhaaTTuppadai* wherein the *koodu* is said to be like the dark arm of a monkey encircled by a snake when the former caught the latter.

> "*painkanhuugam paambu piditthaNNa*
> *vankoottuc ceTinthaviLnthu viingu tivavu*
>
> (Pattu 3, Cirupaanh. 11. 221-222)

Purinarambu : The strings of the yaaL were collectively called *Purinarambu*. They are described to be like a continuous stream of gold attached to the *koodu* which was studded with the precious stone in blue,

4–4

manhivaarnthaNNa maayiru maTuppil
poNvaarnthaNNa puriyadangu narambin
todaiyamai keelhvi

(Pattu 4, Perumpaan, 14-15)

The strings of the *yaaL* were originally made out of the nerves of animals. Hence the name *narambu* given to the strings. In order to increase the tone of the *yaaL* these nerves (strings) were tightly twisted and tied to the instrument. *Purinarambu* means well twisted nerves. A row of nerve-strings was called *narambuttodaiyal* and *kool*. Each of the strings was tuned to one of the seven notes starting from *kural* (*shadja*). The strings were thinner than the broken grains or *tinhai* and they had a pure and perfect sound when struck or played by the fingers.

Ainthinhai Varicai yavaiyalaNNa
veeivai poogiya viralulhar narambiT
keelhvi poogiya niilhuicit todaiyal

(Pattu 2, Porunar, 16-18)

In addition to these parts, Ilankooadigal mentions three more, in his description of the *CenkootiyaaL* (with seven strings) in the *Puranceeriyirutthakaathai* (chapter 18, in *Cilapadikaaram*. They are *tantrikaram, oTTu* and *paTTu*.

CenthiTam purintha cenkoottiyaaLil
tantirikaratthoodu tivavurutthi atthu
oTTuruppudaimaiyir paTTuvaLi ceertthi (Cilap. ch. 18, 106-108)

Koovalan after taking up the *senkoottiyaaL* fastened up *tanttiri karam* and *tivavu* and joined properly the *paTTu* with the existing *oTTu*. *Tantirikaram* is a series of screws or hooks fixed underneath the *poorvai* in the centre. *OTTu* and *PaTTu* refer to the sling and the corresponding holder. The sling is referred 'to as *patta* in the Buddisht literature (Milindapanha - 53).

The *yaaL* was generally held on the left side, resting on the left shoulder of the performer,

"*inkuraR ciiTiyaaL idavayiTTaLiiyi*"

(Pattu 3, Cirupaanh. 35)

Sometimes it was also suspended from the left shoulder as shown in the figure. That the four fingers of the left hand should encircle the *koodu* of the *yaaL* while the right hand should be placed on the body(strings) of the *yaaL* with the palm in *pataaka* position is suggested in the *Cilapadikaaram Veenirkaathai*:

"*Valakkai pathaakai koottodu ceerthi*
idakkai naaN viraN maadagaNthaLiiyi" (11. 27-28)

Therefore *maadagam* means encircling of the *koodu* by the left hand.

The *PerumpaanhaaTTuppadai* refers to a particular kind of *yaaL* called *vilyaaL*.

"muNaiyiTkumiLin
PuLaTkoottuttoduttha maraTpurinarambin
VilyaaLisaikkum ViraleeT kurinci"

(Pattu 4, Perumpanh. 180-182)

The instrument was made of the wood of the *kumiL* tree. The *koodu* or the *kombu* was carved and the two ends were connected by the string made out of the fibre of the same tree. Since the instrument was in the shape of a bow (*vil*) it acquired the name *vilyaaL*. The *vilyaaL* is said to have been tuned to the *kurincippanh* suggesting that the instrument had seven strings. It was played by the fingers.

The lyre and the lute

Side by side with the harp , two more varieties of stringed instruments came into being. In the art of Gaandhaara in the north-west frontier of India, about the beginning of the Christian era, the lyre and the lute predominated the then musical society. The lyre is depicted in an ornamental toilet tray of gandhaara workmanship, unearthed from Sirkap at Taxila. The instrument (fig. 45) has a rectangular resonator. A stem is fixed to the right end of the sound box in a slanting position. The strings are held in position between the stem and the resonator. It is not possible to count the number of strings in this lyre. An additional pillar placed in front of a stem on the other end of the resonator gives the instrument the shape of a triangle. The lyre admitted a change before it ceased to exist in the realm of Indian music. About the middle of the first century A.D., as found in one of the miscellaneous sculptures the lyre had no front pillar (fig. 46). Evidently the rectangular sound box must have been pushed to the right end with its two ends tapering upwards and to the left side, thus forming a right angle. The strings, three in number, are seen tied to the upper and the lower ends of the resonator.

The second type of stringed instrument, the lute, seems to have been very popular - more popular than the lyre. The advent of lute marks a definite and equally important stage in the evolution of stringed instruments. The technique of playing being fairly advanced, two methods of producing notes came into being. In addition to the traditional method of having— as in the harp—different lengths of strings for producing different notes, the idea of producing different notes by decreasing the vibrating string length by single string at various points with the fingers, established itself in the lute. About the early part of the first century A.D. in the Gaandhaara school of art, the pear shaped lute made its first appearance. A specimen of this instrument, is indentified in a stone illustration from Hadda in South Afganistan (fig. 47). The instrument has a pear shaped resonator extending into

a finger board. There are two tuning pegs at the end of the finger board suggesting two playing strips. While playing, the instrument is held horizontally against the body of the player.

Viinha

In the middle of first century A.D., the pear shaped resonator of the *kaccapi viinha* was modified. As found in a stone record from Kafirkot, the pear shaped lute was dented on either side leaving the pear shape in a reduced size near the top part (fig. 48). The instrument is shown having four strings. A little later, the pointed angles of the dented lute were merely indicated by curves on both sides and the head part became semi-circular. The figure of this improved lute (fig. 49) is from Yasufsai, Afganistan. This lute is provided with a cross bar, a precurser of the tail piece in modern violin, to which were attached the strings. The size of the lute was further reduced with the curves being merely suggested. A stone slab. from a Buddhist stupa at Shotarak in Afganisatan depicts this instrument (fig. 50). The shape and size of this instrument is similar to that of the modern violin. While the modern violin is played with a bow, this lute of the ancient period seems to have been plucked and played. Two more varieties of stringed instruments with finger board could be seen in the Gaandhaara school of art towards the close of the first century A.D. One is in the shape of a leaf (fig. 51). A combination of these two instruments is to be seen in the *Kaatyayana viinha* displayed in the Calcutta Museum (fig. 52). The *Kaatyaayana viinha* has the cross section of a pot for resonator, covered with a thin wooden sheet forming the belly. The strings are tied to a cross bar on top near the neck, while at the bottom they are fixed to additional metal piece placed at the lower edge of the resonator.

In course of time many of these stringed instruments fell out of use and by the beginning of the second century they practically disappeared from the music field. Only the pear shaped *kaccapi viinha* (mandolin type of lute) travelled further South and continued to exist for a long time in the arts of Amaravati (fig. 53) and Nagarjunakonda of the Andhra school and in the gupta Art from Pawaya, and Ajanta. In all these illustrations the *kaccapi viinha* has a perfect structure, with the pear shaped resonator tapering into a finger board. The instrument has a bridge on the belly over which the strings pass. At the end of the finger board is a small rectangular compartment with five tuning pegs fixed on its sides. The *kaccapi viinha* was plucked and played as well as struck with a *koonha* (a small stick) as found in Nagarjunakonda.

Along with the *kaccapi Viinha* the *yaaL* continued to exist till the beginning of the seventh century A.D.,[1] as could be delineated in the sculptures of Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, in the Gupta Art at Pawaya, the coins of Samudragupta and in the Ajanta frescoes and also in the sculptures belonging to the early Pallava period in South India.

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[1] Even till the ninth century, as seen from Tiruvacakam —Editor.

Towards the late Gupta period (c. 5th century A.D.) or a little later, the structure of the *yaaL* was modified resulting in a new type of stringed instrument. The size of the resonator was reduced to the shape of a bowl. The curved stem or *koodu* of the *yaaL* was stretched. A small slab of wood was attached to the other end of the *koodu* over which the strings were permitted to pass. The strings if there were more than one or two, were, instead of being tied one above the other, were placed side by side. The instrument (fig. 54) is shown in the frescoe paintings of Ajanta and dates to the fifth century A.D. This is an important date in the history of stringed instruments ; because it marks the end of the *yaaL* stage and the beginning of the *viinha* stage with resonator.

The emergence of *viinha* with resonator represents the fourth main stage in the evolution of the *viinha.* The sculptures at Nalanda (c.7th century) at Mahabalipuram (7th century) and at Ellora (8th century A.D.) manifest *viinha* with single resonator. The Nalanda representation has an oval shaped resonator (fig. 55) which develops into the stem or *koodu.* The instrument appears small. In the Pallava representation in Mahabalipuram, with a longer stem it appears to be held either diagonally or horizontally.

By about the seventh century A.D., the art and science of music made fast progress. Many of the concepts gained significant place in the history of Indian music, one such being the concept of *gamaka.* The *Periya puraanham* records an event in the life of Tirujnanasambandhar which brings to light the development of the *gamaka* and incidentally the merger of the *yaaL* with the *viinha.* Once Tirujnanasambandhar asked his close associate Tiruniilakanhta yaaLpaanhar to reproduce on the yaaL one of his hymns. But as the musical exigencies of the hymn were far beyond the capacity of the *yaaL*, the *yaaLpaanhar* could not do full justice in his efforts to portray the melodic richness of the hymn. This was due to the fact that the *panh Meegaraagakkurinci* which corresponds to the *niilaambari raaga* of the present day carnatak music demanded the assistance of certain kinds of *gamakas* such as the *kampita* and *nokku.* These *gamakas* could be produced only on the *viinha* with finger board and frets, but not on the *yaaL* which was a plain stirnged instrument. The *panh* that was responsible for the abdication and subsequent disappearance of the *yaaL* was thenceforth came to be called the *yaaLmuTippanh.*

The Parivaadini

Mahendravarma Pallava I was a contemporary of Tirujnanasambanthar (7th century.) Hence the king must have been fully aware of the circumstance that forced the *yaaL* to succumb to the rapid progress of the science of music. Consequently the royal musician must have felt the necessity for a permanent record of this memorable event for the benefit of posterity. *Vicitracitta*, the curious minded that king Mahendravarman was, he desired to record something unique in the field

of music. This high ambition of king Mahendravarma Pallava is appropriately confirmed by his Mamanhduur inscription :

> "*Appraapta puurvam nirveshtum vaadya sravanha kautukah*
> ...... *krtavatiiva* ....
> .... *kanhtaaruticunhaavasaadhaaranha sappada*"

meaning that the king wanted to achieve what was not achieved before, in the realm of music. Observing various intonations of sounds that voice alone could produce and actuated by a zeal and determination to produce the same results on such musical instruments like the *parivaadini* — the seven stringed *yaaL* and the *viinha* he designed by dint of uncommon and superior resources probably a successful notation of musical sounds to be produced on the *yaaL* and the *viinha*. The result was the notation of music that he postulated and inscribed in Kudumiyaamalai, which was mainly intended to be produced on the *parivaadini* and by import on the *viinha*.

The sculptures of the *yaaL* and the *viinha* (fig. 56) in the cave temple of Satyagirisvara at Tirumeyyam near Pudukottai unfurls the transformation of the *viinha* from the *yaaL* stage. The *yaaL* was known as *parivaadini* with seven strings. It is seen in the shape of a fish with its tail upturned forming a curve, suggesting the shape of the *makara yaaL*. When the tail of the *yaaL* was stretched into a straight line with the head piece reduced to oval shape the *viinha* with a long stem (*danhda*) emerged. This modified *viinha* is also represented in the rock panel of Arjuna's penance at Mahabalipuram. All these sculptures belong to the period of Mahendravarma Pallava I (600 A.D. to 630 A.D.).

The representation of the *Viinhadhara Dakshinaamurti* in the South Indian sculptures provides an interesting study of the *viinha*. In the specimen of *viinhadhara Dakshinamurthi* from the *Dharmaraaja ratha* at Mahabalipuram the *viinha* has a round pedastal like resonator with a long stem (*koodu*). The pedestal which is shown attached to the upper end of the *danhdi*, is seen resting on the left shoulder of the player. The structure of the *viinha* and its playing posture are retained in all the lithic delineation of the subsequent periods at Ellora, in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram, in the Ramesvaram temple, at Narasamangala in Mysore district and in the Brihadiisvara temple at Tanjavur.

The viinha depicted in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram has certain modifications giving the instrument an appearance similar to the modern *tambuuraa* (fig. 57). The sculpture belongs to the 8th century A.D. The viinha has a semi-globular resonator to which the *viinha danhda* (*koodu*) is attached. At the upper end are visible three tuning pegs. The *koodu* terminates with the face of a *yaalhi*. The strings, presumably three, are shown passing over a bridge in the belly. The *viinha* is held horizontally across the body of the player. A similar instrument is seen in a pillar in the Brahadiisvarar temple at Tanjavur. This sculpture is assigned

to the 10th century A.D. and belongs to the Chola period. Again we come across this instrument in the temple sculpture at Chidambaram, and in the Eastern Chalukyan art from Jamidoddi (date 10th century A.D.). A unique representation of this type of stringed instrument is met with in a wall painting preserved in the Ettayapuram palace in a scene depicting the coronation of Sri Rama. The *tambuura-cum-viinha* has five strings and there are three bridges near the tuning pegs. Thus the *tambuura* slowly came into being by about the 8th century A.D. Several sculptural references to the *viinha* of this type are found in the temple architecture from *Khajuraho* Konarak, Bhuvaneswar and Puri, in the Paala Sena art of Bengal and in the Rajasthan Art.

In the meantime a fingerboard instrument played with a bow also made its appearance in the sculpture in Tirumagudalu in Mysore State (c.10th century A.D.) and in Chidambaram. The structure of the instrument and the manner in which it is held and played with a bow resembles the modern violin.

In the process of development of the *viinha* the next stage is marked by the addition of frets. The earliest evidence of fretted *viinha* is found in a sculpture from a temple at Pattadakkal (fig. 58) dated c. 733 A.D. The frets instead of being placed on the finger board below the strings are shown being placed on the belly over the resonator serving as bridges which must have been of a sliding nature as they are of different heights. Subsequently this was modified and by about the 12th-13th century A.D., the frets were placed on the finger board. *Viinha* with plain finger board was called *nissaari viinha* and that with fretted finger board was called *saari viinha.* In the initial stage only the left half of the finger board had the frets as depicted in the Belur and Halebid sculptures (fig. 59) belonging to the Hoysala period (c. 12th - 13th century A.D.)' It had two gourds fixed at two ends of the stem (*koodu*). A similar instrument with eleven frets belonging to the Nayak period (16th - 17th century A.D.) is depicted in the sculptures and Madurai temple architecture (fig. 60). Unlike in the Belur *viinha,* the frets in this *vinnha* occupy nearly the three-fourth length of the *viinha danhda*. An improved model of this *vinnha* with three gourds—the third one fixed in the centre of the *vinnha danhda* is to be seen in the Ramaswami Temple at Kumbhakonam (fig. 61). This instrument is known as *kinnari.* It may be mentioned the modern *viinha* was perfected in the late 16th and early 17th century A.D., Govinda Dikshitar, the veteran musicologist of the period is credited with the perfection of the instrument.

Continuing the lithic representation of stringed instruments in Indian art and architecture, the *rudra viinha* of North India, the *saarangi* and the *violin* in its modern shape are some of the instruments which to this day bring to lime light the past glory of Indian music, nay the music of South India, carnatic music.

Kokkarai

There is yet one more instrument that is depicted in the South Indian sculpture and referred to in the Tamil literature in the *Teevaaram* and *Kalladaam*. The instrument named *kokkarai* in Tamil is associated with Lord Siva's dance. The Saivite Saints, Tirunaavukkarasar and Sundaramurti refer to the *kokkarai* along with other musical instruments played as accompaniments to Lord Siva's dance.

"*Kokkaraic accari viinhaip paanhiyaaNaik*
koonhaagam puunhaagak konhdaantaNNai"

(Tirunaavukkarasar - hymn *CollaaNai porulhhNai*)

"*takkai tanhnhumai taalham viinhai*
tagunhic cankinhai callari
kokkarai kudamuha vinoodisai
kuudippaadi ninTaaduviir

(Sundarar hymn - *Kaarulaaviya*)

The *kokkarai* is a metal rod with serrated edges which when rubbed over by another piece of metal produces unpleasant sound. The earliest representation of the *kokkarai* - rasp is found in the Ajanta fresoes and subsequently in Badami, in Belur and Halebid of the Hoysala art and in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram (fig. 62). The rasp - *kokkara* is used even today in Malabar. It is generally used in exorcising demons and for curing sickness.

Marvels of South India

South India is full of marvels of unique charm and veritable sources for enjoyment, not generally seen in other parts of the country. Architects of the past were also well versed in the knowledge of music and acoustics. While erecting colossal temples they applied their knowledge not only to decorate them with monumental art creation but also to intensify and enrich the grandeur and solemnity of divine worship.

Tiger Cave

The Tiger Cave is situated in a small hamlet called Saluvankuppam, three miles north of Mahabalipuram, on the road running parallel to the sea.

The Tiger Cave is a huge boulder cut on one side — its eastern side facing the sea, the other three sides being unhewn and rough. The cave is an oblong pavilion closed on three sides with its floor level cut six feet high from the ground level in front and reached by a flight of four rock-cut steps projecting out and with parapet flanks. The lowermost step is a moon-stone (*Chandrasila*). The side parapets are characterised by roughly hewn rampart lines facing out one on either side. At either corner are two pilasters showing rampart lions rearing forward and with riders on their backs looking out. The pavilion is four feet deep inside and six feet high. It

is thrown into good relief by chiselling deeper the surrounding rock and providing on either side, two oblong niches marked by a larmier (*kapoota*) on a line with the main niche. Above this is an elliptical arched figure (*tooranha*) of *vyaala* heads, eleven in number, displaying the frontal view of the three *vyaala* (*yaalhi*) and a lateral view of four on either side, showing the profiles of the *vyaala* heads. Necessary documentation for this interesting decorative motif is obtained from the *Paripaadal* a volume of Tamil poems of the Sangam period (1st - 2nd centry A.D.) where the form of a pavilion is described as " *Tiger's face* ",

maadattukkai puNai kilhar veengai. (*Paripaadal* 10 - 45)

A late Tamil inscription near Saaluvankuppam, two miles further north along the sea, calls the place *Tiru-veLuccil* meaning the "beautiful elevation". Architectural evidences prove that this cave was put up by the Pallava king Narasimhavarman II *alias* Rajasimha (c.700 - 729 A.D.).

The purpose of carving this odd cave with a pavilion by Rajasimha was indeed unique. Obviously it was not meant for a shrine, as the cave has neither the *linga* nor *Soomaaskanda* relief, which we find in the Kailaasanaathar temple at Kanchipuram and at the shore temple at Mahabalipuram, also built by Rajasimha. The inscriptions of Rajasimha from the Kailasanaathar temple reveal to us his taste for music and the importance that he attached to the art. Some of the titles borne by him such as *Sri Vaadya Vidyaadhara* i.e., he who is on par with Tumburu in the knowledge of musical instruments ; and Sri *viinha Naarada* i.e., he who resembles *Naarada* in the playing of the *viinha*, emphasises his aptitude and achievements in music. If so, the cave constructed by him must be musical in purpose. The name *TiruveLuccil* (elevation) provides the answer, for, we do need an elevated place for musicians to sit and perform. The performance must have been obviously in an open air theatre. In spite of the roaring sea nearby and the rushing breakers, the surrounding atmosphere is calm and transquil. The facade of the cave possesses excellent acoustic property. It is delightful to find that the cutting of the niche in the elevated place with flanking alcoves and overwhelming elliptical arch-frieze of *vyaala* heads, both frontal and lateral, secure maximum comfortable acoustic property to this elevation, when a musician performs in it. As one performs, the emanating waves of sounds which fall on the back wall of the niche are caught and echoed, mellowed and softened. Thus an absorbing tendency of the back rock is obvious. The over-hanging *Vyaala* + frieze checks the dispersion of the sound and its evaporation above. Thus the only course for the travelling sounds being frontal and forward, visitors sitting in front are treated with softened sounds, pleasant and enduring to hear. Disturbing vocal angularities are petrified and mollified, maximum spectacular pleasure, (*sahrdayaananda*) is derived by listeners who stand fifty feet away in front against a deterrent rock crop. Veritably this rock cut cave is a *sangita mandapa* with perfect acoustics.

Musical Stone Pillars and Pipes

It was in the days of the kings of Vijayanagar that the human fancy was transmuted into exuberant fact, when a band of artists discovered and made full use of the resonant variety of granite stones. The musical stone pillars which are. a standing testimony to the artistic genius of the South are seen in many temples, The best specimen of them are however found in the temples at Hampi, Tadpatri Lepaakshi, Tirupathi, Taadikombu, Madurai, Alagarkovil, Tirunelveli, Alwartirunagari, Kalakkadu, Tenkasi, Courtallam, Suchindram and Trivandrum.

The musical pillars in the Minakshi temple at Madurai (fig. 63) are now pre served as loose clusters in the north *aadi viidhi* inside the temple. There are four clusters of pillars each having about a dozen columns. *Svaras* (notes) based on the *raagas* like *Navaroj, Kurinji* could be heard in these columns when struck. Even *thaalha jatis* can be played on these pillars. It is possible that these pillars were used as accompaniments for the *teevaaram* and other sacred hymns that were recited in the temple.

The most elaborate specimen of musical pillars are perhaps those found in the famous temple of Sri Nellaiyappar at Tirunelveli. The *Manhimanhdapa* in front of the *sanctum sanctorum* is supported mainly by these columns. Each is about 6 to 8 feet in height and five feet square at the base. It has integral annexe which seems to be carved out of one solid block of stone. From the base springs a central pillar which is surrounded by not less than 48 shafts. The thickness of each shaft is only 3 inches and their shapes vary greatly, - circular, oval, square rectangular, octagonal, polygonal and spiral. On examining the cluster of pillars on the left, as we enter the *sanctum*, the following notes have been found to emanate from them :

s, r, r, d, s, s, n, s, s, s, s, s, s, n, n, d, s, n, s,

n, d, r, s, d, ni, m, n, p, n, s, d, s, d, m,

g, s, n, n, s, g, s, n, s, n, s.

In this group, the note *pancama* is heard only in the square pillar, and *madhyama* in the octagonal pillar. These notes suggest the scale of *Navaroj, Kurinji,* and *Sankaraabharanha*. The workmanship is flawless and the surface is smooth. Some of the shafts could be detached from one another and could be joined to the parent, stem by a tiny ligature, no more than an inch and no thicker than an orange peel serving the purpose of a stopper, a fret.

Much more interesting are the pillars found in the temple at Aalhwaar-tirunagari, twenty miles from Tirunelveli, famous for its association with the Vaishnava Saint Nammalhvar. The unique feature of these pillars is that through the

stylobate or common base is cut a channel about two inches in diameter. This channel is a deliberate trick to convert the solid pedestal into a resonator which would amplify and modify the tone produced by the columns. Another column is separated from the pier at the bottom and on top and by a simple device can be taken out at will. It is this separation from the main column that has made the shaft silent.

The secret behind the musical quality based on acoustic property, is that the stone bases common to the columns must be hollow only underneath the clusters of columns. (1) These hollow portions must have been scooped on the principle of resonator in musical instruments. (2) While carving the shafts the thickness of the individual shaft must have been different, the difference being dexterously merged with the varied shape of the shafts - spiral, square, circular, fluted, etc. As for the general musical tone of the pillars, it is found that the granites have more pores than the other varieties of stone. This accounts for the gneral musical tone of the pillars.

Remarkable specimen of musical pipes scooped out of a pillar are found in some temples in the South. The best specimen of musical pipes scooped out of a granite stone pillar are seen in the temples at Shanbagaraamanallur and Aalhwaar tiru-nagari near Tirunelveli. The pipe is conical in shape and is in the central part of the pillar. It is at a slight inclination to the horizontal. The interior of the pipe is smooth and polished. The two ends of the pipe are circular. When blown from one end the tone of the *Ekkaalham* is heard and when blown from the other end, the tone of the conch (*sankha*) is heard. These holes are named *Ekkaalharandra* and *Sankharandra*. The length of the tube is one foot. The pipe has two small folds in the interior and this perhaps accounts for the difference in the sound when blown from the two ends. The Aalhwaar-tiru-nagari stone pipe is a more complex one. In the pillar are scooped four holes, one on one side acting constantly as mouth hole and the remaining three on the opposite side. When blown through the mouth hold, these holes produce the sounds of *sankha* (conch), *tirucciNNam* and *ekkaalham*.

Besides these musical pillars and musical pipes in stone, there are icons and stone steps in the temples of South India which give out musical notes. The Vaikunhta Perumal temple in Krishnapuram near Tirunelveli, the Aadikeesavaperumaal temple in Peruntottam near Kaveripattinam, the Brahadiisvara temple at Tanjore, have good specimens of musical icons. The stone steps leading to the balipiitam in the temple at Daaraasuram near Kumbakonam produce musical notes.

Tala Inscriptions

In addition to these master pieces, there are a few epigraphical evidences of technical importance, two of which have already been discussed at relevant places.

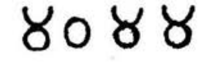
There are three inscriptional records based on the *taalha* system of carnaatic music. Two records — from Madurai Sri Minakshi temple and Tirunelveli — illustrate the scheme of thirtyfive *taalhaas* with their *angas* marked in archaic character. The date of these inscriptions is said to be late 17th century A.D. The signs of the *angas* of the *taalhaas* in both the inscriptions are identical (fig. 64, 65).

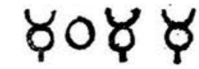
In the inscriptions the *laghu jaati bheedas* are represented in the following manner.

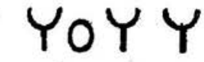
Laghu jaati bheeda - symbols used in modern notation			*Laghu jaati bheeda* - symbols found in inscriptions
Tisra laghu	13	..	
Chaturasra laghu	14	..	
KhanTda laghu	15	..	
Misra laghu	17	..	
Sankiirnha laghu	19	..	

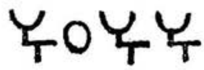
The Tirunelveli inscription is more elaborate than the Madurai record. The innermost circle depicts the *shadangas* with their corresponding symbols (fig. 65). Herein *anudrutam* is referred to as *viraamam*. The next circle gives the *sapta taalhas* and their *angas*. The third circle has the scheme. Starting from the *druvataalha* the five varieties of each *taalha* are grouped under respective *taalhas*, as for instance, in the case of *druva taalhas* :

Chaturasra Druvam ..

Tisra Druvam .. 

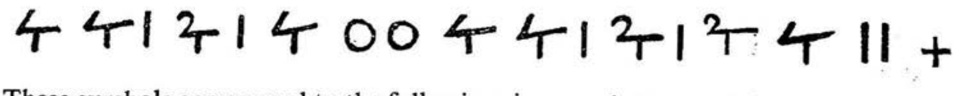
Misra Druvam .. 

Khanhda Druvam .. 

Sankiirnha Druvam .. 

In the Madurai inscription the arrangement is according to the *laghu jaatis*. Thus in the first set, the *chaturasra* varieties of the *sapta thaalhas* are given followed by *Tisra*, *Misra*, *Khanhda* and *Sankiirnha* varieties. This inscription merely records the thirtyfive taalhas with the title, *Sapta Suulhaadi taalham* ௩௰௫.

In the third inscription (fig. 66) also from Madurai Minakshi temple, the *Simhanandana taalha* which is one of the hundred and eight *taalhas* and the thirty-seventh in the scheme, is inscribed. The *angas* of the *taalha* proceed from the bottom centre in the clockwise direction, bearing the symbols :



These symbols correspond to the following signs used at present in the *taalha*,

These signs indicate five of the six angas, namely *drutam* - O, *laghu* - I, *kuru* - 8, *plutam* - 8̍ and *kaakapaadam* - +

In the *Caccaputa venhbaa*, a treatise on the hundred and eight *taalhas*, written probably by Varaghunha Paanhdian in the 16th century, the *Simhanandana taalha* is explained in the following verse,

CingananthaN villiranhdu
cevvai minkool kahiyiir
tangiru vil kool min caram
vayir vil pongiru neer
pulhlhadiyee maattiraigalh
ponmuppaaNii thaalham
theelhlhiya muppatheeLee

In this *venbhaa*, *drutam* is referred to as *cuLi*, (சுழி) *laghu* as *cevvai* (செவ்வை) *-kool* (கோல்) *caram* (சரம்) *neer* (நேர்), *kuru* as *vil* (வில்), *plutam* as *min* (மின்)*uyir* (உயிர்) and *kaakapaadam* as *pulladi* (புள்ளடி). This *taalha* has thirtytwo maatras or one hundred and twentyeight aksharas.

Conclusion

The test of a nation's culture and greatness is the degree of its progress in arts. The highest perfection attained in all branches of arts, particularly in music, certify the intellectual and artistic potentialities of the ancient Indians. In appreciation of this artistic potentiality, some of the important facets in Indian music history have been highlighted in this paper. In these facets we observe the coincidence of a few landmarks created in musical history such as the development of

gamakas, incidentally the disappearance of the *yaaL* and the emergence of the stringed instrument with finger board and frets which have been duly attested with authentic datum provided by the literary and archaeological sources. These sources have also contributed valuable materials and information regarding the evolution and growth of the *yaaL*, the varieties, shapes and the playing postures of many of the popular wind and percussion instruments, which exist only as mere names in the sangita literature. Thus the literary and archaeological sources are of invaluable value as they go hand in hand to prove even to this day the continuity of the tradition of carnatak music, the music of South India. Maintaining a unity in diversity, the musical culture of our ancient Tamil country, continued to exist as an independent art till the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries. With the advent of the Mohammadan regime in North India, the music culture of the country was affected to a great extent. The music nurtured from the time of Bharata to Saarangadeeva receded to the South and merged with the indigenous system of Tamil music. While in the north the same music of Bharata and Saarangadeeva imbibed the foreign elements and developed under the new name and style popularly came to be known as Hindustani music. Thus, in conclusion, it would not be deemed out of place to remark that the *carnaatak* music of South India is a scientific and profound system, with a continuous existence from the day of its inception to the present not only challenging the test of time and pollution, but also proving its dynamic force living upto the standard of the survival of the most beautiful, artistic and the fittest.

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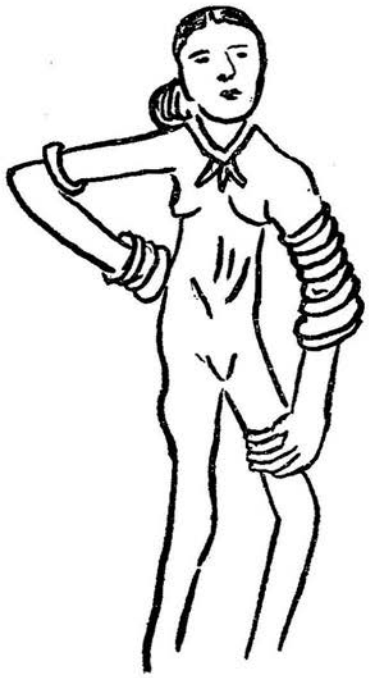

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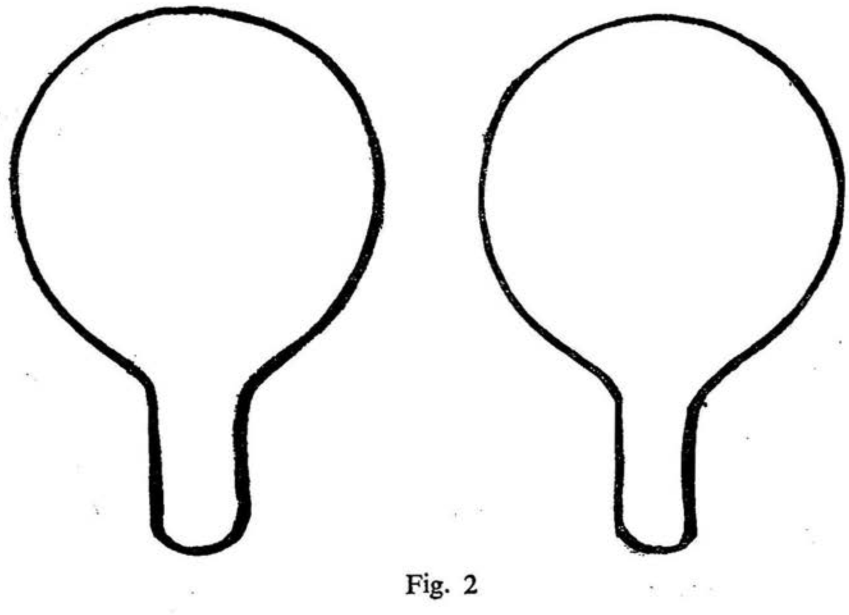

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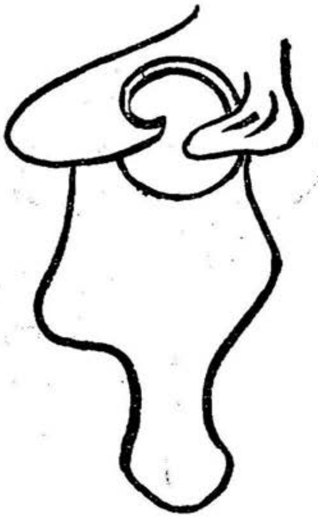
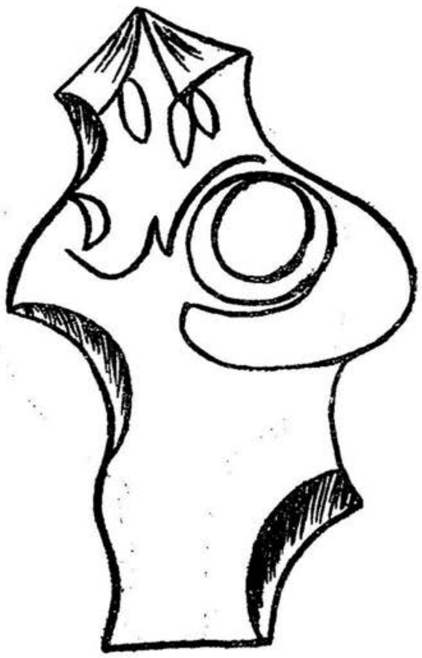


Fig, 3

Fig. 4



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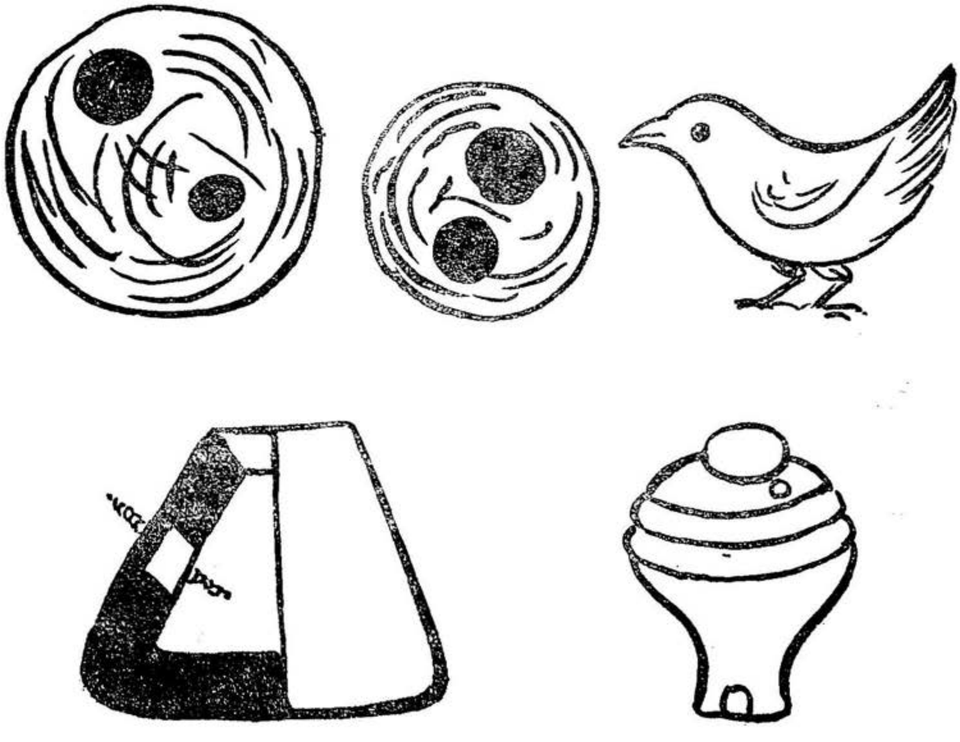

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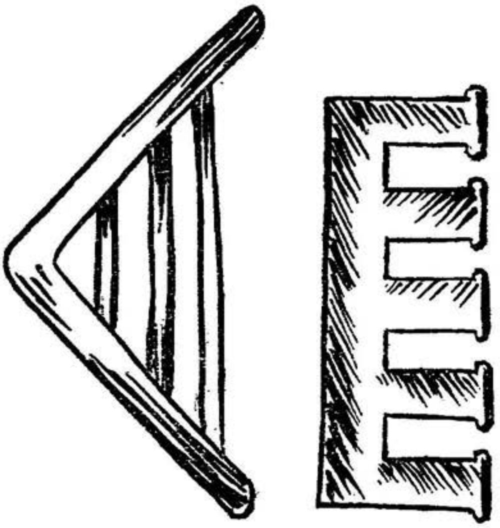

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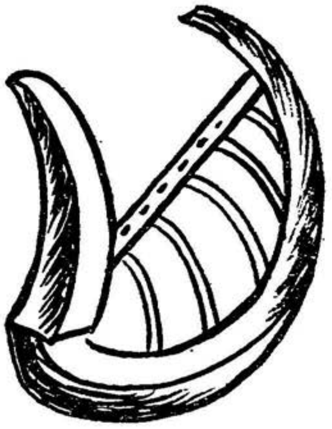

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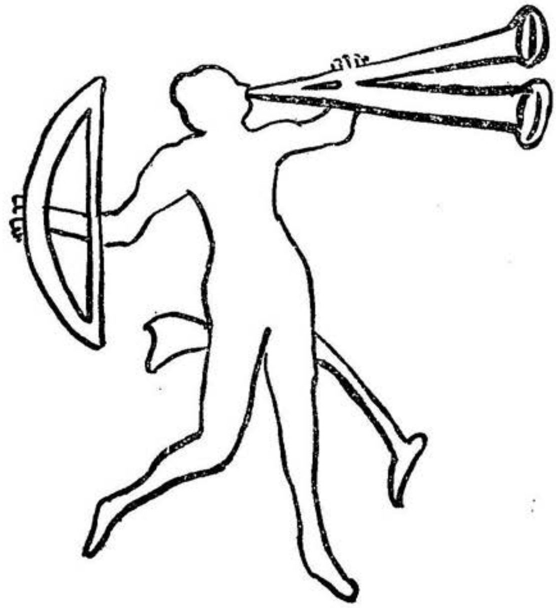
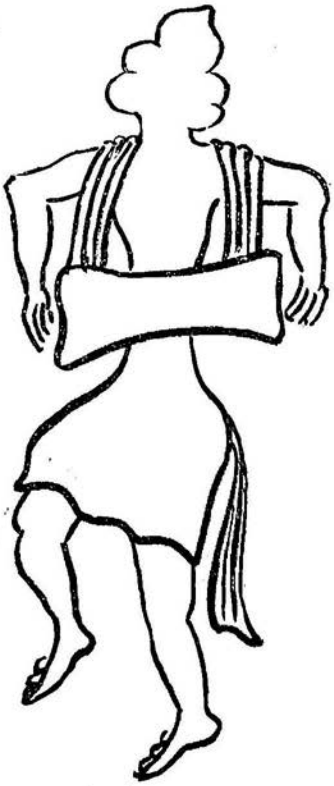


Fig. 11-a

Fig. 11-b



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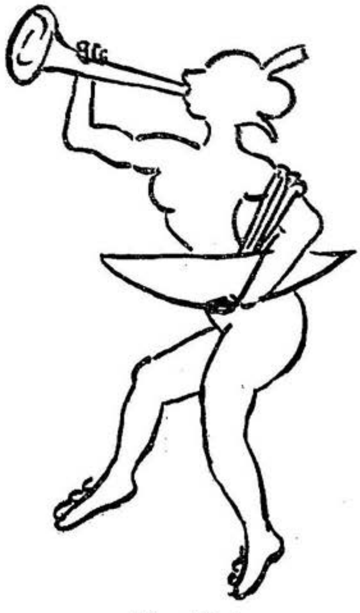

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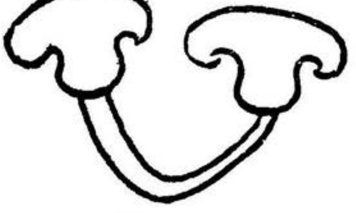

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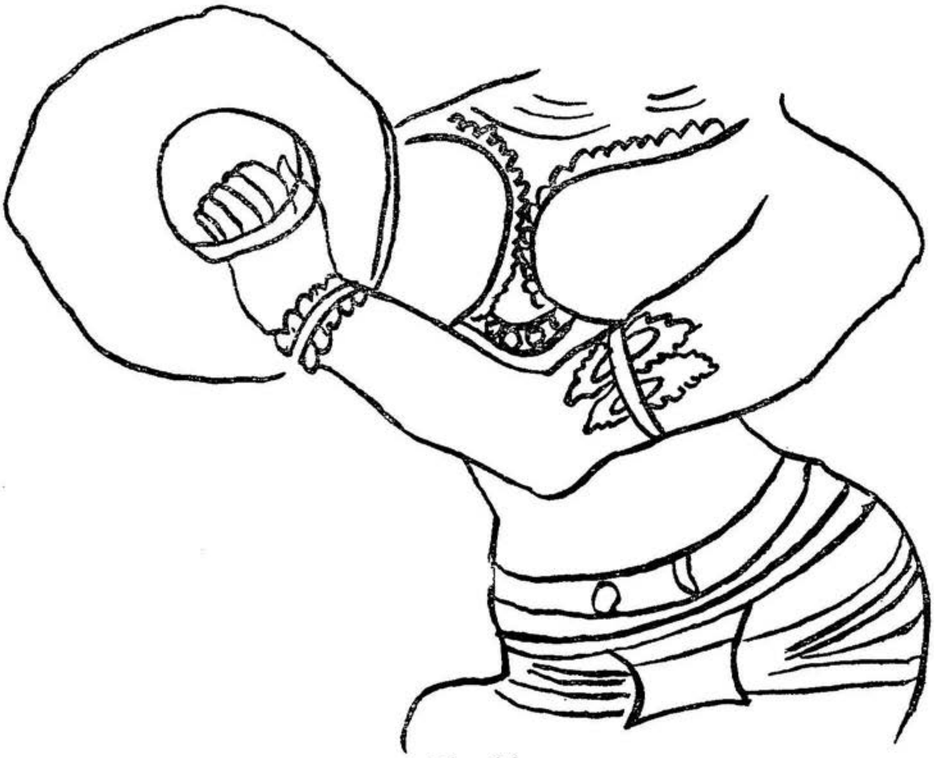

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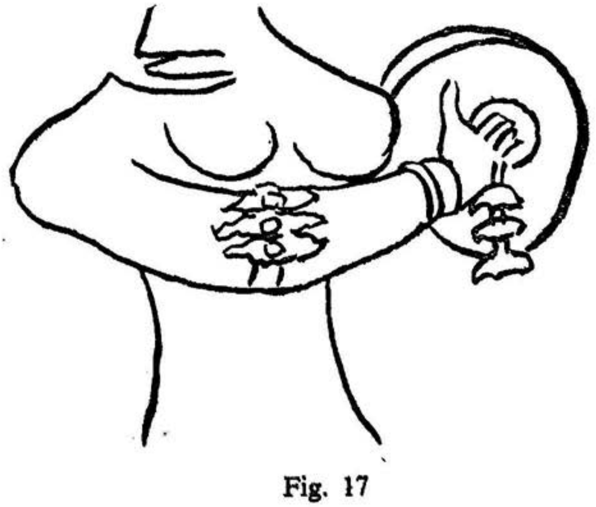

Fig. 17

Fig. 18

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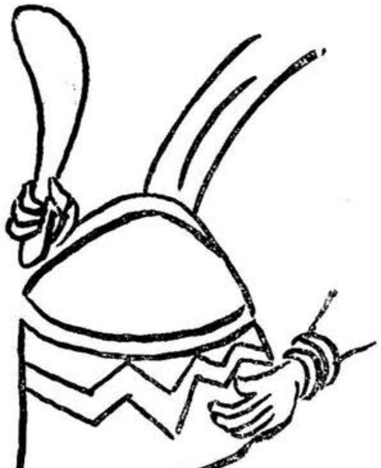

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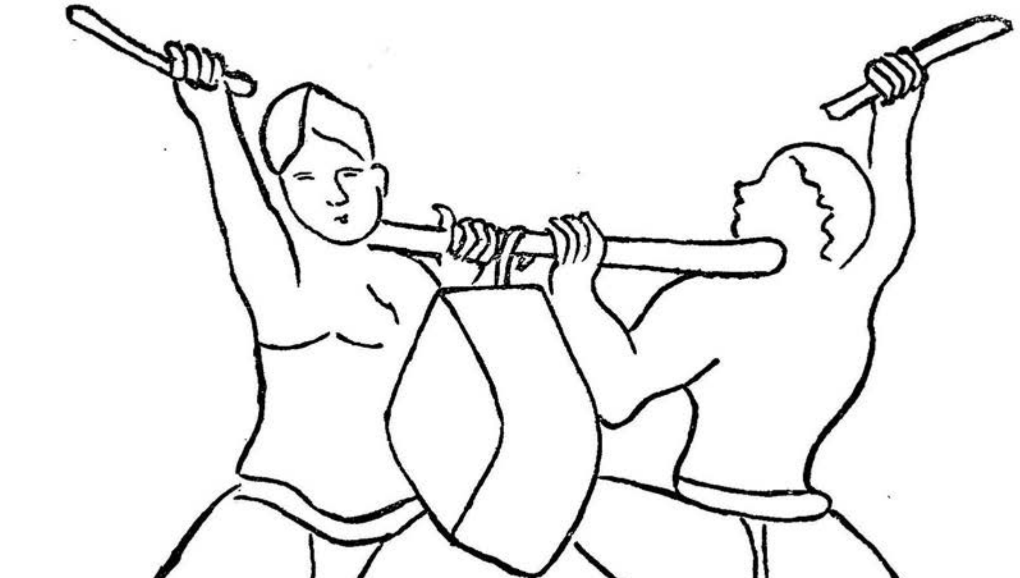

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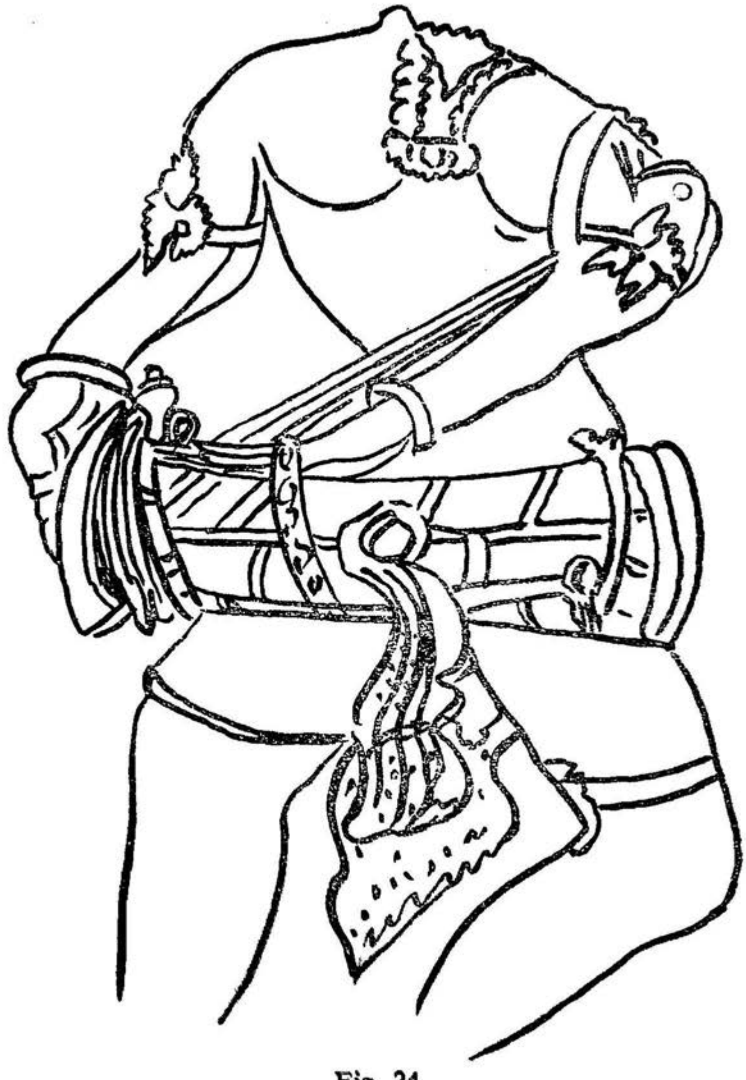

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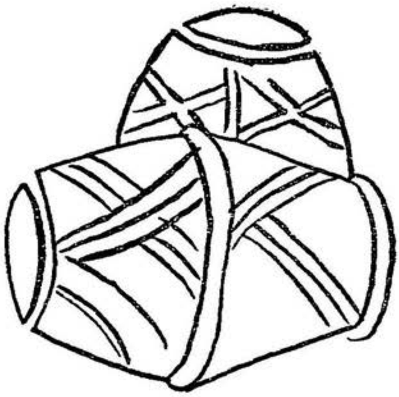

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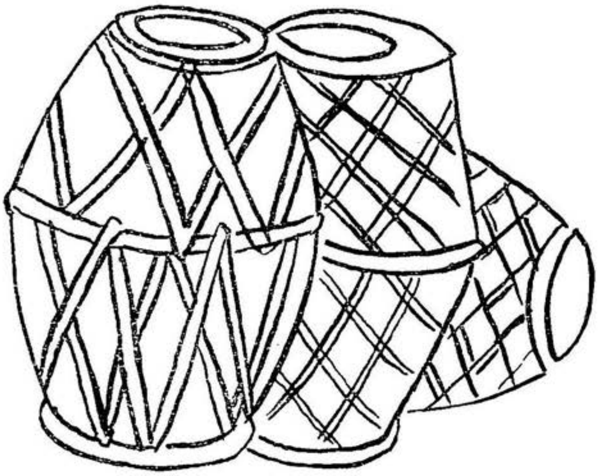

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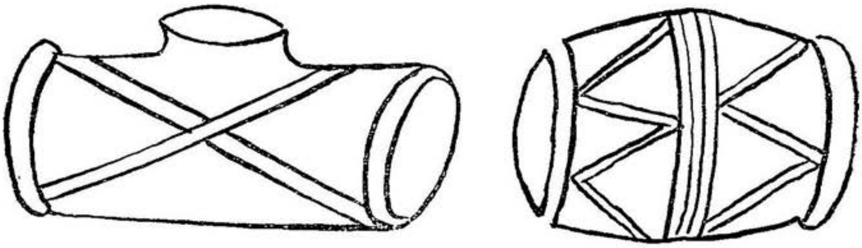

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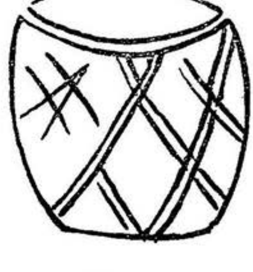

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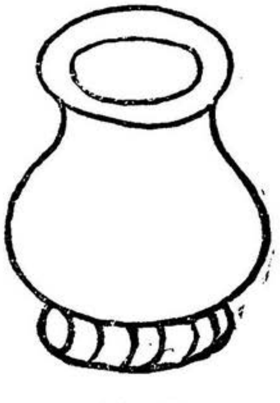

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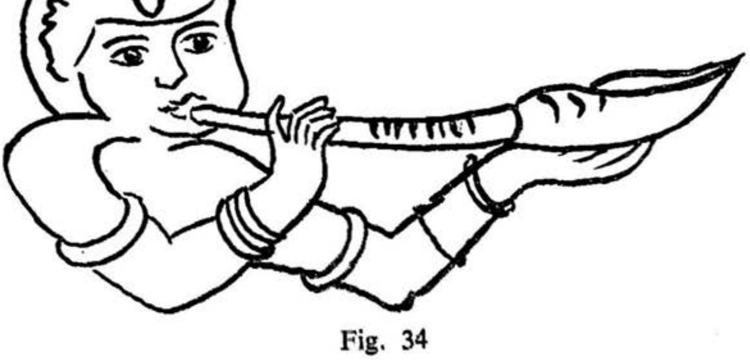

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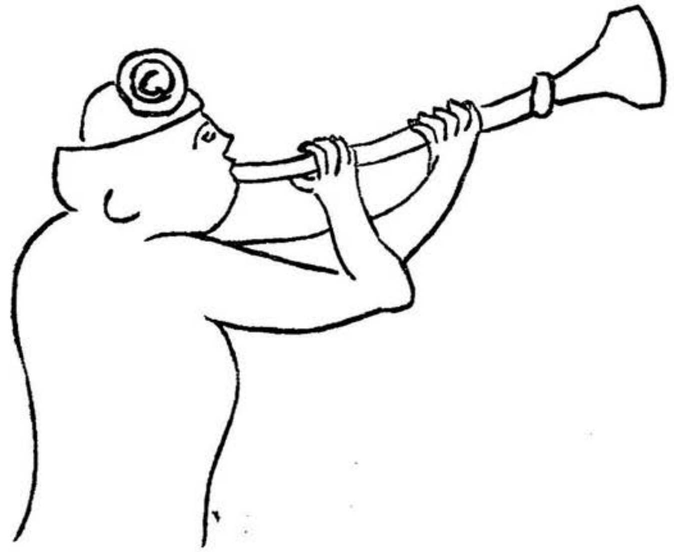

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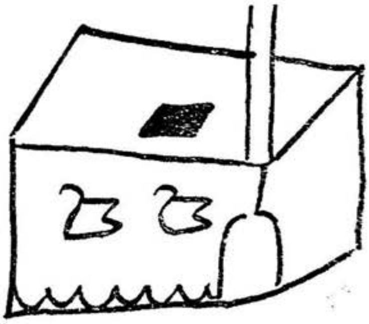

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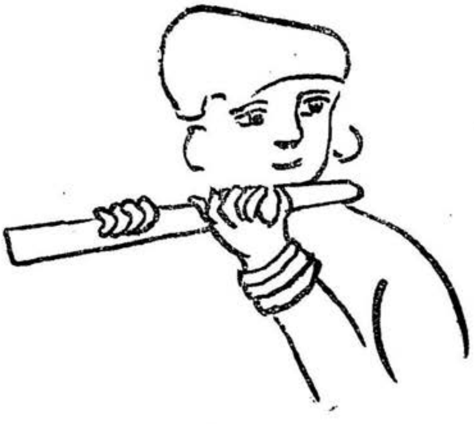

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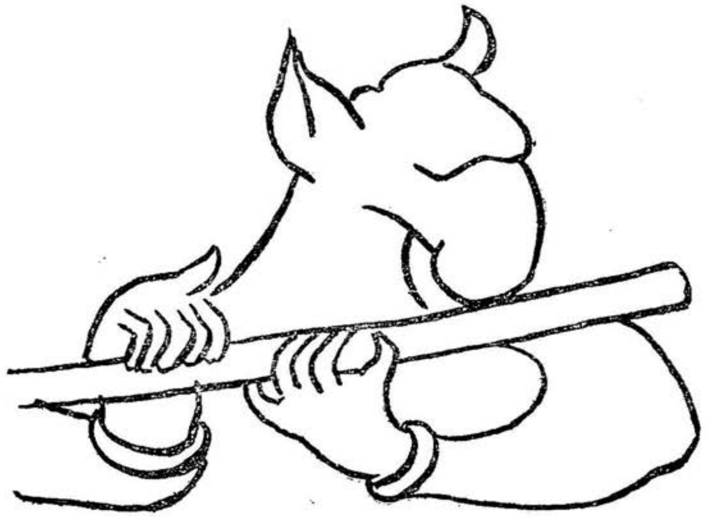

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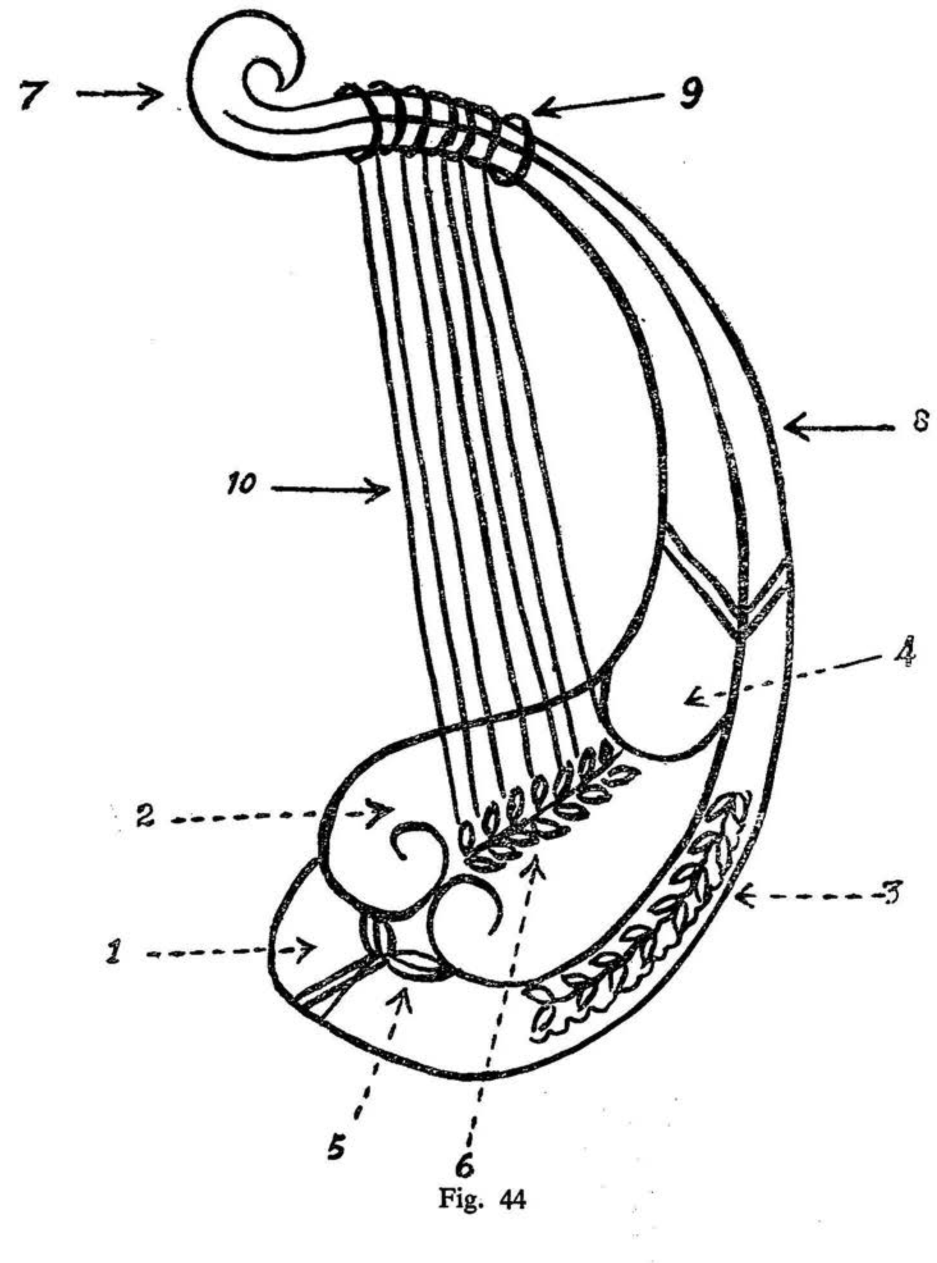

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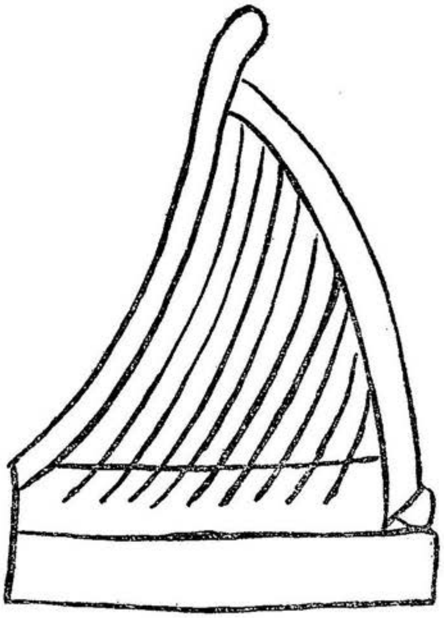

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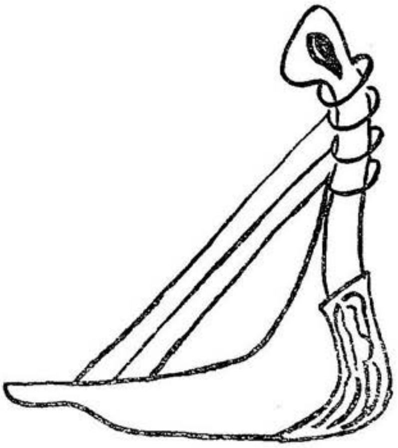

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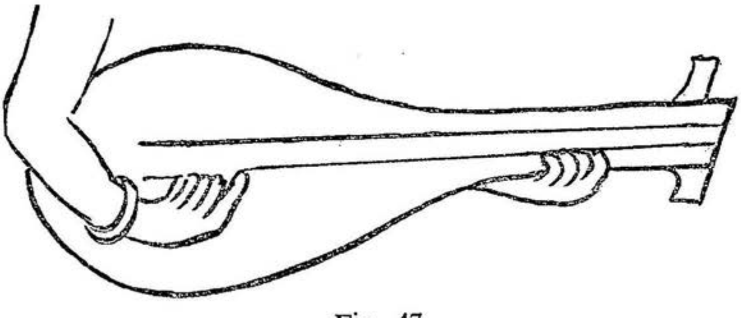

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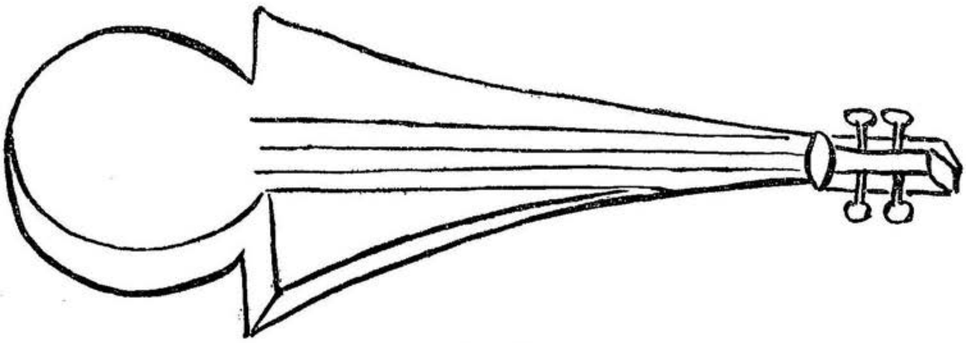

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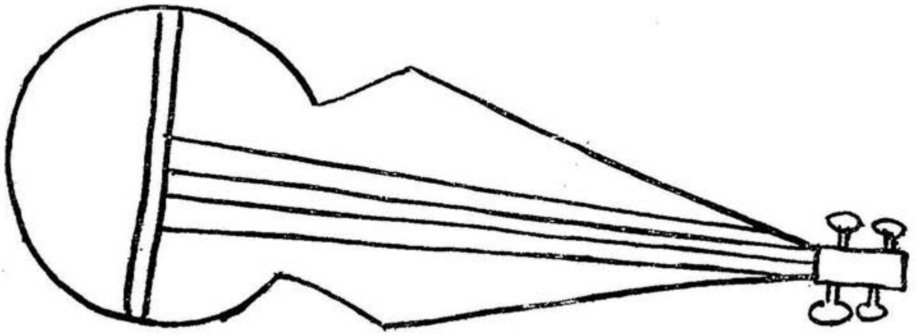

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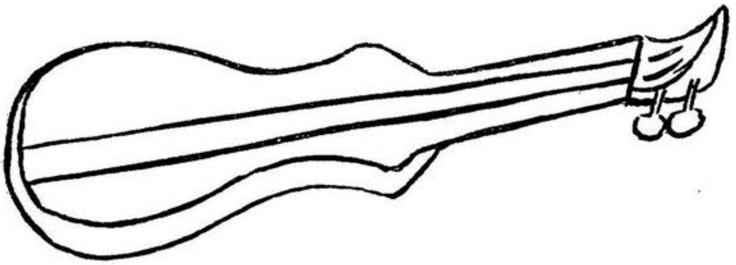

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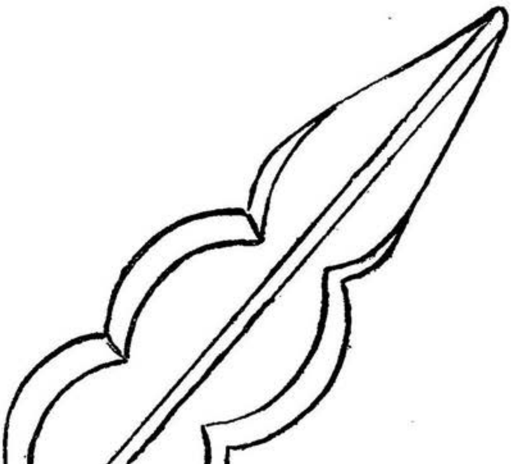

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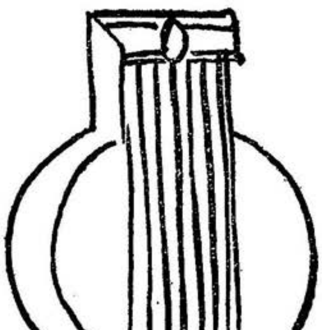

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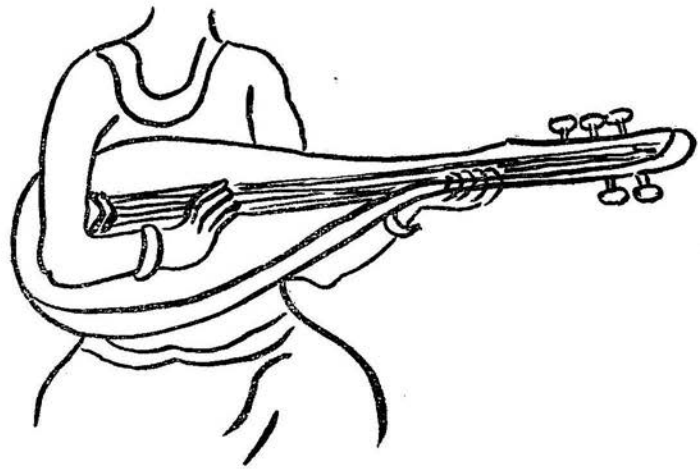

Fig. 53

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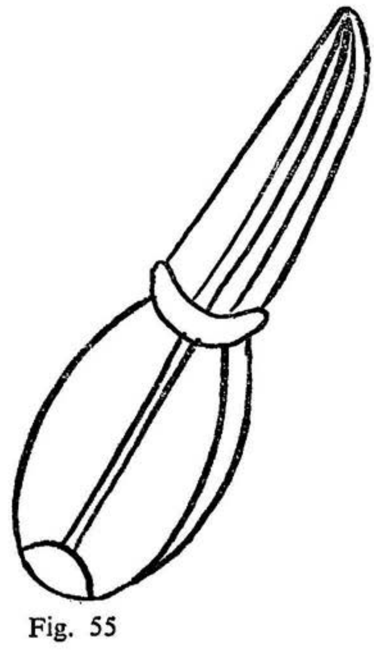

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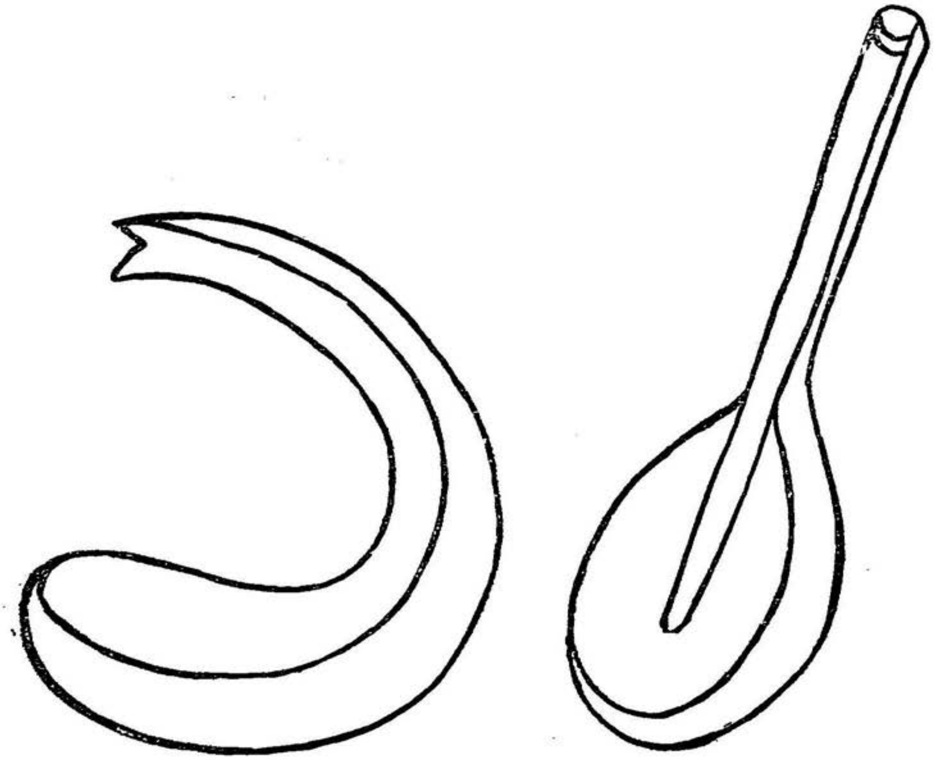

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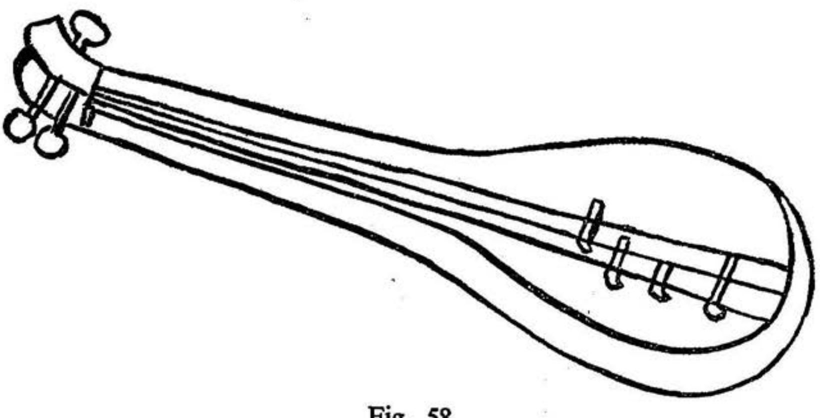

Fig. 58

Fig. 57

Fig. 58
A Representative Elizabethan Stage

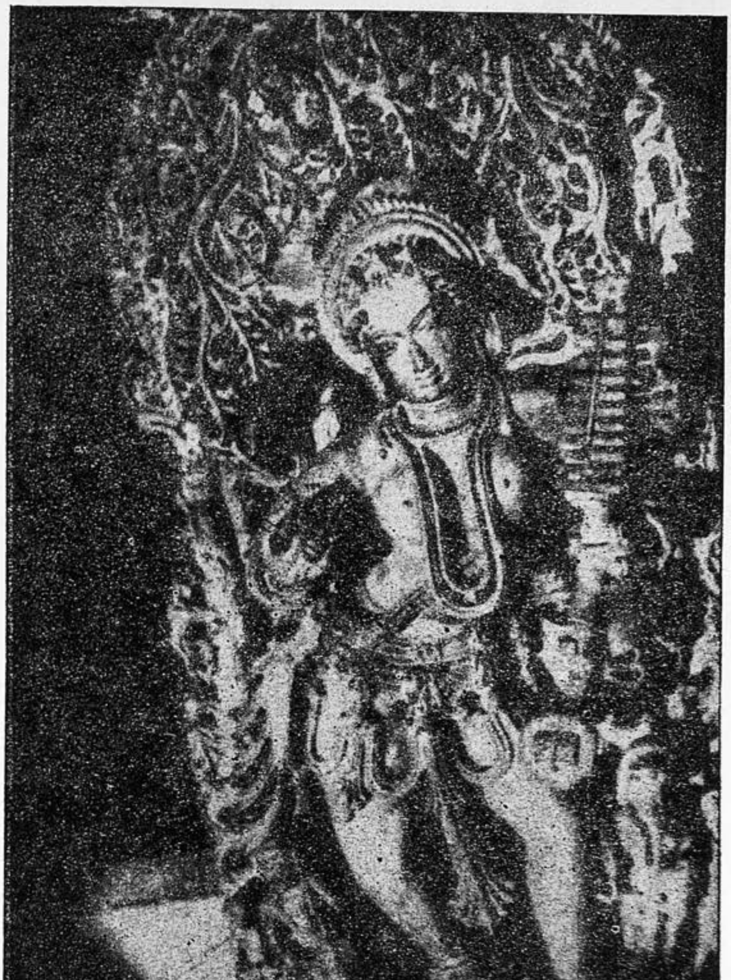

Fig. 59
Saari Vilnha—Belur

Fig. 60
Viinha player
Sri Meenakshi Temple, Madurai

Fig. 61
Kinnari Player
Ramaswami temple, Kumbhakonam

Fig. 62
Kokkarai Player
Sri Nataraja temple, Chidambaram

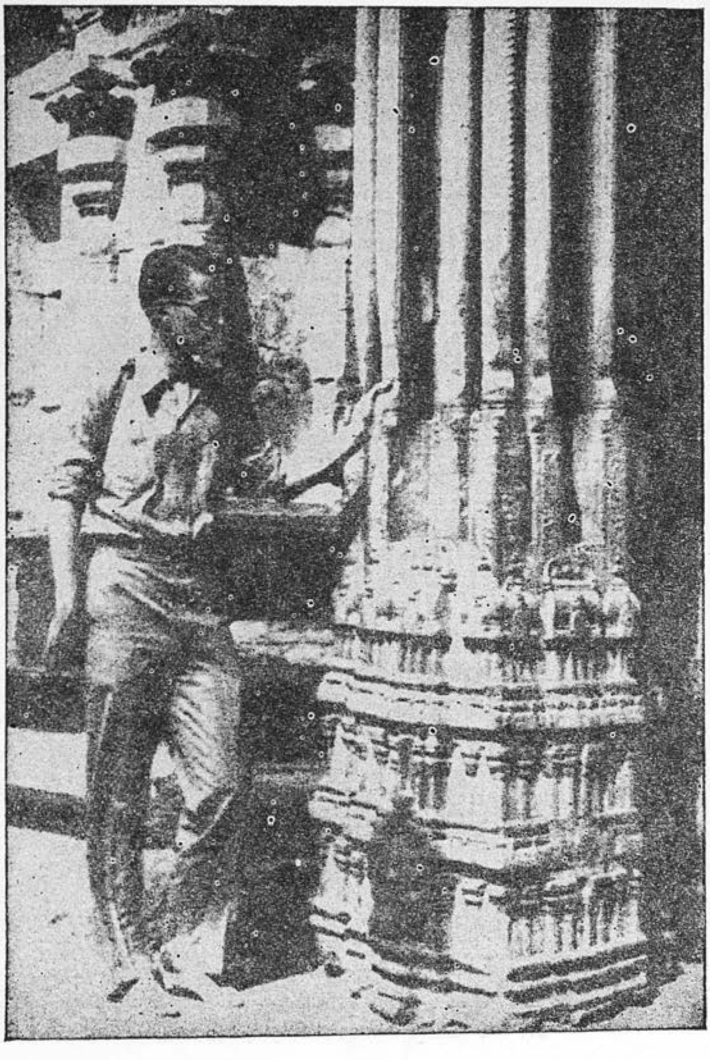

Fig. 63
Musical Stone pillars
Sri Meenakshi Temple, Madurai

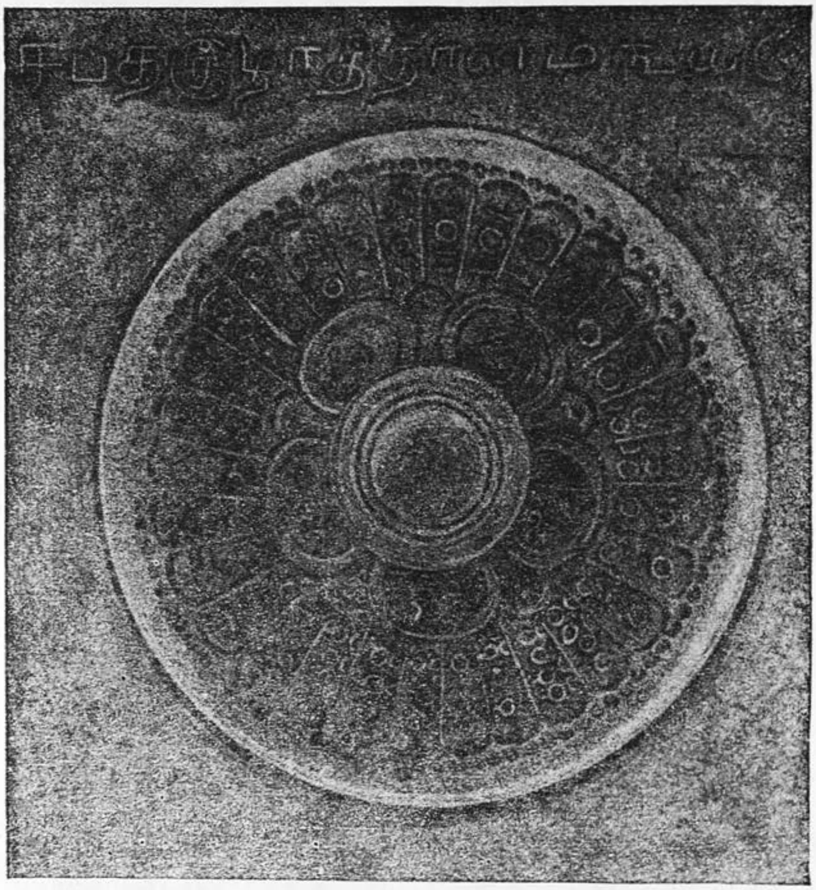

Fig. 64

Sapta thaalha inscription

Sri Meenakshi Amman temple, Madurai

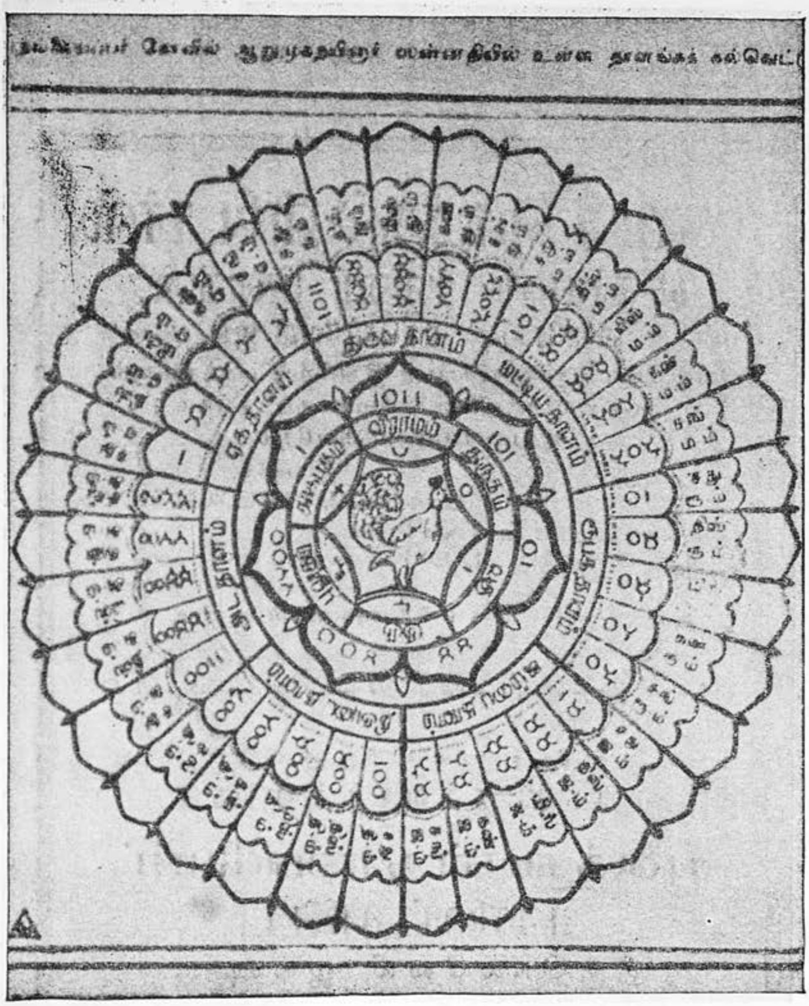

Fig. 65

Sapta thaalha inscription
Sri Nellaiappar temple, Tirunelveli

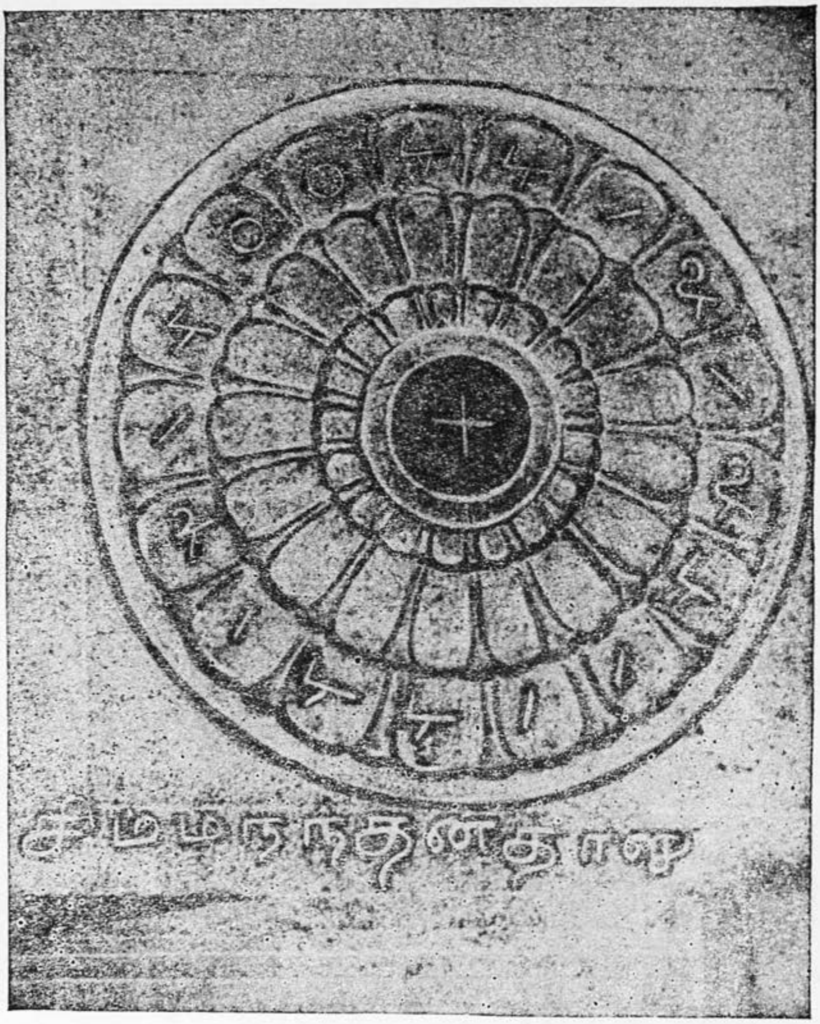

Fig. 66
Simhanandana thaalha inscription
Sri Meenakshi Amman Temple, Madurai

TALAM : THE ANALYSIS OF RHYTHMIC PATTERNS IN SOUTH INDIAN MUSIC

PROF. V. P. K. SUNDARAM

What is Talam *(தாளம்)*

Talam in its fullest sense, covers everything pertaining to the time side of music, as distinct from the pitch side. It includes grouping of small ticks into beats, grouping of beats into measures and grouping of measures into bar.

Talam is the most complicated and difficult section of the south Indian music. The subject is wide and well developed in theory. The genius of India has found full expression in her magnificent tala system. In this sphere, Indian music is bound to hold an exalted place in world music for many centuries to come.

The importance of Talam

Talam or rhythm is the back bone of music. Upon the time factor of talam, the notes, the words of music, the structure of the lines of the songs are built. Accuracy of the talam regulates and brings into union all the instrumentalists and singers in a performance. Talam gives shapes and forms to songs. It is the mathematics of music. Many facts of Talam are universal.

The legendary explanation of the word 'Talam'

When Siva the Lord danced, his anklet fell down on his thigh with the sound *Tal* and then on the ground with the sound '*am*'. So these two sounds – 'Tal', '*am*' are put together to form the word '*Talam.*' There are other mythological stories also, which explain the derivation of the word, 'talam' in different ways.

The Etymology of the word 'Talam'

Leaving aside the Puranic explanations I like to give the etymology of the word from the life history of the ancient people. The ancient people, in moments of joy and ecstasy, joined in groups and danced together. When they jumped and danced, they heard the regular rhythmic sound of their jumping feet (tal), they named the sound of *tal* (feet) as *Talam* (தாள்+அம் = தாளம்). The root of the *Talam* is *Tal* which means feet. '*am*' is a suffix After a few centuries, when the ancient Tamils began to beat the *talam* by hand – they called it Kaittalam. The Tamil word *Talam* itself tells the story of the origin of Talam.

The Constituent Parts or Limbs of Talam

The name in Tamil	in Sanskrit	Symbol	Count	Execution
1 Half Turitam	Anuturita	U	1	1 beat
2 Turitam	Turita	0	2	1 beat & 1 waving
3 Alaku	laghu	4	4	1 beat & 3 counting
4 Kuru	Kuru	8	8	1 beat & 7 counting
5 Pulhutam	Puluta	8	12	1 beat of 4 counts duration &
6 Kakkai yadi	Kaka pada	+	16	3 counting of the same duration

Kinds of Alaku

Tamil name	Sanskrit name	Symbol	Beat & finger counts
1. Mummai alaku	Tisra laku	I 3	1 + 2
2. Nanmai alaku	Satusra laku	I 4	1 + 3
3. Immai alaku	Kanta laku	I 5	1 + 4
4. Elumai alaku	misra laku	I 7	1 + 6
5. Onpanmai alaku	Samkirna laku	I 9	1 + 8

The Etymological explanation of the words of Tala limbs

1. *Turitam* in Tamil means fastness. The sanskritised form is 'Truta'. As it fastly moves by 2 counts, its name is turitam. Anuturitam is half turitam with a duration of one count.

2. *Alaku* (laku) in Tamil means broadened part. Alaku has 5 kinds – all with long durations.

3. Kuru in Tamil means that which is put together as a bunch. Hence it is 'Kuru'.

Pulhutam (Puluta) in Tamil means fixing together. Three alakus are fixed together. Hence it is 'pulhutam'.

Kakapatam: Its symbol is like the foot print of a crow (*kakkai*). It has other names – as *kakkai yadi, pulladi. Pulladi* means the foot of a bird.

Mattirai means 1/4 of a count 4; *Tudi* means 1/8 count.

The three *Uruppus* (parts)–arai turitam, turitam and alaku are used in the formation of 35 Talams. All the six uruppus are used in the formation of 108 Talams. Most of these are classical and are used in dance, music, pallavi singing and in Tiruppukal songs of Arunagirinathar.

The Talams and Their duration (The Chatusra Kind)

1. Turitam ' ' ' /4 0 /4 ' ' '	= 4+2+4+4	=	14
2. Mattiyam ' ' ' /4 0 /4	= 4+2+4	=	10
3. Rupakam ' ' ' 0/4 ' ' '	= 2+4	=	6
4. Jampai ' ' ' /4 UO ' ' '	= 4+1+2	=	7
5. Tiripudai ' ' ' /4 00 ' ' '	= 4+2+2	=	8
6. Ata ' ' ' /4 /4 00 ' ' '	= 4+4+2+2	=	12
7. Ekam ' ' /4 ' ' '	= 4		

The five alaku kinds make every Talam into 5 kinds. So, 7 × 5 = 35 Talams. The alaku, turitam and half turitam can be combined in many ways and innumerable Talams can be formed.

The Main Talams now in frequent use

Name	Jati	Signature	Total count		
1. Turuva	Chatusra	/4 0 /4 /4	4+2+4+4	=	14
2. Matya	Chatusra	/4 0 /4	4+2+4	=	10
3. Rupaka	Chatusra	0/4	2+4	=	6
4. Jampa	Misra	/7 UO	7+1+2	=	10

5.	Tiripudai		/3 OO	3+2+2	=	7
6.	Ada	Kaudam	/5 /5 OO	5+5+2+2	=	14
7.	Eka	Chatusra	/4	4	=	4
8.	Adi ' '		/4 OO	4+2+2	=	8
9.	Rupakam ' '	' ' '	UO or O/4	1+2	=	3
10.	Kaudam	' '	0/3	2+3	=	5

The multi-classification of Talams and their use

Though Talams are theoritically classified as 35, 108, 120, 124 etc, etc, only a few are in frequent use. A Talam with the same total number, receives different names, because of its divisions in many ways – in other words Talams received their names according to their sub-divisions. These sub-divisions are also not exhaustive. For example the Talam with a total number of 8 counts – is divided into (1) 4+2+2; (2) 3+2+3; (3) 5+1+2, each of these is named differently according to its divisions.

The seven Talams are put in an order: I Turutam II Mattiyam III Rupakam IV Jampai. V Tiripudai VI. Ata VII Ekam. Though this order is emphasised, no reason is forwarded for this arrangement. They are not logically arranged.

More than 200 names are found for Talams in various books on music written from 10th to 19th centuries. The names have no connection with the total number or the division of the Talam. A same Talam receives different names in different periods. These later developments on Talam need to be regulated.

The classification of Talam by the ancient Tamils

The even number Talams were called Matta Talam (மட்டத்தாளம்) as 4, 8, 16, 24, 32 etc. (சிலப்பதிகாரம் 3:151 உரை). They named it as நாவன் மட்டம், எட்டன் மட்டம் etc. Naming a Talam by its total number is more logical than naming without any connection. The Sappu Talams, with even total numbers were divided as 1+2 = 3; 2+3 = 5; 3+4=7; 4+5 = 9. The first part named as முன் பற்று and the second part as பின்பற்று (சிலப்பதிகாரம் 3:144 உரை).

The Sangam classification of Talams

TALAM

Matta talam 5
(equally divisible)
4 8 16 32

Sappu Talam
(not-equally divisible)

3	5	7	9
(1+2)	(2+3)	(2+5)	(4+5)
6	10	14	18
(2+4)	(4+6)	(6+8)	(8+10)

Historic development of Talams

In Silappatikaram (2nd century A.D.) seven tukkus are mentioned. Each tukku is composed of seers (சீர்கள்).

1.	Sentukku	1 seer . . .	(Ekam)
2.	Matalai tukku	2 seers . . .	(Tuvi)
3.	Tunipu tukku	3 seers	(Thisram)
4.	Koyil tukku	4 seers	(Sathusram)
5.	Nivappu tukku	5 seers	(Kantam)
6.	Kazal tukku	6 seers	(Sadavam)
7.	Nedum tukku	7 seers	(Misram)

Seer is a small measure. The groups of the seers can be compared to the Sanskrit names Tisram, Satusram etc., given in brackets.

The Elements or Aspects of Talam as seen in ancient Tamil Literature

1. *Nadai*: (நடை அல்லது செலவு)

The speed of the notes within a count was called as nadai or selavu.

SPEED:	First speed	second speed	third speed	fourth speed
RATE OF NOTES:	1/1	2/2	4/4	8/8

1. ஓர் ஒற்று means one single svara note for one Tala count. The rest can be understood.

2. **OTTU** தாள ஒத்து

Tala ottu means the duration between the Tala counts. The Tala counts must move on with regular and uniform interval duration.

3. **EDUPPU** The beginning of a song is mentioned in Silappatikaram, (பாட்டு எடுப்பு/எடுப்பாள்). The song may begin, 1/4, 1/2, 3/4, $1\frac{1}{4}$, $1\frac{1}{2}$ rests after the talam. This is known as 'Mun Eduppu'. The opposite of this is Pin Eduppu. (ஆய்ச்சியர் குரவை 17:18).

4. **TOZIL:** (தொழில்) Kriya Sanskrit

The performance of Talam was called in Sangam period as தாளத்தொழில் (சிலப்பதிகாரம் 3:16 உரை) Beating, lifting shaking of the hand, counting by fingers & waving are the actions of Talam, mentioned in Silappatikaram (3:16 commentary).

5. **KALAI or ALAVU:** (கலை/அளவு) The duration of a single count of a Talam is known as Kalai. The first Kalai means 4 × 1/4 = 4/4, per count. The second kalai means 8 × 1/8=8/8 per count. The third kalai means 16 × 1/16 =16/16 per count. Second kalai means that within one count two Taka Tina + Taka Tina or 8 letters must sound.

Dasa Prana: In the recent books on music, there are a number of wrong informations copied from Sanskrit literature. For example, the ten pranas copied from Sanskrit are (1) Kala(2) marga (3), kiriya (4) anga (5) graha (6) jati (7) kalai (8) laya (9) yati (10) prastana.

In the ten pranas, some pranas are repeated and some are not pranas of Talam. Jati of alaku is nothing but alaku. It is not a separate 'angam'. The description of laya in many music books is nothing but kalam. Yati and prastana do not belong to Talam bar, but to solo playing and discourses of mattalam.

The main Talams worked onwards from the lowest fractions

I	1	2	4	8	16	32	
II	3/4	1 1/2	3	6	12	24	48
III	1 1/4	2 1/2	5	10	20	40	
IV	1 3/4	3 1/2	7	14	28		
V	2 1/4	4 1/2	9	18	36		

The Rhythmic analogy between music and Poetry

In a time measure of four quarters, a number of rests are given at different places. Then a number of Tekkas or jumps in a measure are formed. The chart shows the stops or rests taken at different places to form Tekkas.

In the prosody of the most ancient grammar book in Tamil, Tolkappiyam, in quadroped metre rhyming words are arranged in a number of ways. The arrangements are named according to the places of the rhyming words.

There is a very close connection between the (*monai*) alliteration – *etukai* (rhyme) arrangement of words in a quadroped metre and the arrangement of rests in the quadroped time measure.

Q 1/4 numbers	Chart	Sol Kattu	Prosody name
1/4 1/4 1/4 1/4			
1. 1 2 3 4	0 0 0 0	Tak Tina	‘‘‘முற்றுத் துள்ளுமம்
2. 1 × 34	0 × 0 0	Tan Kita	‘‘‘மேற்கதுவாய்த் துள்ளுமம்
3. 12 × 4	0 0 × 0	Takim Tom	‘‘‘கீழ்க்கதுவாய்த் துள்ளுமம்
4. 1 2 3 ×	0 0 0 ×	Taka tom	‘‘‘கூழைத் துள்ளுமம்
5. × 2 3 4	× 0 0 0	, Takita	‘‘‘முதலிவித்துள்ளுமம்
6. × × 3 4	× × 0 0	,, Kita	‘‘‘கடையிணைத் துள்ளுமம்
7. 1 × 3 ×	0 × 3 ×	Ta, Tom,	‘‘‘பொழிப்புத் துள்ளுமம்
8. 1 × × 4	0 × × 0	Ta , , Tom	‘‘‘ஒரூஉத் துள்ளுமம்

ARUNAGIRINATHAR - THE ADIGURU OF KARNATIC MUSIC ?

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Introduction

This study is mainly initiated to turn the attention of Karnatic musicologists, who have yet to recognise Arunagirinathar's greatness in this sphere; and to assign him, his due place in the South Indian musical history. We are indebted to Thanikaimani V. S. Chengalvaraya Pillai[1] and Kirupanantha Vari[2] for having thrown much light on Arunagiri's life history, and on the works of Arunagiri, respectively.

Life of Arunagiri

Little is known about Arunagiri's personal life, and that little also mostly traditional and conflicting. One tradition says that, he had an infamous birth and in his youth days, led a riotous life of sex and sin. Due to a simple penetrating remark of his sister, one day, Arunagiri realised his shameful life and forthwith ascended the high tower of Tiruvannamalai Temple and threw himself down with the intention of killing himself. Miraculously, Lord Muruka saved him and showed him the godly path. Thereafter he became a great poet. Nilakanta Sastri notes,

> His life became the subject of many legends, but the
> references in the songs show that, for a time he led
> the life of a libertine which he afterwards regretted.[3]

The same authority has assigned his period, as that belonging to Vijayanagara King, Deva Raya II i.e. the first part of the 15th century.

We know very little of Arunagiri's early training in music, and of the way in which his musical genius was kindled. Even in the absence of any reliable documentary data, it is not difficult to say with certainty that he was without a formal *guru* or teacher.

The following may be listed as contemporaries of Arunagiri:

1. Prauhda Deva Raya II (1422 – 1442) – The Emperor of Vijayanagar. He is referred in a Tiruppukal-song.

2. Villiputtur Alvar – a classical poet.

3. Tallapakkam Chinnayya, of Tirupati – who is regarded as the originator of the modern *bhajana* form of worship.

4. Kallinatha (c. 1420) – Author of *Kalanidhi*, a commentary of the *Sangitha Ratnakara*.

5. Maharana Kumbha (1433 – 1468) – Author of *Sangita Raja*.

Details of His works

The works of Arunagiri are of a numerous and varied character. These are–

1. *Tiruppukal:* The Divine Praise of Lord Muruga. Though it is believed that he composed 16,000 hymns, we are now left with only 1367 in as many different rhythmic metres. Except for 6 hymns which are in praise of Lord Ganesa, all are in praise of Lord Muruha. The exceptions are -

"கைத்தல நிறைகனி", "நினது திருவடி" "உம்பர்தரு தேனுமணி"
"பக்கரை விசித்திரமணி", "முப்பழமொடு பொரி", "விடமடைசுவேலை"

2. *Kanthar Antati:* 102 stanzas on Skanda in *kattalaikkalitturai* metre. 100 stanzas being with one of the letters which can alliter with சி, சீ, செ, சே, தி, தீ, தெ, தே.

In 26 stanzas here, the place name Tiruchendur has been mentioned.

3. *Kanthar Alankaram:* 'The ornaments of Skanda' of 102 stanzas in *kattalaikkalitturai*. These are said to be the "Tiruvacakam for Muruga".

4. *Kanthar Anubhuti:* 'The realization of Skanda' of 51 stanzas.

5. *Thiruvahuppu:* 25 hymns had been deciphered. According to Arumukha Navalar, only the first 18 seem to be Arunagiri's composition.

The chief and celebrated of his works, is Tiruppukal. The distinguishing features of these Tiruppukal hymns are as follows:–

(a) Most of them show in the first half of each verse a revelling in the erotic element and then a religious reaction against it, in the second half.

(b) Words are heavily packed wih Sanskrit terms; and marshalled with rhyme, and regular alliteration.

(c) Hymns are set in different metres, and Arunagiri seems to have exhausted all its variations. Because of its rhythm, when these hymns are set to music, the rhetorical blending achieved remains incomparable.

Social History of his period

To study the idea of Arunagiri's mission of social reform through music, we shall glance through the social history of the period, in which he lived. To quote Nilakanta Sastri,

> "The king and his court led an extravagant and luxurious life in striking contrast to the modest living standard of the rest of the population. The pomp and ceremony of the court became more and more dazzling on the course of centuries, and may be said to have reached its culmination under the Rayas of Vijayanagar. The palace always had a large establishment attached to it; in theory there were 72 departments (niyogas) in a palace as in a temple. On the establishment there were large numbers of women, specially chosen for their youth and beauty. Some were imported from abroad while others were captured in war and enslaved. Many, needless to say, were courtesans, skilled in the art of music and dancing, while others were the concubines of princes, nobles and courtiers."[4]

With regard to the pastime of the court and the commoners, Nilakanta Sastri notes,

> "There were arenas inside the royal palace in Vijayanagar where, for the amusement of the monarch and his court, fights between animals, and wrestling matches took place, the latter sometimes among women. Gambling, racing, cock and ram fights were the pastimes of common people. beside the festivals and fairs of which there was no lack."[5]

The role played by the temple, at that time, in modelling the life of commoners, is also worth mentioning. According to the same authority,

> "The temple was not merely a place of worship; it filled a large place in the cultural and economic life of the people......The daily routine, especially of the larger temples, gave constant employment to number of priests, choristers, musicians, dancing girls, florists, cooks and many other classes of servants. The periodical festivals were occasions marked by fairs, contests of learning, wrestling-matches and every other form of popular entertainment. Schools and hospitals were often located in the temple precincts, and it also served often as the town-hall where people assembled to consider local affairs or to hear the exposition of sacred literature."[6]

In this respect, foreign travellers like Nicolo-Die Conti and Abdur Razack had presented to us a photographic account of the socio-economic conditions that were prevailing at that time.[7] These form the most authentic sources of information.

as these travellers were actually entertained in the Vijayanagara Court. Nicolo-Die Conti,an Italian traveller visited the Vijayanagara Court in about 1420 A.D. Abdur Razaak, a Persian had been the guest of Deva Raya II, around 1442–1443A.D.

Venkata Ramanappa observes,

> "The reign of Deva Raya II, better known as Praudha Deva Raya, who is regarded as one of the greatest monarchs of Karnataka, witnesses a remarkable military activity. The empire was extended in all directions. The people enjoyed peace and plenty. There was religious harmony as the king followed a policy of tolerance. He was so much liberal that he employed the Muslims in the services of the state. It is believed that he kept Quran beside him always."[8]

It is interesting to note here that though the above statements on the contemporary social situation of the first half of the 15th century in the Tamil Nadu have been expressed by different writers in different times, one can well notice the unanimity in their views to the effect that the social depreciation of values prevalent in the period under review, resulted from the many-sided pompous activities of the monarch as well as the common people, influenced by the affluent situation. It is also noticeable, that the impact of iconoclastic, expansionist Islam hardening the Hindu mind, into a fight for survival, were already prevailing in the contemporary scene around Arunagiri. He felt that the Vijayanagara Empire, which had become the focus of resurgent Hindu culture, which had offered a more successful resistance to Islam in the Deccan part of India, was crumbling. He sensed that, this was mainly due to the depreciation of moral values, both among the monarchs and the commoners. To conserve Hindu society and save it from the dissolution which threatened it from several directions, Arunagiri seems to have directed a "one-man resurgence campaign", by means of titillating musical hymns, and centred it around the temple.

Content, character and significance of His musical compositions

The content and character of Arunagiri's compositions, can be listed as follows:

1. the verses elaborate the dark problems of the society, and offer wholesome solutions, by way of self-discipline, based on a very high standard of ethics ;

2. the verses extol the merits of Muruha *bhakti*, and shows the need for it ;

3. the impermanence of worldly-life is stressed.

In this connection, it is not inappropriate here to quote the views of Venkataraman, which in a brief manner deals with the content and character of Arunagiri's works :

> " For sublimity of thought and depth of mystic feelings, Arunagiri's hymns have few rivals in the entire range of devotional literature. His songs transport the devotee from the adoration of Sakala Muruhan to the contemplation of Nishkala Paramananda-veli (the formless expanse of infinite bliss), which is the *svarupa-lakshana* or inherent attribute of Skanda." [9]

Though the worship of Muruhan is very old in South India, and Sangam poets like Nakkirar had composed *Tirumuruharruppadai* etc., it was left to Arunagiri to spread the Muruha *bhakti* across the corners of Tamil Nadu ; and he moved through the length and breadth of the country, singing praises of Muruha. By means of soul-stirring, melodious musical verses, set in diverse talas, he was able to attract the attention of the people from the lower strata of the society, which remained unlettered. Six principal shrines of Muruha, in the Tamil Nadu, Tiruchendur, Tiruparankunram, Tiruvavinankudi (Palani), Tiruveragam (identified with Swamimalai,) and Palamuthirsolai (identified with Alagarkoil), figure prominently in Arunagiri's hymns along with kunrutoradal. Having been a resident in Palani for a long time, he had sung 96 hymns on this sacred place.

Couched in catchy rhythm, enlivened by homely wit and glowing with the truths of spiritual realisation, the compositions of Arunagiri, formed a triple heritage of literature, music and philosophy. They served to create among the masses, a spiritual awakening and religious enthusiasm. In this connection, the opinions expressed by Subramaniam and Thirunavukkarasu, also supports the contention of the present writer. These two writers had said,

> " Though the poems pronounce the mystic experience of the saint, they are based on the well established literary traditions of the land. His poems are known for their melody and mellifluousness which has a direct appeal to the hearts of the people. They have become very popular as hymns or sacred songs because of their rhythm and melody. In this poems, the traits of melody reached a high water-mark of excellence in Tamil literature. From his works, we are able to deduce that literature can be a fine piece of musical composition." [10]

It is no doubt that rhythmic music is of wider appeal than non-rhythmical music. Rhythm gives a form and stability to music ; it also lends colour and attraction to it. It should be remembered that the tala forms the backbone of the Natya-Sastra also. When the modern means of communication and the mechanical aids for the dissemination of information were then lacking, and when large number of masses were living a life of hypocrisy, Arunagiri chose the talas as his main aid,

to spread the cult of Muruha-*bhakti*, through music. Zvelebil's remark that, "Arunakiri's singing the praise of the Lord Skanda, his Tiruppukal, is the first step towards Kirttanai,"[11] is pertinent at this juncture.

Hence, the two features which go to make Arunagiri's greatness, may be listed as follows :

1. He sang from soul, unfettered and free. His mind was so completely attuned to God that it refused to respond to the attractions of worldly pomp and the beauty of woman's form.

2. Among Karnatic music composers, there is none to compare with Arunagiri, for the wealth of *laya* virtuosity. In the familiar talas, he has composed a number of hymns, bringing out several aspects of the tala. In addition, many unfamiliar talas, are known to us through his Tiruppukal hymns, *and live only through them.*

Position as Adiguru

According to Sambamoorthy's classification of Karnatic music composers [12], Arunagiri is,

(*a*) an *Uttama Vaggeyakara* (a creator of new musical forms).
(*b*) a prolific composer—who has more than a thousand compositions to his credit.
(*c*) a versatile composer—who has composed different types of musical compositions.
(*d*) a major composer—who enriched the musical arena by handling common and rare talas, which no other composer had dared to approach.
(*e*) a composer, who appeals to both the classes and the masses equally.

Traditionally, the title of "Adiguru" or "Sangitha PitaMaha" refers to the Karnataka composer, Purandara Dasar (1484 - 1564), whose contributions to the music, initiated around 1540 AD. The achievements of Purandara Dasar, in the field of Karnatic music to be revered as Adiguru, are as follows : [13]

1. He succeeded in presenting the quintessence of the *Upanishads* and the *Puranas* in his songs—known as *Devarnamas* or *Dasara padagulu*. These songs contain lofty ideas, sublime thoughts, valuable proverbs and beautiful similes.

2. He composed *Svaravali, Alankaras, Pillari Gitas, Prabandhas* and *Suladis*, and collectively grouped them as "*Abyasa Gana* compositions." Hence, he had been referred to as the *Adiguru* of *Karnataka Sangitha Pita Mahar* (the father of Karnatic Music).

3. The art form, *kriti*, originated with Purandara Dasar.

4. *Suladi Sapta* talas, came to have their significance, from the time of Purandara Dasar, although they were already known.

"ISHTA DEIVA" OF THE TWO COMPOSERS: Whereas Arunagiri worshipped Muruga, and had compositions in praise of Him, Purandara Dasar's "Ishta Deiva" was Krishna. This reflects the change in political patronage to the different sects of Hinduism. The early rulers of Vijayanagara, upto Deva Raya II (1422 - 1443) and even his sons Vijaya II and Mallikarjuna, were followers of Saivism. A Vaishnava work *Prapannamritam*, gives a legendary account, of the conversion of Virupaksha II (1465 - 1485) to Vaishnavism. For example, Krishna Deva Raya (1509 - 1542) worshipped Vishnu, Siva and the God of Tirupati. Achutha Raya (1530 - 1542), was a great patron of Vaishnavism, and he encouraged the propagation of Vaishnavism in the Tamil country.

Hence, it can be inferred that Arunagiri spread his musical message at the period, when the rulers patronised Saivism. After a lapse of nearly 100 years, Purandara Dasar, entered the musical arena, when the descendants of Arunagiri's patron, had switched on their loyalty to Vaishnavism. This succinctly explains why the two composers had to have two different "Ishta Deivas".

Though not discrediting the virtuosity of Purandara Dasar, it is proposed that Arunagirinathar qualifies competently for the title of "*Adiguru*" of Karnatic Music, than Purandara Dasar, on two counts.

1. Historically, Arunagirinathar preceded Purandara Dasar, by nearly 100 years.

2. There is a well known aphorism which is always being quoted with regard to the Indian Music to the effect that, "if *shruti* is the mother of Indian Music, then *laya* is the father." By virtue of his experimentation with the enormous amount of tala forms, which form the back bone of Karnatic music and Natya Sastra, Arunagiri had elevated himself beyond comparison, with any other composers, in the past or even in the present.

Conclusion

From the above considerations, it is concluded without reservation, that if ancient South Indian Music is indebted to the *Devaram* and *Tiruvacakam* of the saints of the Pallava Period, modern South Indian Music (Karnatic) owes its evolution to the saint-musician Arunagirinathar of the Vijayanagara Period. Hence, Arunagiri seems to be a better recipient for the title, Adiguru of Karnatic Music.

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A SURVEY OF THE MUSICAL TRADITIONS OF TAMIL NADU

DR. S. RAMANATHAN

That the Tamil land was very advanced in the arts of music and dance long before the Christian era is borne out by copious references to these arts in the ancient Tamil classics. Of the two great musical systems viz. melodic and hormonic, the former based on *panh* was highly developed more than 2,000 years ago in Tamilnadu.

The Panh System

According to *Tolkaappiyam*, to each of the five fold divisions of the land, mullai, marutham, kutinjci, neythal and paalai was ascribed a yaaL, a *panh* and a *paTai*. The *Tirukkuralh* contains a reference to *panh* :

பண் என்னும் பாடற்கு இயைபு இன்றேல்

The Tamil classic *Paripaatal* contains musical compositions which were set to music and sung in *panh* like *paalaiyaaL* and puTaniirmai.

Cilappathikaaram, a Tamil classic written by *Ilango adigal*, is considered a *muththamil kaappiyam* i.e., a work dealing with the triple aspects of Tamil viz. literary (*iyal*), musical (*isai*) and drama and dance (*kuuththu*). It is a veritable treasure containing information on music and dance in the Tamil country.

In the chapter dealing with the debut of Maathavi, the courtezan, the author throws a flood of light on music and dance. He vividly describes the qualifications of the ideal dance teacher, *yaaL* player, flute-player, drum player etc. He also describes the musical scales employed during the dance.

In the chapter, *aaycciyar kuravai*, the *kuravaik-kuuththu* is vividly portrayed. The *kuravai* is a dance performed by seven girls standing in a circle. The author dexterously employs this dance to depict the time-honoured musical tradition of the Tamil land. The seven girls forming the circle are said to personify the musical notes, *kural, thuththam, kaikkilhai, uLai, ilhi, vilhari* and *taaram*. Their positions in the circle conformed to those of the seven musical notes in the *vattappaalai* according to tradition :

செந்நிலை மண்டிலத்தால்....
தொன்றுபடு முறையான் நிறுத்தி.

There are two commentaries on the *Cilappathikaaram* : one is *arumpatha urai* and the other is that of Atiyaarkkunallaar. They are valuable expecially when

they explain the portions dealing with music and dance. Their value is immeasurably enhanced by the copious quotations given by them from ancient Tamil treatises on music like *Icainunhukkam*, *Naatakaththamil nuul* etc.

From the commentaries we know the representation of the musical notes was done in the ancient tradition in four ways : linear (*aayam*), triangular (*tirikoonham*), square (*cathuram*) and circular (*vattam*).

In the *vattappaalai* (circular representation), the seven musical notes were given the following places in the zodiac :

tulaam	—	*kural*
viruccikam	—	
thanus	—	*tuththam*
makaram	—	
kumpam	—	*kaikkilhai*
miinam	—	*ulai*
meetam	—	
itapam	—	*ilhi*
mithunam	—	
katakam	—	*vilhari*
cimmam	—	*taaram*
kanni	—	

The twelve semitones in the octave are ingeniously represented by the twelve houses of the zodiac and the positions of the seven notes of the musical scale, *paalaiyaal*, indicated by their respective positions among the zodiacal signs. Thus the fundamental scale of ancient Tamil music can be seen to correspond to the modern *Harikambodi* scale.

The *kuLal* (flute) and *yaaL* are ancient instruments. The musical notes produced on the *kuLal* which has seven holes are those of *Harikambodi*. There is also a saying : *Kampu uuthi kaampoothi.*

The special feature of this scale is that all its notes are related to one another as a fifth starting from *taaram* :

taaram	—	*ulai*	—	*kural*	—	*ilhi*	—
tuththam	—	*vilhari*	—	*kaikkilhai.*			

The intervals between consecutive notes of this scale, *paalaiyaaL* are given in terms of *maaththirai* :

4 4 3 2 4 3 2

Thus there are 22 *maaththirais* in the octave. We may well surmise that our ancients were aware of the relationship 22/7 considering the 22 *maaththirais* attributed to the seven notes.

By the process of *kural tiripu* or modal shift of tonic, six other scales were derived. 103 *panhs* were born out of these seven scales. The names of these 103 *panhs* are found in the Tamil lexicons, Thivaakaram and Pingkalanthai (9th and 10th centuries A.D.).

Of these 103, four were considered as the major panhs. The *venhpaa* at the end of the *arangkeettukaathai* in *Cilappathikaaram* refers to the four major modes :

இயல் ஐந்தும் பண் நான்கும்

The names of the four major *panhs*, *paalaiyaaL*, *kurinjciyaaL*, marutha yaaL and neythal yaaL clearly indicate that these were the *panhs* pertaining to the respective regions desert, mountains, pastoral and sea-shore. These modes correspond to the ragas *Harikambodi*, *Sankarabharanam*, *Kalyani* and *Todi*.

Mullaippanh pertaining to the *mullai* (forest) region is not considered as a major mode as it has only five notes.

Panhs in Theevaaram :

The 7th and 8th centuries A.D. witnessed a great renaissance in the musical tradition of Tamilnadu. The land was, as it were, flooded with the hymns of Sampanthar, Appar and Suntharar. These hymns were in praise of Siva and were known collectively by the name, Theevaaram.

Of the 103 panhs, 23 were employed in these hymns. The musical set up of these has been handed down through generations by a body of musicians called oothuvaar (the singers). There are incriptions to show that in Raja Raja Chola's time these were appointed in the various Saivite temples to sing during worship.

For over three decades, the Tamil Isai Sangam has been engaged in the research of these hymns. The panhs have been studied by a body of experts and their conclusions have been published :

panh	Equivalent *Raga*
nattapaatai	Naata
kaucikam	Bhairavi
paLanthakkaraakam	Sudda Saveri
cevvaLi	Yadukulakambodi
anthaalhikkuTinjci	Sama
viyaaLakkuTinjci	Saurashtram
kaanthaarapanjcamam	Kedaragaula
panjcamam	Ahir

inthalham	Mayamalava gaula
ciikaamaram	Nadanamakriya
meekaraakakkuTinjci	Nilambari
thakkeesi, thakkaraakam	Kambodi
nattaraakam, caathaari	Pantuvarali
kolli, kaanthaaram } kavvaanham	Navaroju
puTaniirmai	Bauli

The nucleus of the later *kiirththanai* form with the divisions, *pallavi, anu pallavi* and *caranham* is found in some hymns of Appar and Sampanthar : e.g.

தலையே நீ வணங்காய்;
கண்டேன் அவர் திருப்பாதம்
கண்டறியாதன கண்டேன்.

Panhs in Thivviyappirapantham

Contemporaneous with the *theevaaram* hymns, the Vaishnavaite hymns of the 12 Alwar were also composed in panh. In the manuscript lodged in the library of the Tamil Sangam, Madurai, the names of the panhs of the hymns of Nammalwar and Tirumangai Alwar are indicated. Therein the *panh* names, *paalaiyaaL, muthirntha kuTinjci* and *viyantham* are found. These do not figure in the *theevaaram* hymns.

From *kooyil oLuku*, a Tamil work describing the functioning of the Srirangam temple, it is known that these hymns were sung in panhs and dance was perfomed by the Arayar. Unfortunately the musical tradition has been completely lost.

The note symbols

From the lexicon *Thivaakaram* (11th century A.D.), it is learnt that the vowels *aa, ii, uu, ee, ai, oo* and *au* were used as the symbols for the seven notes *kural, thuththam* etc.

The symbols *sa ri ga ma pa da ni* are first found in the Kudumiyamalai inscriptions of the 7th century A.D. The use of these symbols in the Tamil country for writing in notation and for solfeggio may be assumed to have begun more or less by about this period.

The commentator Atiyaarkku nallaar cites a verse which contains a reference to the symbols *sa ri ga ma pa da ni.*

The lexicon *Thivaakaram* has a verse which states clearly that the screen letters *sa ri ga ma pa da ni* are the symbols of the musical notes, *kural, thuththam* etc.

Arapaththanaavalar's Paratha caaththiram has the following verse :

குரலே துத்தம் கைக்கிளே உழை இளி
திரமிகு விளரி தாரமாம் முறையே
சரிகம பதநி இவற்றின் அக்கரமாம்.

The Tamil treatise on music and dance, *Makaaparatha cuutaamanhi* state unequivocally :

குரல் சட்சத்திற்காகும்.

Bu t these two books are of a much later period. Madurai Ponnuswami Pillai, the author of puurvika cangkiitha unhmai, K. Ponniah Pillai, the author of *icai iyal* and Professor Sambamurthy have equated *kural* with *shadja.*

Treatises on Music.

Atiyaarkkunallaar refers to a number of Tamil treatises on Music like *perul naarai, perungkuruku, panjapaaratiiyam, icai nunhukkam, naatakaththamiLnuu-* etc. Though these works are not available now, it is a matter for gratification that portions of these works have been preserved in the commentaries as quotations.

Bharata's *Natya Sastra* in Sanskrit is one of the earliest works which speaks highly of the musical tradition of the Tamil country :

daakshinaatyaah bahu giita nrtyavaadya visaaradaah.

"The Southerners are adepts in music, dance and musical instruments."

The *Sangita Ratnakara* of Sarngadeva (13th century A.D.) deals with 264 *Ragas* and refers to some of the *panhs* of the *theevaaram* like *gaandhaara pancama, natta raaga, saadaari,* etc. It refers to a *raga—devaara vardhani.*

After the establishment of the Vijayanagar Empire in the 14th Century, Tanjavur and Madurai came under the rule of the Nayaks who patronised Telugu. Sanskrit works like *Sangita Sara* of Vidyaranya (14th century), *Svaramela Kalanidhi* of Ramamatya (1550). *Ragavibodha* of Somanatha (1610), *Caturdandi Prakasika* of Venkatamakhi were all produced during this period.

Makaaparatha cuutaamanhi and Arapaththa naavalar's *paratha caaththiram* are Tamil treatises on music written about the 17th century.

Abraham Pandithar's *Karunaamirutha caakaram* is a monumental work of the 20th century. He is the pioneer in modern musical research. He was of the opinion that the number of *srutis* in an octave was 24 and not 22 and that they were equitempered. His work is noteworthy for the biographies of numerous musicians of Tamilnadu.

Vipulananda adigal is another noteworthy personality of this century in the field of musicl research. His main concern was the resuscitation of the obsolete *yaaL*, as the very name of his work, *yaaL nuul*, suggests. He has culled out numerous references to the *yaaL* in the Sangam classics and tried to reconstruct it. He accepted the theory of 22 *srutis*. His work contains a chapter on the 103 *panhs* and another on the *theevaaram*.

The author of this paper brought out a work in 1956, "*cilappathikaaraththu icai nunhukka vilhakkam*" wherein the theory of the 22 srutis is dealt with, and the seven paalais identified. He was the first to discover the identity of the *mullaippanh* with mohana raga. His finding has been accepted by the Tamil icai Sangam.

Musical Compositions

We know that the songs figuring in the *Paripaatal* and the *kaaNalvari* in *cilappathikaaram* were sung in *panhs* but we have no data as to how they were sung.

With regard to the *theevaaram* hymns, fortunately we have a living tradition. The equivalents of all the *theevaaram panhs* are being sung to this day in the *Kathakalhi* music of Kerala, *yakshagaana* music of Andhra and Karnataka. There is a unitary system of music in all the four language regions of South India. There is no doubt that there is an unbroken musical tradition here for over at least a thousand years.

After the golden age of the *theevaaram*, there seems to be a lull in the musical output for a few centuries. The codification of the 103 *panhs* in the 11th century by the Tamil lexicons is a significant contribution.

Arunagirinathar (15th century) was a collossus among composers. His *tiruppukaL* is a marvel in composition. These exquisite songs are all in *cantham* and he has employed hundreds of *taalham* (time-measures).

In the 16th and 17th centuries, Telugu came to be patronised in the Tanjavur court when the Nayaks began to rule there. In the 17th century, Kshetrayya, the composer of Telugu *padams*, was patronised by Vijayaraghava Nayak of Tanjavur. In the early part of the 18th century, Paccaimiriyam Adippayya composed the first varnam—*viriboni* in Telugu. His contemporary, Arunachala Kavirayar, wrote his great work *Rama natakam* which is popular to this day. Muthuthandavar deserves special mention as a composer of rare merit of a much earlier period.

The 18th and 19th centuries may be considered as the second golden age in the history of South Indian Music, for it was during this period innumerable composers appeared on the musical firmament and enriched the music of the land with their contributions.

Syama Sastri (1762-1828) composed in Telugu, Sanskrit and Tamil. Dikshitar (1775-1835) composed mostly in Sanskrit. Tyagaraja (1767-1847) whose mother-tongue was Telugu composed in Telugu. Ghanam Krishna Aiyar and Subbarama Aiyar were his contemporaries who composed Tamil *padams*. Another contemporary was Anaiayya who composed in Tamil and Telugu.

Dikshitar's disciples, the Tanjavur Quartette, composed *padavarnas* in Telugu. For some of these, they also composed in Tamil.

Gopalakrishna Bharathi was the most outstanding Tamil composer of the 19th century. His *nandanaar cariththiram* is an immortal work. Kavi Kunjara Bharati's *ALakar KuTavanjci* in Tamil is a significant contribution. Vedanayakam Pillai and Ramalinga adigal have contributed some good compositions in Tamil.

Annamalai Reddiar's *Kaavadicinthu* is in a class by itself. Mostly based on folk-melodies, these have been very popular. Eminent musicians like Muthiah Bhagavatar and Karaikudi Vina Brothers have been fascinated by them. Maha Vaidyanatha Aiyar and his brother Ramaswamy Sivan have some beautiful Tamil compositions to their credit. The latter has composed the *Periapuraanha KiirthaNai.*

Subramanya Bharathiyar may be considered a pioneer in the Tamil Isai movement. He has composed a number of songs including a few *Kaavadicinthu*. Nilakanta Sivan and Chidambara Bharati are also Tamil composers worthy of mention. Kotiswara Aiyar and Papanasam Sivan may be considered the two outstanding Tamil composers of the 20th Century. The former was the first to compose songs in all the melakarthas. The latter was a prolific composer. A pioneer in the field of composing for the films, he is unequalled.

Music in Dramas

Upto the thirties of this century, the Tamil drama was dominated by music. If an actor was to be recruited, musical ability was considered his first qualification. Who can forget the music of S.G. Kittappa, K.B. Sundarambal, S.V. Subbiah Bhagavatar and Velu Nair ? Sankaradas Swamigal and Bhaskaradas were the noteworthy composers for the stage.

Music in Discourses (Kathai)

Many a Western scholar has been struck by this unique medium which combines the diverse arts of oration, music, dancing and mono-acting. There have been many luminaries in this field. Even great musicians like Maha Vaidyanatha Aiyar used to give musical discourses on the lives of Sambandar, Appar and Sundarar. Gopalakrishna Bharati's nanthaN cariththiram was itself originally intended for such discourse, though it was later effectively used in drama also. The greatest modern exponent of this art was the lady Sarasvathibai.

Villuppaattu is a type of musical exposition. Its music is based on folk-melodies.

Music in Dance

Music is an integral part of dance in Tamilnadu. *Alarippu*, *jatisvaram* *sabdam*, *varnam*, *padam*, *javali* and *tillana* are all song types used in dance.

Music in Films

In the initial stages, the music employed in films was a faithful reproduction of the drama music of those days. This is a popular and powerful medium. Experimenting is going on in this field. Hundreds of instruments both foreign and indigenous are being used. Harmonising is progressively being introduced. G. Ramanathan and S. V. Venkataraman were successful music directors in their day. K.V. Mahadevan, Viswanathan and Elaiyaraja are making significant contributions in the vast field of film music.

Folk Music

It is literally true that music has an indispensable role to play in the life of the Tamils from the cradle to the grave—*talaattu* (lullaby) and *oppaari* (dirge). The *themmangku* and *cinthu* of Tamil nadu are unique melody-types. Classical ragas like *Ananda Bhairavi*, *Nilambari*, *Yadukula Kambodi* owe their origin to folk-music. This is eloquent testimony to the strength of the folk-musical tradition.

Musical Instruments

YaaL, *kuLal* and *tanh-nhumai* (*maththalham*) are very ancient instruments. After the 7th century, the *yaaL* disappeared and the *viinhai* took its place. The *nagasvaram* has played a distinct role in the life of the people both religious and secular. Without the nagasvaram there could have been no continuity in the music of Tamilnadu. It was the music of the nagasvaram, which was Tamil music which has been handed down to us with a new name as Carnatic music. The violin and clarinet have been adopted into our music though of foreign origin. That is an eloquent tribute to the eclecticism of the Tamil people.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SOME SANSKRIT AND TAMIL NATYA TEXTS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MUDRAS OR HAND GESTURES

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Mudras play a very important role in the religious and fine arts of South Asia. The word 'Mudra' is variously derived. It is derived from the Sanskrit word mud' which means bliss, joy or happiness. From this, it meant that which gives pleasure or happiness to the gods and the people. This is usually associated with dance, the first born of the fine arts of man. The siddhas of the tantric school use the mudras. According to some they are meant to emphasize and intensify their thought which may give them the bliss of meditation. The Karanagama derives this word 'mudra' from two Sanskrit roots which mean that which gives pleasure or joy to the gods and drives away the evil forces. Translated into secular human experience, one may interpret this to mean that which removes ignorance or darkness and promotes the goodness in man—an interpretation which accords well with natya theories expounded by Bharata, Nandikeswara and a later writers on the subject.

Mudras had been included in the list of sixty four arts which a cultured-person male or female of those times had to be familiar with. The function of art has been the creation of aesthetic pleasure on the spectator or the listener, as well as utility in some way or other. Indian fine arts generally fulfil both these purposes.

The mudras are expressed in the form of the gestures of the hand. They have been utilized for religious and secular purposes. Strictly speaking, poses of the arms as a whole should be called hastas and those made with the fingers mudras but the two terms are used so vaguely that the whole gesture is generally referred to as a mudra. In this article the word mudra is used in this sense through it has several other connotations.

In this article, it is proposed to deal generally with the major source texts in Sanskrit and Tamil pertaining to the classical Indian dances with special reference to the origin and development of the mudras. This will naturlly entail a comparative study of these source texts. Further the mudras that figure prominently in dance will be compared briefly with those used in the rituals and sculptures both secular and religious.

As a means of communication or emphasizing speech, gesture of the hand as well as the use of fingers or heads in betokening numbers have been universally employed. This sign language has been more cultivated among the American Red Indian tribes. Cheironomy extensively used by both Greeks and Romans is much practised in modern Italy. Many gestures whether actually used or represented in art are universally understood—hand or finger to mouth is treated as equal to silence; wringing the hands as grief, clenched fist as anger, the hand to cheek or leaning the face on the hand as sadness or grief and so on.

It is natural that where speech is directed to magical or religious purpose in spell or prayer it is usually accompanied by gestures, some of which tend to become universal. Pointing with the finger is often held to be of magical efficacy, the power of streaming as it were from spectator to victim. This gesture is found among savages, witches and in later Tantrism.

The gestures not only serve the practical purpose of communication but they have a poetry of their own in depicting any theme, situation, emotion or action required. Each has its own sequence of hand movements with coordinated attitude and body movements. The opening lotus bud is shown not only by a single gesture symbol but also by a series of hand movements beginning with a cyclic twist of the hand to suggest the very development of the flower followed by delicate movements beginning with fingers to indicate unfolding petals.

As gesture involves symbolism whether religious or secular it is proper to say something about the latter also. Symbolism is found in all the civilizations of the world whether early or late. It was found among the Greeks, the Romans, the Indians and many other peoples. Hinduism makes the most use of symbols. In all its schemes of practice and teaching, it seeks to make a definite approach to the reality by a suggestive type or symbol - an approach that can never find its goal but can only draw nearer and nearer the reality which in its entirety is inconceivable by the human mind and inexpressible in the language of men. A symbol is the necessary and helpful intermediary between the inadequate capacity of the mind of the would be worshippers and the incommunicable nature and fullness of the unknown whom he adores. The use and purpose of the symbols is twofold. The first is to set forth in visible or audible likeness what cannot be really or fully expressed to the physical eye or ear or even clearly conceived by the limited faculties of the human mind. All language is in the last resort symbolic and religious language in a special degree for it endeavours to present a mystery, a reality too deep for words. Secondly the image or symbol serves the purpose of providing in a natural or suitable form a convenient object of reverence to meet the religious need of those whose minds through darkness and ignorance are unable to grasp the conception of an unseen formless Being. The worship of the external symbol serves as a stepping stone to higher clearer forms of belief.

As mudras are an essential part of natya (dance) nearly all the texts on the natya theory beginning from the *Natyasastra* deal with this subject. These were written mostly in Sanskrit and to a lesser extent in Tamil and some other Indian languages. The *Natyasastra* ascribed to Bharata Muni appears to have attained its present form before the third century A.D.[1] though parts of it might date back even to the pre-Christian times. Dr. V. Raghavan has assigned the period from the second century B.C. to the second centry A.D. as the date of this work.[2] Of the 36 chapters in this large book one chapter (IX) exclusively deals with this subject.

Visnudharmottara Purana (about the 7th century A.D.) *Agnipurana* (about the 7th century A.D.) *Sangita Makaranda* (7 – 11th century A.D.) *Abhinayadarpana* of Nandikesvara (about the 10th century A.D.) *Sangita Ratnakara* (14th century A.D.) and later texts treat this subject in the relevant sections.

A substantial portion of the Abhinayadarpana deals with the hastabhinaya (v. 77 – 203). As time went on the subject was elaborated further and special treatises dealing exclusively with this subject were written and the Natya treatises dealt with the subject more elaborately. Among the works dealing exclusively with the hastabhinaya one may mention the *Sri Hastamuktavali Hastaratnavali* and *Hastalaksanadipika* (the last one available in Malayalam also).

In Tamilnadu , the home of BharataNatyam, *Silappadikaram* is the earliest extant text dealing with some important aspects of natya. Ilanko Adikal, the author of this work might have also known the classical natya tradition as presented in the *Bharata Natya Sastra*. This is best evident besides the other cantos in the Aranketrukatai. He has stated that the Bharata sastra was a Tamil natya text. Apart from this classical treatise two of its commentaries especially that of the Atiyarkkunallar (12th century A.D.) give more detailed information about the natya traditions prevalent in the Tamilnadu of those times. The two commentaries refer to some important works which were then available to the commentators but lost subsequently.

Still however there have survived some important texts on natya written probably in late medieval times. Some of these are available in manuscript form while others have been edited in recent times following the modern awakening in music and dance. Even among the cited texts some are available only in parts; some of these texts are in Sanskrit and Tamil. The *Bharata Siddhantam*[3] is one such text. Unfortunately some portion of it is lost. The extant text is identified with the *Sudhananda Prakasam* by Dr. V. Raghavan. Among the other works we may refer to the *Bharata Senapatiyam*, the *Mahabharatacutamani* and Arivanar's *Pancamarapu*. A later work on natya called the *Natya sastra sangraha* compiled by utake Govindacarya under the patronage of the Maratha kings of Tanjavur may

also be mentioned in this connection though the work is written in Marathi and Sanskrit. *Abhinayanavanitam* and the *Abhinayasarasamputam* are two recent publications based on Nandikesvara's *Abhinayadarpana*. These two are written in Tamil.[4]

All these texts taken together generally present a common natya tradition and at the same time the Tamil texts represent also the genius and peculiarity of Tamilnadu. Tamilnadu had a continuous tradition of dance and drama which later fused with the other tradition and assumed an all Indian character.

Before analysing some aspects of the hastamudras it is necessary to point out the importance of the hand as a member of the human body. It is used more than any other limb for all actions whether ordinary, magical or religious and thus became naturally the symbol of power. The hand of a certain person means the power exerted by him. This point could be illustrated from all civilizations and all the great religions of the world whether in the East or the West. As a rule the right hand is considered more important than the left though in certain instances the left was considered more important. The hand was also considered sacred. For example the ancient Hindu books point out that each part is sacred namely the root of the thumb is sacred to Brahma that of the little finger to Krishna (or to Prajapati) the tips of fingers to gods and the part between the thumb and the index to Pitrus and directions are given regarding the sipping of water from the hand. In modern Hinduism the various parts of the hand are sacred to different forms of Visnu and in the karanyasa ceremony homage is offered to the thumbs, fingers, palms and backs of the hand. The parts of the body sacred to other gods are touched with the fingers – an act gratifying to the gods. The Teutons and the Romans too had similar ideas. The importance of the hands in ceremonies and rituals like the "laying of hands", heading rites and magic may also be noted.

Mudras form an integral part of abhinaya by which a dancer expresses his or her ideas or moods. The word *abhinaya* means that which brings out the feelings or ideas of the artiste to the audience or the spectators. The texts on the classical Indian dance speak of four types of abhinayas namely the *Angika*, the *Vacika*, the *Aharya* and the *Sattvika*.[5] Of these the Angika abhinaya is expressed through the angas, pratyangas and upangas which constitute different parts of the human body. It is no wonder that the hands are included under the angas (the major limbs) and given a pride of place. The importance of the hands is clearly pointed out by Nandikesvara as,

"The dancer sings with her mouth *expresses the meaning* (*of the song*) *by* (*gestures of*) *her hands* shows psychological states by her eyes and beats time with her feet. *Where the hand goes eyes also should go there*. Whither the mind goes eyes also should go there. Whither the mind goes psychological state (bhava) should turn thither and where there is the psychological state there the sentiment (*rasa*) arises".[6]

These two verses sum up the cardinal principles of abhinaya in which the hands too play a very important role.

Somewhat similar ideas are expressed by Kambar as

கை வழி நயனம் செல்லக் கண்வழி மனமும் செல்ல
ஐய நுண்ணிடையர் ஆடும் ஆடக அரங்கு கண்டார்.

Finger movements seem to be the most important element of the language of gesture. The finger movements are both mimetic and symbolic. Their development seems to follow the same process as evidenced in hieroglyphs or Chinese pictograms. Originally meant to represent an object in a mimetic manner they assumed in themselves. the value of signs. Becoming independent in this manner they could be employed singly or in combination to designate meaning unconnected with their original mimetic form. These gestures can "write" every word of the song. As signs they are units of an orthographic as well as a linguistic code.[7]

These hand gestures have been evolved from the alphabet of basic hand poses or hastas in the same manner in which written and spoken language has been established from A B C. To further elucidate meaning the hands are not just held up to express the meaning but fingers are formed into the required position, the wrists are subtly used and arms coordinated for mobility and mood. In this way the hands become the vehicle of "Dance Speech" and to those initiated in the art whole conversations can be communicated which closely translate song words into sign words. These can be followed like utterances of words in a conversation. Adjectives, nouns, verbs, proper names and adverbs can all be shown and clearly expressed along with relevant facial expressions. Each school of the classical dance has made use of this alphabet of language signs in a particular mode to build up its own code of hand gestures.

These hand gestures both singly and combined constitute the complete language of signs or hastas. It may be pointed out each gesture indicates a multitude of ideas or objects and one might feel a little puzzled to note how very different and numerous these ideas or objects may be. In reality a hand gesture whch by itself may mean one or a multitude of things can by well established conventions of using the arms, wrists and positions of the body and with the relevant facial expressions, single out one particular meaning from the meanings attached to it as the one interpretation which best fits the particular context. Like the words and their meanings in a spoken or written language, the hands singly or in combination present a dictionary of language signs.[8] The mudras of the hands are of religious and secular origin. They were and are prevalent among all sections of the people. They found a place not only in the classical but in the folk dances too. Each school or form of classical or folk dance developed its own mudras from the basic mudras.

Language through the expressive gesture of hands must have been one of the forms of communication. Gestures were first met with in the language of the primitive people. It is certain these played an important role in the evolution of human speech. A gesture is used by the mutes and even by others when they meet persons speaking a language not intelligible to them. And often it so happens that some ideas cannot be adequately expressed or explained without some gesticulation accompanying words spoken. This clearly shows that the power of suggestion is inherent in gesture. It is no wonder therefore that they were combined with dance, the first born of the arts of mankind and have been endowed with rhythm to call forth rasa in persons witnessing it.

As time went on many of the hand poses were long and stereotyped and as Coomaraswamy observed such motions must have been elaborated and codified at a very early date and later on one finds that the art of silent communication by means of signs which is in effect a deaf and dumb language and just like the American Indian hand language was regularly regarded as one of the sixtyfour arts which every educated person should have knowledge of. He also refers to the Jataka No. 546 (Jataka text VI 364) where the Bodhi-Sattva judges the suitability of a woman for being his wife by communicating to her through the particular hand design (hatthamudda). She understood it correctly and replied to him with another of her own.[9] From this one could see as to how the mudras were used for secular purposes.

These mudras have great antiquity. Their origins are traceable in Vedic literature especially the *Yajurvedas*. They might have been prevalent in the earlier Indus Valley civilization too. Ragini devi has pointed out that gestures were first devised to evoke spiritual moods through ceremonial acts imaginatively performed as rituals.[10] An intricate ideography of symbols representing the gods and their emblems, heaven and the nether regions, the five elements, the sun and the moon of mythical significance were given pictorial form as symbolic hand poses in Vedic ritual.

Creative activities of the gods and their victorious achievements were enacted by Vedic priests who assumed the role of gods in order to repeat on earth events of heaven. Thus the use of the mudras in rituals is significant. From the Vedic period the mudras were used in sacred recitation. Priests repeated certain mantras using certain gestures with their hands. In dancing each mudra is credited with divine origin and patronage. And early in India's history the "language of hands" was an important study. The gesture of protection (abhaya hasta) is known to all the great religions of the world where with a simple position of the hand is projected the spirit of infinite solace. Indians constantly remind each other of the divinity in every man by the daily greeting with the hands in "anjali". Through the hands the dancer possesses a power infinite in its capacity to portray the tragedy

or exaltation of the human being. Somewhere in the recesses of cosmic creativeness the hands become the conscious translators of thought to the universe.[11]

These mudras seem first to be the most impressive part of abhinaya. These movements of the hands - life of the hands (hasta – pranas), are of three kinds–imitative, symbolic and decorative. But this is only an elementary classification. Their number is legion and their use and interpretation vary in many books which describe their mythological origins for like every manifestation of life in India they have a supernatural parentage and significance which sets on them the seal of age-long respectability. As far as *extant* works are concerned, Bharata's *Natyasastra* is the earliest work to enumerate the mudras with their uses and significance. But it does not mean that Bharata devised all these. As rightly pointed out by Dr. P. S. R. Appa Rao, Bharata did not create a certain number of hand gestures, name and explain them, but he codified them from the ways of the world. When one is necked out the hand assumes the shape of the half moon. That is why it is called *ardhacandra.* Two half-moon hands are used when ladies arrange their hair or put it in order. Similarly, the half-moon hand gesture is used on various other occasions. Bharata has given the names to the hands depending on the shape the hand assumes defined them and indicated their uses. Thus it can be understood that expressive hand gestures are chosen only from nature. Hence it is natural that there is no artificiality about them.[12]

A particular hand gesture may be used in various situations. This does not mean that gesture is always in the same position or level with respect to other parts of the body. For instance the Sikhara hasta is employed to indicate thirst when the thumb is bent towards the mouth; and when it is employed to indicate the holding of a bow the thumb in this gesture is vertical and is always away from the body.

Similarly the combined hand gesture "anjali" when raised above indicates salutation to the Gods, when at the shoulder level it indicates salutation to the elders, when at the chest level it indicates greeting friends: and it occupies an undefined position in respect of persons of other categories.

The basic mudras enumerated in the various texts are used in all the classical dances with or without variations. But they are elaborated further to suit the particular needs of the dance form concerned. For instance in Kathakali where the elaborate facial make up precludes the use of words the language of the hands doubles as it were; the text spoken or sung by the musician can be read by those skilled in the art as if it were a written text. The hands which are capable of such "oratory" as the mudras involve are of course supple to a degree not easily attained by the western dancers let alone by western people. Each finger has an individual sentient life which like single instruments of music when in combination strike

expressive chords, chords which the most perfect system of dance notation yet devised could perhaps be at a loss to transcribe. There are beautiful examples of its use by the Tantric Buddhists in the performance of their office and also by the Brahmin students in memorising texts. The Saivite priests of Bali also use mudras in the recitation of their office. Stories to children are told in a hand language very much resembling that of the Kathakali dancer. There are more than five hundred hastamudras in Kathakali.

The many texts on classical Indian dance from the Natyasastra onwards have generally divided the hand gestures into three classes namely the *asamyuta* (single hand) *samyuta* (combined hand) and *nrtta* (dance hand) gestures. The difference between the first two is merely technical. They are single when done with one hand and "joint" when done with both the hands. The third class of gesture of pure dance differs from the first two in a more fundamental manner. Whereas the first two classes are symbols which refer to some meaning or significance with reference to the accompanying song the third one has no value beyond its decorativeness.[13]

The number and use of each of the hands singly or in combination vary from text to text. The *Natyasastra*, the earliest of the texts, enumerates 24 single hand, 13 combined and 30 nrtta hand gestures and thus there are 67 hastas in all. The later texts have either repeated these or reduced or added or elaborated them. The *Abhinayadarpana* has 28, 23 and 5 (besides 13 other hands though included under the nrtta hastas they are either of the first or the second category). The commentary of Atiyarkkunallar on *Silappatikaram* has 33, 15 and 30 hastas. But an earlier commentary on this classic by an anonymous writer has mentioned 24 single hand and 13 combined gestures. This shows that there had been an increase in the number of hand gestures. At the same time the numbers listed by the earlier commentary tallies with those given in the *Natyasastra* and the *Sangitaratnakara*. This in all probability shows a common natya tradition. The *Mahabharatacutamani* has listed 47, 47 and 30 single, combined and nrtta hastas respectively. But some of the texts represent a tradition where the number of hastas are not only increased but extended to indicate various other items not included earlier. For example, the *Mahabharatacutamani* includes under Muhurtadi abhinayas hands for yugas, solstices, seasons, months, weeks, planets and nakshatras. It has included under sthavaradi abhinayas mountains, rivers, tanks, wells and other objects. Hands for various types of living beings also were included. Further, the mudras used in religious rituals too are included in this text. The total number of hand gestures and their variations come up to an amazing number 914.

As for variations in earlier mudras, one may cite for example, the Pataka which is divided into Sankirna Pataka, Slishta Pataka and Tala Pataka. It is in this way that Bharata's 24 and Nandikesvara's 28 single hand gestures have been increased

to 47. A similar tendency is noticeable in the *Natyasastra Sangraha.* Some of the texts like the *Bharata Siddhantam* and the *Pancamarapu* have classified the single and combined hands into four and two types respectively. Each of the classical Indian dances has further elaborated on these fundamental combinations and permutations to make the language of signs even more comprehensive as in the Kathakali. A recent writer Mr. M. Bose has made a comparative study of the Sanskrit works and has listed as many as 58 single 47 combined and 37 dance hands.[14]

It goes without saying that this type of excessive hair splitting is too impracticable to be brought into vogue and much of it must have remained theoretical only. Many of these would be found overlapping and the same idea might have been indicated by variations in hands according to the *mata* or text or school or authority purported to be followed. The number of basic hastas that are actually in use nowadays is however limited.[15]

These mudras are formulated from various sources mainly from nature. Even a cursory glance of the names of many of the mudras will clearly illustrate this point. In this connection one may look up the names of the more important single and combined hastamudras given in Appendix I. Mudras like the Padakosa, Alapadma, Mukula and Pushpaputa were drawn from flowers. Whereas Sarpasiras, Mrgasirsa, Kangula, Simhamukha and Vyaghra are from the animal world, Bhramara and Urnanabha from the insects; Sukhatunda, Hamsasya, Hamsapaksa, Tamracuda, Mayura, Kapota, Garuda, and Bherunda are from the birds; Sikhara, Ardhacandra and Candrakala point out the relation of some of the mudras to the mountain and the planets. As it is clear from the appendix I there are other mudras which have their origin from some objects of worship, instruments or implements, vehicles, royal insignia and a few miscellaneous sources.

But the fact that a good number of the single hand gestures which constitute the primary mudras are drawn from nature clearly shows the intimate connection between nature and dance. These were probably some of the earliest mudras to be evolved even when man has not started settled life as in agriculture. Whereas some other mudras might have originated later at a time when man had settled down to permanent agricultural life.

As mentioned earlier some of the texts like the *Mahabharatacutamani* and the *Natya sastra sangraha* refer to a certain amount of mudras that are used in the religious and Tantric rituals. The Saiva Agamas like the Karanagama and the other works like the *Samarangana* describe in detail the mudras that are used in the relevant rituals and mode of worship. Besides these the silpa texts like the Manasa and others describe the various mudras used in the sculpture. Taken together many of these mudras used in the rituals and the sculpture were probably taken or adopted from the mudras of dance and drama while others might have evolved by themselves.

The mudras of the sculpture are concerned mainly with the deities of Hinduism or Buddhism or Jainism. In this respect one has to bear in mind the fact that many of the deities of Hinduism like Siva and Vishnu, especially the former, are the creators, repositories and exponents of natya. They are also described as the personified forms of natya. Therefore it is no wonder that they are pictured as the ideal dancer like Siva as Lord Nataraja and they are worshipped also through dance which they like most. It is against this background that one has to discuss the relationship between the mudras of the dance and those of the religions rituals and worship and sculpture. The adoption or transfer of one mudra from one field to another seems to have been effected with or without changes; sometimes the names have been changed; in other instances there have been no changes in the names at all. Some of the mudras found in sculpture[16] may be compared first with the dance mudras. The Pataka hasta in dance is the same as the Abhayahasta met with in the Hindu and Buddhist sculptures. The Vyakhyana hasta is similar to the Samdamsa hasta of dance. The Sucihasta is common to dance and sculpture. Similarly the Kartarimukhahasta, the Alapadmahasta, the Ardhacandrahasta, the Ardhapatakahasta, the Trisulahasta, the Mushtihasta, the Anjali hasta, the Pushpaputahasta and the Dolahasta may be cited as mudras used in both the dance and the sculpture. The uses of these mudras are not always the same in dance and in sculpture.

The mudras used in the religious rituals and worship may be compared with those used in dance. The Saiva Agamas and the Paddhatis enumerate the mudras used in the Saiva rituals. For example the *Karanagama* has listed 32 mudras.[17] There are two Tamil publications on mudras published in Ceylon and India.[18] Evidently both were based on the Sanskrit Saivagamas and other texts. The Ceylon publication has listed 52 mudras whereas the Indian edition has included 33 mudras. As in sculpture here too many of the mudras seem to have been taken from dance. Some of the more popular mudras like the Namaskaramudra, the Patakamudra, the Lingamudra, the Mrgamudra, the Hamsamudra, and the Cinmayamudra may be noted as examples common for both the dance and the religious rituals and worship. As in the case of the Silpa mudras and dance mudras, there too the significance and uses of these mudras in dance and the religious rituals and worship quite differ though naturally there are similarities.

As mentioned earlier mudras are equally important in Tantric Buddhism in which esoteric significance is given to these mudras as in Hinduism. Mr. Poduval has described as many as 45 such mudras which included among others the Anjali hasta and the Matsya hasta.[19]

The dance mudras as pointed out by E. Krishna Iyer indicate how the Bharata Natya in spite of its great antiquity has rarely been static and how thinking minds through the centuries have tried to make necessary changes in it to suit the respec-

tive times. Even in the limited number of abhinaya hastas we have a ready-made and fairly extensive vocabulary to indicate and interpret objects, ideas and action. Hence these hand gestures when properly shown as per convention bring before the minds of the onlookers in a split second the objects, ideas or actions indicated by them. They are all based on nature though artistically conventionalized and are therefore highly suggestive symbols. Hence the great value and hence the uniqueness of Bharata Natya as an art of supreme suggestion.[20]

The view of Bharata on the general rules regarding the use of hand gestures is worth noting. He says "In acting hand (gestures) should be selected for their form, movements and significance and class according to the personal judgement (of the actor). There is no gesture (lit. hand) that cannot be used in indicating (some) idea. I have profusely described whatever forms (lit. gestures) are usually seen (to be associated with different ideas). There are besides other popular gestures (lit. hand) connected with other ideas and they also are to be freely used along with the movements inspired by sentiments and the states. These gestures should be used by males as well as females with proper regard to place, occasion, the play undertaken and a suitability of their meaning".[21]

From this it is clear that the theorists on natya have given due importance to the artiste in the choice and use of the hands according to his or her judgement. Further there is enough room for the originality of the artiste to flourish according to his or her own genius. These gestures are to be used to express various ideas befitting the occasion or the song. They are closely related to the rasas and the bhavas. They are to be used by the male as well as the female artistes in the proper way, in the proper place and context.

These hastamudras cannot be used in isolation. These have to be used as an integral part of the whole unit of dance where the rasas and the bhavas play a unique place. So the other limbs are to be used very appropriately to create the necessary rasa or sentiment. It is in keeping with this view that the *Natyasastra* has said that "these movements should at the time of their use be embellished by means of (suitable) expressions in the eyes, eye-brow and face. The *Natyasastra-sangraha* the later text has repeated the same view, viz., "The hasta mudras have to be shown with the aid of emotional appeal of the eyes, the eye-brows, eye-lids, pupils, colour of complexion and movements of the subsidiary parts of the body to propuce the necessary emotional atmosphere.

The mudras whether they are used in dance or religious rituals and worship or sculpture have a common origin. A detailed and comprehensive study of all these mudras with reference to their original sources in Sanskrit, Tamil and other Indian languages will be worthwhile. Such a study will definitely, help towards a better understanding of the classical dance forms of India, especially, the Bharata Natyam, the supreme dance form of India, and its relation to the sister dance forms.

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APPENDIX I

Asamyuta Hastas

From Nature (22)							Others (13)					
Flowers	Fruits	Mountain	Animals/Insects		Birds	Planets	Man/Part of the body	Objects/ Forms of worship	Instruments/ weapons/ vehicle	Ryal Insignia	Ornament	Miscellaneous
Padmakosa (Lotus bud)	Kapittha (Wood-apple)	Sikhara (Peak)	Sarpasiras (snake head)	Bhramara (bee)	Sukatunda (parrot beak)	Ardhacandra (half-moon)	Mushti (fist)	Trisula (Trident)	Kartarimukha (scissor)	Pataka (Flag) Ardhapataka (half-flg)	Kataka mukha (opening of a bracelet)	Arala (bent)
Alapadma									Suci (needle)			Catura (square/ clever)
Alapadma (Full-blown Lotus)			Mrgasirsa (Deerhead)	Urnanabha (spider)	Hamsa-paksa (swan wing)	Candrakala (digit of moon)			Ardhasuci	Tripataka		
			Kangula (Tail)	Palli (lizard)	Hamsasya (swan beak)				Sandamsa (pincers)			Dola (wing)
Makula (Flower bud)			Silimukha (crab face/ she frog)		Tamracuda				Bana (arrow)			
			Simhamukha (lion face)		Mayura (peacock)							
			Vyaghra (Tiger)									

Samyuta Hastas—From nature (13)

Samyuta Hastas—From nature (13)							Others (13)					
Pushpaputa (flower basket)				Karkata (crab)	Kapota (dove)		Utsanga (embrace/ lap)	Svastika	Kilaka		Kataka-Bardhana	Khatva (bed)
				Sankha (conch)	Garuda			Anjali	Pasa			Samputa (Box)
			Varcha (bear)		Bherunda		nishadha (hunter)	Sivalinga	Kartari Svastika			Avahittha
			Nagabandha (serpent)	Matsya (fish)				Cakra	Sakata			Vardhamana
			Gajadanta (elephant) tusk	Kurma (tortoise)								

APPENDIX II.

The number of mudras according to the major texts

Name of the Text	The number of single hand gestures	The number of combined hand gestures	The number of Nrtta gestures
Natyasastra	24	13	30
Abhinayadarpanam	28	23	05 (adds 13 other hands like pataka)
Arumpadaurai on the Tamil Classic Silappatikaram	24	13	
Adiyarkkunallar on Silappatikaram	(Inaiyavinakkai) pinta)	(Inaikkai/ Pinaiyal)	
Hastamuktavali of subhankara	30	14	27
Bharatasiddhantam	33	14	30
Mahabharatacudamani	47	47	30
Natyasastrasangraha	24(+5)	13(+6)	30(+7)
M. Bose (he has culled from various Sanskrit sources)	58	47	47

MUSIC IN SILAPPATIKARAM

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The great epic of *Silappatikaram* covers all the three divisions of Tamil. i.e., Isai Tamil, Iyal Tamil and Nataka Tamil. This great work by Ilango Adikal is without a parallel in the history of Tamil language and its development because of its abundant information about Music, Dance, Literature and other arts. Though scholars claimed that musical science is expounded to a great extent in *Silappatikaram*, they were not able to bring to light the technical phrases used therein which were 'Greek and Latin' to them. We understand from the later Commentators like Adiyarkku Nallar and Arumpata Urai Asiriyar of 12th and the 11th centuries A.D. that many early works on Music, Dance and Drama have been lost.

Earlier Tamil Works

Some of the works on Music that existed at the time of Adiyarkku Nallar to which he had referred or quoted are as follows :

1. AGATTIYAM : This is an elaborate work on grammer which treats of Iyal, Isai, Natakam said to be by Agattiya Muni. This seems to have become extinct even during the time of Adiyarkku nallar. But some of the sutrams are available in old commentaries.

2. ISAI NUNUKKAM : This is a work on Isai Tamil composed in the form of venbas by Sikandi Muni, one of the twelve disciples of Agattiya for teaching music to Sarakumara or Sayantakumara. It seems to be a standard work of the second Sangam.

3. INDIRA KALIYAM : This is a work on Isai Tamil written by Yamalendra which helped Adiyarkku Nallar in his annotation.

4. GUNA NOOL : A work on Nataka Tamil—Adiyarkku Nallar says that only a few sutrams of this work were in use and the work was extinct.

5. KOOTHA NOOL : This is a work on Nataka Tamil of which no particulars are known.

6. SAYANTAM : This is a work on Natakam. Adiyarkku Nallar says that this work must be considered to be lost since, excepting a few sutrams, major portion of the work is not available.

7. SEYIRRIYAM : This is a work on Natakam written in the form of sutrams by Seyirriyanar. According to Adiyarkku Nallar this was also extinct excepting a few sutrams.

8. TALA VAKAIYOTTU : One of the works which speaks about the grammer of Talam. No more particulars were known.

9. NOOL : Another work on Natakam of which no particulrs are available.

10 PANCHA BHARATEEYAM: The author was the divine sage Narada. It was dead even during the time of Adiyarkku Nallar.

11. PANCHAMARAPU : Isai Tamil nool by Arivanar which served as an authority for the annotation on Silappatikaram.

12. BHARATA SENAPATEEYAM : A work on Natakam in the form of venbas written by Ativayilar which helped Adiyarkkunallar in his annotation on Silappatikaram.

13. BHARATAM : A work on Natakam (dance and drama) which was extinct according to Adiyarkkunallar.

14. PERUNKURUGU : A work on music of the first Sangam. It was also known as Mudukurugu. But the work was extinct.

15. PERUNARAI : A work on music in the first Sangam. It was extinct even at the time of Adiyarkkunallar.

16. MATHIVANAR NATAKA TAMIL NOOL : A work on Drama written by Mathivanar in the form of sutram and venba. This work helped Adiyarkkunallar in his commentary.

17. MURUVAL : An extinct work on Natakam as Adiyarkkunallar says.

All these informations have been given by Tanjavur Abraham Panditar in his large rare treatise on Music 'Karunamirtha Sagaram'. (Page 72 First Book, First Part—A brief History of Indian Music.)

Renaissance

From these we are able to infer that Music, Dance and Drama were highly advanced even in the pre-Christian times. The commentators Adiyarkkunallar and Arumpatavurai Asiriyar themselves found it difficult to annotate on some of the lines of *Silappatikaram* because even in their days works on the science of music and consequently knowledge of the subtle technique of music had reached their thin edge ; most of the grammatical works on music were extinct.

However around 12th century and after there was a renaissance of Tamil culture and civilisation. Great commentators like Parimelalagar, Nachinarkiniar, and Adiyarkkunallar wrote invaluable treatises and helped a greater and more scientific understanding of early classics. The Sacred Hymns of Thevaram had been recovered earlier by Chola king Anabaya from the sacred temple of Chidambaram.

Bifurcation of Music and Culture

After this period a great bifurcation took place between the arts of music and literature. Due to political disturbances and invasion by rulers from the north, Tamil culture and its glory suffered a set back. The three crowned kings of Tamil nadu Cera, Chola and Pandiya lost their glorious rule and splendour. Music and other arts were interpreted differently in other languages. The old Tamil tradition of bards and their fine instrument of Yazh were completely lost. With that was lost also the knowledge and science of ancient music.

From 14th century onwards authors in other languages such as Telugu and Sanskrit started writing books on music as it was prevalent in those times. The works available in Tamil classics were not fully intelligible to them. Hence they indulged in spinning their own theories on the music of their times. Fortunately for us, Musicians, Dancers and Nagasvaram players who came under the protection of rich land lords, chieftains, heads of religious Mutts and the great institution of Temples, continued to practise and preserve the great tradition with untiring zeal, earnestness and enthusiasm, generation after generation.

Eminent Orientalists like Sir William Jones have expressed their inability to get at the right sources of information because of the lack of proper translations of these ancient classical works.

Captain Willard remarks, "During the earlier ages of Hindustan, music was cultivated by philosophers and men eminent for polite literature, for whom general directions and rules for composition sufficed, after a course of musical education acquired from living tutors ; .... But when from the theory of Music, a defection took place as to practice and men of learning confined themselves exclusively to the former while the later branch was abandoned entirely to the illiterate; all attempts to elucidate music from rules laid down in books, a science incapable of explanation by mere works became idle ; This is the reason why even so able and eminent an Orientalist as Sir William Jones has failed. Books alone are insufficient for this purpose. We must endeavour to procure solutions from living professors, of whom there are several although grossly illiterate". (P. 151-152 The Music of the Most Ancient Nations by Carl Engel. William Reaves, London 1864).

Music in Silappatikaram

As we have already seen, the later works on music have failed to explain the basic principles of Indian Music. Therefore it is still the early classic of *Silappatikaram* that could be claimed as the source of classification of scales as Yal, Pala i, Pan etc. The cycle of fourths and fifths and the modulation system are elaborately dealt with in *Silappatikaram* and in the commentaries.

Two great scholars who lived in th early 20th century have done pioneering research work on Music in Silappatikaram. The first one was Tanjavur Abraham Panditar who wrote the valuable book 'Karunamirta Sagaram' which deals extensively with the science and structure of ragas or pans according to Tamil music. The other one was Swami Vipulananda of Sri Lanka of the Sri Ramakrishna Mission, who wrote 'Yal Nool' which deals with the stringed instrument Yal.

Silappatikaram says the 12 notes are constructed by the cycle of fifths and cycle of fourths. 'Vannappattadai Yal Mel Vaittu' means the cycle of fifths. The stringed instrument of Yal was used as the Piano Forte of the West for calculation of the different scales.

The Seven notes (Elisai) are as follows:—

Kural	—	Shadjam	—	C
Tuttam	—	Rishabam	—	D
Kaikkilai	—	Gandaram	—	E
Ulai	—	Madhyamam	—	F
Ili	—	Panchamam	—	G
Vilari	—	Daivatam	—	A
Taram	—	Nishadam	—	B

Silappatikaram describes four types of musical systems:

"Ayam caturam Tirikonam Vattamenap
paya nankum palaiyakum."

There were systems namely diatonic, chromatic, enharmonic, microtonal etc.

1. AYAPPALI (The Diatonic Scales)

On the fourteen stringed instrument Yal the seven major modes *Elperum palai* are produced by the process of modulation.

" irel tottutta semmuraik kelviyin
orel palai niruttal venti"

—Arankerrukatai.

The Seven Major Modes :

Scales	Notes	Tonic Note
1. Cempalai	C D E F G A B	C
2. Patumalaippalai	C D Eb F G A Bb	D
3. Cevvalippalai	C Db Eb F G Ab Bb	E
4. Arumpalai	C D E F* G A B	F
5. Kotippalai	C D E F G A Bb	G
6. Vilarippalai	C D Eb F G Ab Bb	A
7. Mercempalai	C Db Eb F F* Ab Bb	B

Table showing the Modulation

Tamil Pans	S'	R'	G½	M'	P'	D'	N½	S'	R'	G½	M'	P'	D'	N½	S	Carnatic Ragas
Cempalai	S	R	G	M	P	D	N	S								Sankara-baranam
Patumalai-palai		S	R	Gb	M	P	D	Nb	S							Kara-hara-priya
Cevvalippalai			S	Rb	Gb	M	P	Db	Nb	S						Todi
Arumpalai				S	R	G	M*	P	D	N	S					Kalyani
Kotipalai					S	R	G*	M	P	D*	Nb	S				Hari-kamboti
Vilaripalai						S	R	Gb	M	P	Db	Nb	S			Nata-bhairavi
Mercempalai							S	Rb	Gb	M	M*	Db	Nb	S		—

Out of these seven major scales, the first six scales come under the system of diatonic scales. The seventh scale takes the Chromatic element of consecutive occurence of the same note flat and natural like C Db D Eb E F F* etc. There had been a stiff fight between the diatonic and chromatic elements throughout the ages. Venkatamaki's famous 72 Mela scheme also suffers under this keen controversy. Out

of the 72 scales, only 32 scales are of diatonic nature, the other 40 scales are of chromatic nature. The confrontation of the diatonic and the chromatic order of notes seems irreconcilable. Only a careful handling of chromatic notes alternatively and sparingly enhances the beauty of the ragas. But an over-development certainly obscures the basic cadential structure.

2. VATTAPPALAI (The quarter tone music)

The music of quarter tones *Sruti* or *Alaku* as it is called is elaborately discussed in this system. In the chapter *Aychiyar Kuravai* the shepherd woman Matari calls seven girls to form into a circle with 12 compartments and locates them in their appropriate place to make the raga notes. The commentators give extensive annotations on these verses.

Anku
Toluvitai Eru Kurittu Valarttar
Eluvar ilan Kotaiyar
enru tan makalai nokkit
Tonru patu muraiyal nirutti
itai mutu makalivarkkup
Pataittuk kot peyarituval
Kuta mutal itamuraiyak kurral tuttam
kaikkilai ulai ili vilari taramena
Viritaru purikulal ventiya peyare. —Aichiyarkuravai.

The Circle of Kol Rasi Mandalam is described as Kar Katakam etc.

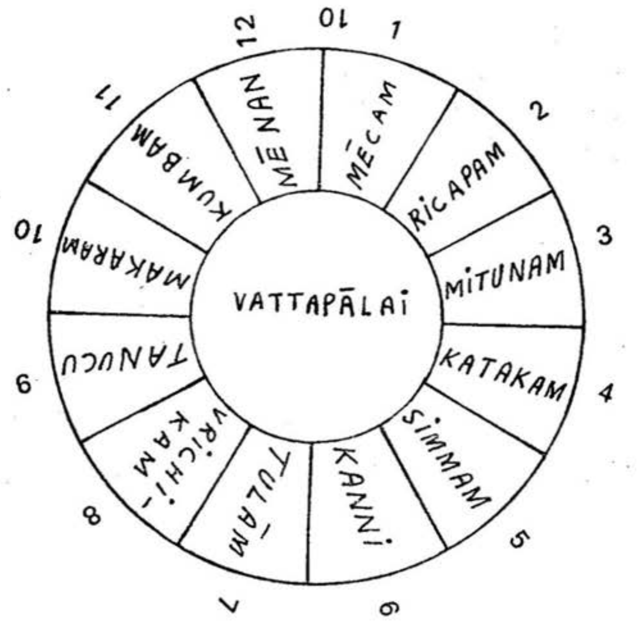
Again the notes in the sequence of cycle of fifths are described :

Kural mantamaka ili camanaka
varan muraiye tuttam valiya — uranila
Mantam vilari pitippal aval natpin
Pinraiyaip pattetuppal. —Aichiyar Kuravai.

In the Sennilai Mandalam (Rasi Circle) the twelve grahams have been allotted their place as follows :

Kural mantamaka—means the tonic note—ili camanaka the fifth of Tonic note the dominant—tuttam valiya—the fifth of the Dominant is the note D above—likewise it follows the cycle of fifths. The special feature of this system is each semitone is divided into two quarter tones thus making a total of 24 quarter tones. According to Tamil music the Srutis are 24. But the practice is to sing one Sruti lower or higher in 2 notes which have the 1 & 5th relationship. Such as Sa-pa, Ri-Da, Ga-ni, etc. The practice of singing quarter tone music (enharmonic) gives abundant grace

and sweetness to the ragas. This is a highly evolved music and is meant for advanced students and scholars.



It is interesting to note that the practice of enharmonic music was in vogue with the Greeks.

Plutarch (A.D. 100) writes : "Of the three genera into which the musical scale is divided...... only one was cultivated by the ancients. In their treatises, we find no direction given on the use of diatonic genus or the chromatic genus, but of the enharmonic alone."

He adds, 'Our contemporaries have throughly neglected the finest genus to which the ancients devoted all their eagerness. Most of them have lost the discernment of enharmonic intervals." —P. 10 Music before the classical era by R. Stevenson, Macmillan, London 1958.

3. TIRIKONAPALAI

This system advocates singing of notes in their 1/8 portion. Ragas having such minute particles are many in South Indian music. When such as minute note takes exactly its 5th note in its perfect location then the music become supersonic, which thrills the listener and takes him to sublimity.

4. CATURAPALAI

Further to the 1/8 of a note this system takes the note in 1/16 portion. Handling of such micro-tones without spoiling their Vadi Samvadi (Sa-pa) relationship requires great mastery and skill. This also demands refined auditory perception.

These different systems of music using minute fractions of a note is here explained in a Sutram of the Tamil music book—Isai Marapu (recently published).

Ayattuk kiraru arunanku vattattuk
keyun konattuk kirattipput — tuyavisai
nunmaik katiliratti nonalaku mor nilaikkin
ken munru kelvi konten.

"It is thus explained that by the Sa-pa and Sa-ma system, we get the 12 Swarams of Ayapalai, that Vattapalai divides the Octave into 24 srutis, that the Tamilians of old practised 16 kinds (Jathis) of pans taking 2 sruti less and that the micro tones of Trikona palai and catura palai were also in vogue." P. 44 Appendix *Karunamirta Sagaram.*

In Venir katai of Silappatikaram the four yals Kurinji, Marutam, Mullai, and Palai and the major division of four jathis are explained. I have explained these 16 Jathi pans in my article on Musical Systems of Ancient Tamils published by International Institute of Tamil Studies. (Journal Tamil Culture 5th & 6th Vol. 1975).

MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF INDIA

B. DAMODHARAN

Music the finest of fine arts, is a highly expressive art form. An effective medium for the expression of human complex emotions and ideas, music communicates more directly to our faculties than mere words. Hence Rabindranath Tagore said *Music starts when words end.* Equally it has developed into a science, based on well founded and time honoured tenets. It is indeed a vast subject.

The beginnings of Indian music are lost in the beautiful and fanciful legends of gods and goddesses who were supposed to be its patrons Saraswathi is always represented as the goddess of art and learning, and she is usually pictured as seated on a white lotus with a *vina* in one hard , playing it with another, a book in the third hand and a necklace of pearls in the fourth, indicating that she is the consort of Brahma.

The technical word for music throughout India is the word Sangita or Isai which originally included dancing and the drama as well as vocal and instrumental music. Siva is supposed to have been the creator of this three-fold art and his music-dance symbolizes the rhythmic motion of the universe.

In Hindu mythology the seven principal notes were associated with the cries of animals and birds and were classified as follows: SHADJA (SA), the cry of the peacock; RISHABA (RI), the sound made by the cow when calling her calf; GANDHARA (GA) the bleat of the goat; MADHYAMA (MA) the cry of the heron and the tunic nature; PANCHAMA(PA) the note of the cuckoo or kokila, the Indian nightingale; DAIVATA (DA) the neighing of the horse; NISHADA (NI), the trumpeting of an elephant.

At a time when many nations had not emerged from the stage of folk song, India had developed a magnificent system of art music. The story of the evolution of Indian musical instruments from its early primitive stages to its present highly evolved form is one of absorbing interest. A study of this enables one to understand, something of the genius of the race that has given to the world the various kinds of musical instruments and magnificent raga and tala systems. In the history of world music, India was the first country to evolve a solfa system, Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Da Ni.

The classification of musical instruments into TATA, SUSHIRA, AVANADA and GHANA (CHORDOPHONES, AEROPHONES, MEMBRANOPHONES AND AUTOPHONES) mentioned in Bharata's Natya Sastra has been

universally accepted as the most scientific system of classification. Knowledge of facts like these makes us feel proud of our great heritage. Till about the 13th century A. D. there was a single system of music prevalent throughout in length and breadth of India. The separation into two systems came later.

The *Pans* of the *Tevaram* are historically old ragas. The famous Thiruneelakanta Yazhpanar provided instrumental (YAZH) accompaniment to Tirujnanasambandar's music with his *Yazh*. In the history of Indian music the Tevaram happens to be the earliest compositions that we possess. Tevaram is the collective name given to the sacred hymns of the three great saints of Saivism.

They constitute the cream of sacred music in Tamil.

Rhythm comes naturally to man, since everything in creation moves to it. It is man's oldest impulse. The ceremonial dancing of primitive man was a great outlet for his emotions, both when experiencing pleasure and when appeasing the god, he feared. The basic impulse of rhythm in him led him to standardise the various forms of emotional expression, he was familiar with and to create and design rhythmic instruments.

The basis of almost all our arts and sciences has been religion, and music is no exception to this. Our literatures are scientific treatises on the search for Truth, for which one of the ways has been through music and dance. Songs of adoration, wonder and praise of the early Dravidians have matured through the ages into the heritage of our sangeet.

The Eternal Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, are the earliest musicians- Siva as Nataraja the Dancer, Brahma, beating the holy Mirudangam and Vishnu sounding on his Sankhu. Siva's famous Tandava, Dance, is the rhythm of the universe. The word 'Tandava' is itself derived from the word 'Tala' that is, Ta in Tandava and in La in Lasya (ardour and beauty-the dance of Siva's consort Parvati). The Rishis, Bharata and Narada, taught this great art of Gandharva Vidya, and Nrittya and Kavya (Drama and Poetry) became the Sangeet.

The Nayanmar were able to express in their hymns the sentiments of love, longing, ecstasy and joy, and unity of all life and all natural phenomena. Disturbed ecology in any one direction disturbed the even tenor and nature of sound, and hence all the environment around. They knew that ecology of nature had a balance and a poise that was to be harmonised with sound.

Our ancestors came to the conclusion that certain environments in nature were most favourable to certain sounds. The sound waves in a suitable atmospheric environment were found to be periodic and regular in amplitude, frequency and

shape, and certain musical sounds developed the characteristics of intensity, pitch and quality according to the prevailing conditions.

It was further found that there were sound-waves of different frequencies which, at different periods of time, were most sensitive to the ear, And it was discovered as a scientific truth that the intensity of sound-waves was inversely proportional to the square of its distance from the source. It was on this basis that our temples with their corners, niches and altars were built.

All this led to the intonation of the celebrated sound of AUM. This is not the place to discuss the significance of AUM in its illuminating, powerful, omniscient and subtle aspects. Suffice it to say that AUM was found to involve all sounds. When AU or O was stressed, identity with the Universal was experienced; when M was stressed, the experience of vibration from inside was added. Thus, outside and inside relationship was established through this sound.

Further, it was experienced that the direction of wind and the density of air and light were found greatly to affect sound. Certain environments helped sound-vibrations in pitch and intensity more than others.

Melody was the main medium of Bhakti music. A study of the latest science of ultra-sonics underlines the effects of certain Ragas and Raginis. Their waves strongly affected rain, heat and cold, pain and pleasure. If fire, water, wind, air and electricity, and now nuclear power, can be harnessed to generate power, so could sound be and perhaps in a subtler manner than could be imagined.

The experiments of Jagdish Chandra Bose and C. V. Raman bear testimony to the discoveries of our ancient music by our ancestors. Nada is sound, Brahma is God; Yoga is union. Hence Nada Brahma Yoga means union with God through sound i.e. music. The best expression of this sound is music. Music is the language of feeling.

Divine music heals the mind and the body. The soul stirring rhythms create vibrations and bring peace, individual and universal. Music is the finest of all arts.

In India the art of music and musical instruments seems to have reached a definite stage even earlier than the Indus valley civilisation. This is clear evidence from the findings in the Indus valley excavations of the seven-holed flute, the different kinds of highly developed drums (one of these was just like a mirudangam) types of stringed instruments, harp or yazh, cymbals, different kinds artistic dancing poses etc. From this it is clear that development of musical instruments have gone on for centuries before it reached this refinement in about 4,000 B.C.

The great Bengal scholar R. D. Bannerjee after making several researches like Indus valley excavations and the finding of the rare objects such as different kinds of seals of the yazh, jewellery, mud-pots etc., has said that there is no doubt that the Indus valley civilisation is part of the Ancient Dravidian civilisation. He has also said that the figures of the *yazh* found in the Indus valley excavation is similar to the figures of the yazh found is the tombs of the kings and queens of Sumeria.

(Dravidian civilisation-R. D. Banerji-Article in the Modern Review, September 1927.)

The soul of a nation is revealed through the medium of its art and appreciation of that art promotes sympathy for the land from which it has come. In the world famous cave temples of Ajanta there are many carvings representing musicians and dancers. Cave No. 1 Ajanta dealing probably from the commencement of the 7th century was designed as a Buddhist monastery and among its wealth of sculptural decorations figures of musical instruments such as drums, flutes, trumpets, stringed instruments, yazh etc.

The archaeological discoveries from time to time have thrown a good deal of light on the Indus valley, Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro and uncovered several kinds of weapons, swords, Jewellery, pots, clay materials, different kinds of seals of yazhs, flutes, varieties of percussion instruments, idols of deities, dancing figures made of lime and mortar and other items of historical value. This is clear evidence of the ancient Dravidian living conditions, their art, culture and devotion to the gods in the early period of 5000 years ago. Ancient literature on music and musical instruments contain reference to musical instruments beginning from about the 3rd century B.C.

Stuart Piggot says, cymbals were used to accompany dancing....there were reed flutes or pipes, a stringed instrument of the lute class and a harp or lyre or *yazh* type which is mentioned as having seven notes or tones....There is good evidence that these instruments were constructed according to the heptatonic scale of seven notes...... cf. Pre-historic India (1950 pp. 270-271).

Raj Bahadur K. N. Dikshit says : Some of the pictographs appear to be representations of a crude stringed instrument, a proto type of the modern veena. While a pair of castanets like the modern *kaitala* have also been found - of. Prehistoric civilisation of the Indus valley (Madras 1939. p. 29).

Both in Ramayanam (B.C. 400.) and Mahabharatam (B.C. 500 to A.D. 200) frequent references are made to music and musical instruments and it is inferred that the art must have reached an advanced stage of development during the centuries when these monumental works were created.

The great Tamil epic Silappadikaram also gives us clear evidence of the high level of drama and music prevailing in the southern part of India during the early centuries B.C.

The Indian Empire by Sir William Wilson Hunter, (London 1893) says that a regular system of notation had been worked out before the age of PANINI B.C. 350 and seven notes were designated by their initial letter. This notation passed from Dravidians through the Persians to Arabia and was thence introduced into European music by GUIDO D' AREZZO at the beginning of the 11th century. The culture of the ancient Dravidians is a monumental testimony established to the world.

Vide also Ancient History of Western Asia, India and Crete: Prof. Bedrick Horzny (Prague p. 64.).

DARASURAM, THIRU-ERUKATHAM-PULIYUR, THIRU-MAYAM, AMARAVATI, GOLI, SANCHI: there are different kinds of sculptures depicted with various kinds of *yazh* and other instruments. Similarly sculptured in the scenes depicting the life of the Buddha varieties of veenas and other musical instruments are found.

Flutes, drums, pipes, conches, bells and gongs are represented in these ancient sculptures. The type which frequently occurs is yazh. It is like a harp or yazh in the shape of a bow, which is used as a handle, there is a boat shaped resonator; there are a number of parallel strings fastened to the bow shaft, one over the other. The instrument was played by men and women in a sitting position. There were types of yazh which were suspended from the arm and carried about. This type of instrument is found in Gandhara, Amaravati and Nagarjuna konda (Ist to 7th century A.D.). This type of yazh remained in use down to the time of the Guptas.

Coming to the historic period, we have Emperor Samudragupta, (330-370A.D.) who has represented himself on one of this gold coins, as playing a stringed instrument (yazh). There are also coins of Kumaragupta (c. 414-455 A.D.) where the king is shown as playing the yazh. The strings of the yazh are seen clearly in these coins.

The Archaeological discoveries from time to time have thrown a good deal of light on the history of music and musical instruments.

The bow-shaped yazh had reigned supreme from the early days. Slowly it disappeared after the Guptas. But, fortunately, it survives in Burma. In Egypt it is called Ban (Indian veena). Further in Madhya pradesh, it is used by the

Gond tribes and called as gogla bana. The gogla bana is an instrument consisting of a stout staff in the shape of an arc, one end of which is fixed to a boat shaped resonator. About five parallel strings are fastened to the staff, one over the other.

The period between the 4th and 7th centuries was for the music of India, a period of great expansion of Indian musical culture due to Buddhism. Our musical instruments migrated to central Asia during this period. This is proved by the existence of Indian instruments in the wall paintings at Quizil, Yokan, Tuanhung and other important Buddhist centres of central Asia. The Panchagi which has been later on developed as guitar and mandolina shape instrument which are found in the sculptures at Amaravati, Nagarjuna konda and Gandhara have been introduced to central Asia by the Buddhist missions. Later on this instrument was in use in China. and was called Pipa. Similarly during the 8th century this instrument developed and was called Beva in Japan. Representations of musical instruments depicted in Borobudur, Perambanam, Champa and other places confirm that the music of India spread to neighbouring countries in the early centuries. It is well known that the art of Java, the Khmer country and Champa was deeply influenced by the culture and art of India. The illustrations of musical instruments at Borobudur show a remarkable similarity to those found in India. Similarly the Kachchapi veena still survives in the Phillipines under the name of Kadjapi.

Similar instruments of the yazh have been discovered in Babylon probably about 3000 B.C. Several actual specimens of that period have been unearthed at Ur. The Sumerian harps were the oldest and the most characteristic. The strings were either plucked by the fingers or struck with a plectrum . The instrument was often accompanied by Ka-gi (flute) in the same way as the ancient Tamil yazh was accompanied by kuzhal, also a type of flute. Most of the ancient Indian sculptures show the bow-shaped yazh along with the flute. The instrument was originally called pan throughout a whole district of western Asia in the early days. Pan means 'sound' or 'music'. Curiously enough the various musical modes in southern Indian music are called *pans* in Tamil and musicians are called *panar*.

Kudumiyamalai and Thirumayam in Pudukottai state contain musical inscriptions of the 7th century during the time of the Pallava king Mahendra Varman. The inscriptions mention seven Jadis and a few of the srutis as well as the seven svaras.

In 1926 the great Scholar C. Leonary Wooly made exploration discoveries in the place called Ur the capital of chaldea on the tombs of prince and princesses. In the tomb of princess Subath dated 2600 years B.C. he found the following objects, A beautiful yazh rich in workmanship with bull head and costumes, dresses, household articles which were used by the princess. This yazh had seven strings.

Similarly in another tomb of the royal princess there was another yazh with calf head. It is clear evidence that these yazhs are similar to our Tamilian yazh both in construction of the body, strings and tuning of the strings which was existing in ancient days. This yazh at present is exhibited in Baghdad museum.

Prof. Dr. Bedrick Horzny. of Prague, Charles university, Czechoslovakia had made intensive research on Sumerian states, the people of Chaldea probably the descendants of *SISCHU URUK* and their period must be earlier than the Mesopotamian civilization – vide Ancient history of Western Asia, India and Crete: Dr. Bedrick Horzny p. 64.

Further he has expressed that some harps with 11 to 15 strings and lyres having as many as 15 strings show that Sumerian music and musical instruments of that time had a long earlier development.

Dr. Enrish Former had made intensive reasearch on the music and musical instruments of Babylon and remarked that from the time of Sumerian till the time of the Assiriyans, music was most important; the life, living conditions and culture were highly developed. In the city of ELAN research was made on the tombs of kings and different kinds of the musical instruments etc. probably belonging to 3000 B.C. were found. The music and musical instruments are similar in every aspect to Indian music and musical instruments.

Dr. Former stated that from the time of king Nazir Paul B.C. 1885-1835 sufficient evidences are found in the ancient stone inscription and rock carvings about the music and musical instruments of Mesopotamia. The music was sweet and pleasant which delighted every one. The musical instruments of Mesopotamia the inconstruction, spare parts and the gut strings used for the instruments are similar to the Indian instruments which are found on the seals of Indus Valley.

The people of the northern part of Lanka were Yazhpanum Tamilians. SAIDUNGAVARAGA SINGAN son of King UKKIRAMA SINGAN was ruling the country. During his reign one poet called YAZH PADI PANAN went to his palace and played music on his yazh before the king. The king was much delighted with the music presented him a piece of land called KAVAIYUR PASARAIYAR. Later on this panan along with his relatives settled in this place. Ever since then this place was called Yazh Panam. Such is the legend.

Hartense Pannan after his intensive research in Asia on ancient musical instruments stated that the instruments found in western Asia are similar to the instruments of India, in every aspect.

Lyre type of stringed instrument was first found in western Asia. Then it made its way to the Nile country, and to Greece, where it was quickly adopted

as the national instrument and where it reached the zenith of its artistic career. The earliest evidence of a stringed instrument of the lyre family is to be found in Homer (9th century B.C.). It is natural to presume that the lyre mentioned by the poet was an instrument of Asian origin.

In the bas relief of the British Museum, representations of Assyrian horizontal angle harps are found. They resemble the Egyptian bow harp and the frame harp of the middle ages. They we-e carried in an upright position and were plucked by the fingers from both sides.

In 4000 B.C. a bow shape harp was found in Egypt, which was similar to the bow shaped yazh of India and other Asian countries.

The first stringed instrument invented by man was the hunter's bow. When the hunter shot his arrow, he must have noted that the bowstring produced a pleasant humming sound. If he twanged the bowstring near the cavity of the mouth, the sound was amplified. If he rested the bow on some hollow object the resonace increased still further. The next discovery probably was that the sound varied with the length of the string. Strings of varying length must have evolved the basic principle of the harp. The fact that a piece of skin stretched over a hollow body such as a pot produced a sound of great volume when caused to vibrate was known to man very early. He used this principle to increase the volume of sounds by fastening one end of the string to a drum and thus invented a kind of resonator. He gave one end of the bow the shape of a hollow boat and stretched a skin tightly over it . Several strings were merely tied round the bow shaft and could be tuned only by an elaborate process of adjusting and readjusting. This type of bow shaped instrument was apparently very widely used in ancient India, as it is frequently represented in ancient sculpture. Such an instrument was called yazh in Tamil mentioned in all Tamil literature.

The paintings of the different kinds of the yazh are found on the walls of Egypt dated before 4000 B.C..

This instrument had migrated from India to Egypt.

The construction and the method of strings tied to the instruments are similar to our instruments depicted in sculptures. Moreover the people settled in Egypt are saying that their original country is Pandu and from there they came and settled in Egypt.

This part of India could have been no other than the Malabar coast, which was probably called the land of the Pandiyans, afterwards corrupted in Egypt into the land of pantu (pandu.) It would be interesting to note here that among the earlier students of the subject of the origion of the Egyptians, *Heeras* was prominent in

pointing out the alleged analogy between the form of the skull of the Egyptian and that of Indian races; he believed in the Indian origin of the Egyptians (Rig Vedic India-Abinas Chandra Das p. 34).

Ramachandra Dikshithar stated: "From South India the art, culture, music, and musical instruments have spread to Rome and Greece. The people living in the land of KURINJI called themselves as Hunters, went to the country of Yavanam settled there and established a kingdom. This is the country called CRETE. The art, and culture of the people of Crete is similiar to South Indian art and culture in every aspect." Further he has stated that the kings of CHERA must have been to this country and had war with the people defeating them, after victory over them established a Kingdom and this part of country is called CRETE.

Sculptural representations of musical instruments depicted in Borobudur, Parambanam, Champa and other places confirm that the music of India spread to neighbouring countries in the early centuries. It is well known that the art of the Khmer country and Champa was deeply influenced by the culture and art of India.

During the Buddhist times, India seems to have had commercial and other relations with Egypt, Sumer and other middle eastern regions surrounding India. Archaeologists have discovered musical instruments similar to the yazh in Egypt and Babylon. Representations of priests playing these harps in the tomb of Ramesus III show instruments which are not only distinguished by the number of their strings but are elaboraretly decorated, the framework being carved and inlaid with gold ivory, tortoise shell and mother of pearl. Their construction and beauty are reminiscent of descriptions of the yazh in the ancient Tamil works.

In the course of her long history, India evolved a very wide variety of musical instruments; those were classified under four heads, namely tata (stringed instruments) sushira (wind instruments), avanaddha (percussion instruments like drums) and ghana (instruments which are struck against each other). Much ingenuity has been bestowed on the invention of these instruments. There are more than five hundred of them, each with a distinct name, shape, construction, technique of playing and quality of tone, colour.

The people of India have always been conservative in their tastes, and in nothing do we find this more evident than in their music and musical instruments. Descriptions of these are found in many of the old Tamil treatises; they show that the forms of the instruments now in use have hardly altered at all during the last two thousand years; old paintings and sculptures, such as those of Ajanta, prove this even more conclusively.

One of the earliest references to music is found in the grammarian Panini, who was probably alive when Alexander, the Great, was in Taxila (326 B.C.). In his comments upon the root Nrit – to dance – he mentions two persons named Silalin and Krisavin as the authors of two sets of sutras on dancing. A reference to a musical performance which if it could be accepted as historical would go back further still, is found in the *pali pitaka* (C. 300 B.C.) in which it is said that two disciples of Gautama Buddha (c. 480 B.C.) attended a dramatic performance, which of course would be musical.

In Ramayana and Mahabharata musical instruments are frequently mentioned. As Lakshmana enters the inner apartments of Sugriva, he hears singing and the ravishing strains of the music of veena and other stringed instruments.

The ladies apartments in the palace of Ravana are also full of musical associations, some of the musical instruments which Hanuman sees there are madduka (percussion instrument like mridanga), the patha (similar to the kanjira) the flute the vipanchi, the mridanga, the panava (another variety of mridanga) the dindima (a kind of drum) and the adambara (a kettle drum). A woman musician lies across her veena, an image which Valmiki compares poetically to a cluster of lotuses and a boat in a stream.

Instruments of percussion are represented by the drum dundubhi, an ordinary drum, the adambara, another kind of drum, bhoomi dundubhi a kind of earth drum made by digging a hole in the ground and covering it with hide, vanaspati a wooden drum, aghati, a cymbal used to accompany dancing. Stringed instruments are represented by the kanda-vina, a kind of stringed instrument, karkari another instrument,. These are sufficient evidence of the development of the art. The Mahajanka Jataka (c–200 B.C.) mentions the four great sound (Parama maha Sabdha) which are conferred as an honour by the Hindu kings on great personages. In these the drum is associated with various kinds of horn, gong and cymbals. These were sounded empty. The car used to go slowly round the palace and up what was called the kettle-drum road. At such a time they sounded hundreds of instruments so that it was like the noise of the sea. The Jataka also records how Brahmadatta presented a mountain hermit with a drum, telling him that if he beat on one side his enemies would run away and if upon the other they would become his firm friends.

In the Tamil Books *Purananuru* and Pattupattu (C.D. 100-200) the drum is referred to as occupying a position of very great honour. It had a special seat called *murasukattil*, and a special elephant to carry it, and was treated almost as a deity. It is described as 'adorned with a garland like the rainbow'.

The much developed polished decorated elegance of modern Indian musical instruments such as the veena, tambura. mirdangam and sarode afford some idea

as to how primitive were the instruments from which they are descended. In fact. the many families of existing musical instruments can all be traced to various devices of primitive man to make music which sounded different from his own voice.

Amongst the commonly accepted main class of instruments, namely the string, the wind and the percussion the last mentioned was the earliest in origin. Every variety of percussion instrument contributes rhythm and dynamism to whatever type of music it accompanies.

The simplest accompaniment to the dances of primitive man was provided by the dancers themselves. They marked time by stamping their feet and clapping their hands in simple rhythms. Some times they kept time by beating their chests, flanks and bellies with their hands. These methods might well have been the first pointers to a drum.

Gradually rattles came into use they were probably first made out of nutshell seeds and stones strung together or placed in a hollow gourd and either suspended from the waist of the dancer or tied to the ankles so that they sounded sharply in response to each movement. Such early beginning resulted in the use of cymbals, gongs, bells ankle-bells, kartal, and so on.

Music and dance have been the chief forms of religious expression in India. The origin of music in India is attributed to gods and goddesses and to mythological figures like gandharvas and kinnaras who figure in all the stories and legends connected with the science and practice of music.

The study of the history of Indian musical instruments has a great cultural value. South India is justly famous for her great achievements in the realm of music where the largest number of ragas and talas are used. Kudumiyamalai music inscription belongs to 7th century A.D. It establishes beyond doubt the Indian solfa system. Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dh Ni is the oldest in the history of world music. Splendid specimens of musical iconography and dance iconography are ensrined in the temples of south India. In the temple at Tirukkodikaval in Tanjavur district a dance scene depicting a victorious army being greeted by a band of musicians, dancers and kollattam performers is depicted.

The series of sculptures depicting music parties give us details relating to the number that constituted a concert party, their position (sitting or standing), the accompaniments used, the number of strings in the stringed instruments, the postures in which the instruments were held and played and many other factors relating to the instrumentation. The Veena having frets for only half of the finger board is depicted in the temples at Halebid and Belur in Mysore state. These sculptures depicts one of the stages in the evolution of the veena and hence are of

historical interest. The earliest sculpture with frets for the full finger board is seen in the temple at Pattisvaram near Kumbakonam. The sculptures of a lady playing on a bowed instrument in the temple at Thirumagudalu in Mysore state (10th century A.D.) is interesting. This is the earliest sculpture depicting a bowed instrument which has paved the revolutionary way for the latter day violin.

A figure performing on the Pancha mukha vadyam (five face percussion drum) is sculptured in the base of the northern part of the stone chariot in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram.

The Brahadiswara temple in Tanjavur contains sculptures depicting figures in dance poses. Darasuram contains resonant stone steps which give clear ringing notes. The temple at Pattiswaram contains a fine sculpture of figure playing on the modern vina.

Musical stone pillars, the musical pipes and the stone pillars in our temples are standing testimony to the artistic genius of the south. Perfect specimens of these stone pillars found in the temples are of interesting value.

In the marvellous musical stone pillars adorning the temples, South India stands without a parallel. Anything even remotely approximating to these pillars cannot be seen anywhere.

The sculptures and paintings in the various caves and temples of South India furnish important materials of educational value. The remarkable specimen of a musical pipe scooped out of a granite stone pillar is seen in the temple at Shanbhaga Nallur, Thirunelveli District. This pipe is conical in shape and is the central part of the pillar. The interior of the pipe is smooth and polished, the two ends of the pipe are circular in shape, when blown from one end the tone of the wind instrument Ekkalam is heard and when blown from the other end the tone of the conch *SANKAM* is heard. This is a marvellous phenomenon. The length of the pipe is about one foot. The pipe has two small folds in the interior and this probably accounts for the difference in tone colour, when blown from the two ends.

The people of India have always been conservative in their tastes, and in nothing do we find this more evident than in their music and musical instruments. Descriptions of them are found in many of the old Tamil treatises and show that the forms of the instruments now in use have altered hardly at all during the last two thousand years; old paintings and sculptures, such as those of Ajanta prove this even more conclusively. There are many musical instruments to be found among the sculptures existing in various old cave temples and ancient Buddhist stupas in different parts of India.

Those at Amaravati and Sanchi are especially interesting for in the Amaravati sculptures, which were visited by the travellor, Hiuen sang and called by him Dhanancheka, about the year 640 of christian era. We find several representations of musical instruments, one of peculiar interest shows a group of eighteen women playing upon drums, a shell trumpet or sankha, one much like the urmai, and two instruments, apparently sadatantriveena; these are developed instruments.

This again figures in Assyrian and Egyptain sculptures and painting. It is somewhat like a harp, and much like an African instrument called *sancho,* still used in some parts of that continent. This peculiar harp is again found amongst the sculptures at Sanchi. At Sanchi too is found a figure of a man blowing a kind of trumpet the sringa of much the same shape as that now employed in Bengal.

BHARATA NATYAM-THE DANCE ART OF THE TAMILS

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ஆனந்தம் ஆடரங்கம் ஆனந்தம் பாடல்கள்
ஆனந்தம் பல்லியம் ஆனந்தம் வாச்சியம்
ஆனந்தம் ஆகி அகில சராசரம்
ஆனந்தம் ஆனந்தக் கூத்துகந் தானுக்கே

Everything is Bliss! the stage, the songs, the orchestra, the various instruments (percussion) the entire universe. It is all one Supreme Bliss for the great Lord who revels in dancing.

Thus spake Thirumular in his Thirumantram.

The very creation is said to be the Dance of the Supreme, it is *Ananda*, it is Bliss, it is the five-fold activity of creation, preservation, destruction, obscuration and revelation of the Cosmic Dancer, Lord Nataraja, who is the embodiment and manifestation of eternal energy as the *Nrityamurti*. If this is so, how ancient then is the art of dancing, the Kuthu, the Natakam, or the Natyam as referred to in Tamil literature?

Dance is the 'Objective Presentation' of the 'Subjective Reality'; it is the outward expression of an inner emotion or a compulsion; the giving of a concrete form to the human ideas and ideals through movement. It seems to be the earliest manifestation of man's creative impulse. It was one of his most vital expressions of worship and its connection with magic, invocation and appeasement has been projected through movement for thousands of years. It has been part of his ritual in propitiating the gods and also as part of his social activities. Also, dance has always been a spontaneous expression of joy as a result of exuberance. All primitive societies have indulged in dancing and the instinct of dancing seems to have preceded the faculty of speech or song. Why, even animals and birds go through elaborate dance rituals. The dance of the honey bees to communicate information like source and distance of nectar so beautifully described by the Nobel laureate Von Frisch, is too well known to be repeated here.

Dance in the west has come to be regarded as a means of self-expression, whereas in the East and India in particular, dance carries the dual message:

1. The physical to be lifted to the plane of the sublime.
2. The interpretation of the universal by the submergence of the individual self.

Dance in India goes back to times immemorial, over 2000 years and even then it had reached a high degree of perfection, subtlety and beauty. The dancing figure of a girl in the Mohenjadaro excavations and also a dancing figure considered to be Lord Siva, illustrate that dance was very much part of the Pre-Aryan civilization in India. The various phases of Indian Art could be referred to as temple art, because it was essentially part of the mode of worship in temples and spiritual identification with God considered the Supreme Artist. Every action of man, including his daily ritual and his works of art, was guided by the hand of God and the most eloquent representations of Indian culture are the temples of India, that have survived for thousands of years. Religion is so much part and parcel of Indian culture that it is difficult to separate art and culture from Religion, be it painting, dance, poetry or sculpture. Further the origin of the arts in India is so shrouded in the mists of antiquity that it is very difficult to fix the correct date for many artistic events. So when we speak of dance, the evidences we have are the dance sculptures, frescoes and paintings in the various temples and the available manuscripts and treatises on art. Dance is movement and therefore difficult to record. Karanas in sculptures are frozen postures or the beginning or end of a new movement. They are therefore capable of being interpreted differently by different artists according to his or her imagination. What the observer makes out of it would also vary according to the individual's attitude. There is quite a bit of latitude in this. But a *karana* as described in the books *is movement* each with a specific name. It is said they are 108 in number.

Owing to the series of invasions in the north, the influence of foreign cultures on the indigenous arts was inevitable. Hence, the dances there became mingled in form, style and presentation with the foreign arts imported into India, whereas the South enjoyed a more undisturbed atmosphere, thereby preserving and maintaining its traditions in sculpture, painting and dance. We have the beautiful sculptures of the Pallavas in Mahabalipuram, the Cholas in Chidambaram and Tanjavur and of the Hoysalas in Belur and Halebid, and so on.

The unique quality of Indian dance is that every minute detail of gesture and movement has been analysed and projected in such a manner that it has reached the highest stage of development. Nothing is left to chance, every position of the hand and body is recognised by a distinct name and charged with a precise significance. The actors and the dancers are but vehicles to project the thematic content

and mood. Hence, an amateur has no place on the stage; dance is so much dependent on human emotions, actions and habits, that it is said to be the most 'malleable and changeable' of arts. Art is the vehicle to communicate what lies beyond speech and the dance art is said to be the most ancient art or the mother of the other art forms. It is a visual art, it is an arrangement or a pattern in space and time. It touches one's mind and involves different aspects of life. Dancing is not just steps but the use of gestures to convey ideas and emotions.

As in all walks of life, society incorporates into itself what is necessary and what it requires and rejects what is not wanted. Different styles of dance are no exception to this rule. Hence, some dance forms go into oblivion while others attain more and more popularity.

Bharata Natyam is one such form of dance that has stood the test of time and has evolved into one of the most highly developed and balanced forms of dance in the world. This style of dance is exclusive to the Tamil country. Originally, it was referred to as Kuthu, then it came to be called **Sadir** or **Chinna Melam**. Today colloquial use of the term *Bharata Natyam* has replaced the term '*Sadir*'. This seems to have happened about 60-70 years ago. Ancient art forms like *Bharata Natyam* flourished under royal patronage. Then the rich people have been patrons of this art and it became an important and integral part of all social events like birthdays and weddings and became a status symbol. Of course, it continued to be part of temple ritual. This role got diminished in course of time and it has today become purely secular.

The very word Bharata has been much debated upon. One is left to wonder whether Bharata is the sage and author of the Natya Sastra, or was it a pen-Name assumed by a number of authors. Though the Natya Sastra is in Sanskrit, a few additions in Prakrit and also some in Pali, seem to be present giving some support to this view. Whether Bharata is referred to as the brother of Rama or as the son of Dushyanta or Bharata that is India or Bha-ra-ta the *Bhava, raga tala,* is the question.

It is always difficult to attribute the coining of a particular word and its ancientness, especially when the word has been accepted in the common parlance. One such is the use of the word Bharata (Natyam). It would be a fruitless endeavour to try and say, whether it is an author, a group of authors, Dushyantha's son or simply the ancient name of India. It is nice to speculate that it is only an acronym- *Bhava, Raga, Tala* (Bharata). This may well be the case as we commonly use acronyms. This has been a practice in the ancient India as many sutras are in a capsule form.

Purandara Dasa, who lived about 400 years ago considered as the father of Carnatic Music, refers to Bharata Natyam in his song *Adidhano Ranga* in *Raga Arabhi*, which described the dance of Krishna on the hood of the serpent Kalinga.

Rambhe, Urvashi Ramaniya rellaru
Chendadi Bharata Natyagal Natisey.

The reference is that Rambha and Urvashi and other celestial dancers performed the Bharata Natyam as Sri Krishna danced on the serpent extolling the victory of the child krishna on the poisonous serpent.

Adiyarkku Nallar, the 12th century commentator of Silappadikaram in the course of his commentary observes – 'Ancient Tamil works on dance like *Bharatam* and *Agathiam* have now been lost and also works like **Muruval, Sayantham, Guna-Nool** and **Seyitriyam** are available only in fragments'.

The above two references show that the expression Bharata Natya is not of recent coinage. Whatever it is, society has accepted Bharata Natyam to be the dance of the Tamils and the very word Bharata Natyam brings to mind a particular style of dance found in Tamilnadu.

Today from being a community art performed by a particular sect it has become the universal emblem of culture in every home. Ritualism has now been replaced by lyricism. One of the consequences of this has been the introduction of pieces in popular idiom known as javali, which could be understood by the common man and even a novice.

Bharata Natyam has always been a flourishing art in Tamil Nadu. Sangam Tamil classics including **Tolkappiyam** are replete with references to Natya of a very high order. There are other works in Tamil like **Seyitriyam** which define the various aspects of the science in the art of dance. **Kuthanul** (of 200 B.C.?) refers to the various kinds of *adavus* and different dances prevalent. Silappadikaram of the 2nd century A.D. is one of the greatest Tamil classics on dance. Madhavi's *arangetram* has been graphically portrayed as for example:

எண்ணும் எழுத்தும் இயல்ஐந்தும் பண்நான்கும்
பண்நின்ற கூத்துப் பதினொன்றும்—மண்ணின்மேல்
போக்கினாள் பூம்புகார்ப் பொற்றொடி மாதவிதன்
வாக்கினால் ஆடரங்கில் வந்து

"When Madhavi entered the stage, she reflected in her performance, the science and the art of dance with its 5 varieties and 4 basic foundations of melody (pann) and the 2 styles of dance".

The quotation cited above would go to show how highly organised and sophisticated the dance performances had become. Even the setting of the stage to the minutest detail has been described.

It is surprising that Adiyarkku Nallar does not stop with just interpreting Ilango Adigal's *Silappadikaram* but also goes into the details of the requirement of the art of dance and the artist and also elaborately discusses the art and science of dance in ancient times.

These are some of the instances of the unique cultural achievement of the Tamils. It is hardly surprising that the Tamil conquerers of Burma, Indonesia, Thailand and Sri Lanka carried their rich and colourful cultural heritage with them. As a result, we recognise Bharata Natyam movements in the classical dances of these countries.

In the sculptures in Tamil Nadu, the art-form is represented in the finest manner, apart from the karanas e.g. frescoes in the inner corridors of the Brihadisvara temple of Tanjavur especially of an Apsaras.

Even in mythologies as conceived of by the great Tamil writer, Sekkizhar in his *Periapuranam* and Paranjothi munivar in *Thiruvilayadal Puranam*, we see the great art of dance mentioned.

Thus, *what* we can recognise, identify and interpret as Bharata Natyam appears to have been an unchanged theme in music, sculpture, painting, art and mythology in Tamil country. Even in the spiritual domain, there is reference to dance, e.g. the Thirumantram of Thirumular, who speaks of Lord Nataraja as:

அண்டங்கள் ஓரேழும் அம்பொற் பதியாகப்
பண்டை ஆகாசங்கள் ஐந்தும் பதியாகி
தெண்டினில் சத்தி திரு அம்பலமாகக்
கொண்டு பரஞ்சோதி கூத்துகந் தானே

"With the skies and the seven worlds as the stage with
Shakti as the motivating force, He performed
the Supreme Dancer; He, the Lord Nataraja".

are some of the names of the celestial dancer Lord Siva, something unique and
ஆடல் அரசன், கூத்தப்பிரான், ஆடல் அழகன்
peculiar to Tamil Nadu.

தென்னாடுடைய சிவனே போற்றி
எந்நாட்டவருக்கும் இறைவா போற்றி.

"Hail to thee, O Siva, Lord of the Southern Country
Hail to thee, O Supreme Lord of all nations".

The conception of the figure of Nataraja encompasses the entire philosophy of life and of creation that man's intelligence is capable of conceiving. The figure of Nataraja represents perhaps the finest expression of perfection of sculpture not only of India but of the world.

Breathes there a man who is not captivated by a statue of Nataraja with a benign smile, lissome, almost smooth fluid movement, not weak but powerful and showing strength of form, balanced and well poised. No other art anywhere in this world has reached this height of development. Nataraja represents the rhythmic and vibrant nature of life, which is cyclic (Figure 4).

Bharata Natyam is that complex whole that comprises coordinated movements and exacting rhythms with the Nritta sequences mathematically accurate, geometrical in symmetry and form, deliberately infused grace with tremendous suspension and power in the presentation of gesture and movement, sculpturesque poses, decorative and meaningful hand gestures, beauty and colour in costume, all these within itself in a well balanced manner, such that it is a visual feast not just visual but touching the heart of man. All these aspects combined and moulded with the rich tradition, philosophy, religion and culture of over 2000 years, has gone to evolve Bharata Natyam into one of the most beautiful dance sytles of the world. It is also a powerful medium of communication. This has been also used for reinforcement of the ideas in our philosophy and religion. Through this powerful medium of communication our ancestors in the ancient Tamil Nadu tried to get across our basic as well as complex ideas of the universe.

There are various books on the dance art like the Natya Sastra, Abhinaya Darpana, Bharatarnava, Maha Bharata Chudamani and so on, but the Natya Sastra is considered the most unique and outstanding contribution. This book is a monumental work and it deals with all aspects of dance, drama and theatre. As one goes through the Natya Sastra one is wonder struck at the variety of every possible movement of the body, eyes, neck, hands, legs etc., conceived by man and so systematically and methodically codified by Bharata. Also it is no wonder then that we recognize similar movements in the different dance styles of the world. There are many treatises on dance emphasising may be a few aspects relevant to the text and time even before the publication of Natya Sastra. But Natya Sastra seems to be a compendium of dance, drama, theatre and movement. In the Bharata Natyam technique, the principles of movement and gesture as found in the Natya Sastra are there, but the superstructure has undergone variations reflecting the changes in the society and with the passage of time, and today it has acquired a supreme beauty and finesse. Natyam is not acting nor is it drama alone, but involves dancing. Bharata Natyam is a highly stylised form of dance and one has to know something about it to enjoy a recital. The gesture language is so complex and complete that one has to have a basic knowledge to understand the theme

enacted by the dancer and the dancer herself has to have enough experience to tell a tale in a cogent form so that each gesture flows into the other without being jerky and without the connection being disjointed. Her art should be such that a rapport is created between herself and the audience.

Bharata Natyam as seen today is referred to as Lasyam (graceful and feminine), type of dance. It may be divided into Nrittam and Nrithyam. Nrittam is pure dance conveying no meaning or sentiment, it is just visually and aesthetically beautiful. The dance sequences are made up of *Adavus* or the basic dance units. It consists of *Stanakam*-stance, *Chari*-movement, *Nritta Hastam*-decorative hand gesture and *Hasta Kshetram*-position of the hands throughout the performance. There are various groups of *adavus* each of which corresponds to and is easily recognised by a distinct phrase of the drum.

In Nrithyam we have the language of the gestures through which ideas, emotions and stories are rendered. There are, according to the Abhinaya Darpana 28 Asamyuta or single hand gestures and 24 Samyuta or double hand gestures.

The use of these gestures to convey ideas and sentiments leads us to abhinaya. The works on dance speak of four kinds of Abhinaya: *Angika* body and limbs, *Vachika* – words and dialogue (Kuravanji and Bhagavata Mela), *Aharya* – costume, jewellery and make up, and *Satvika* – emotional states.

In the Satvika Abhinaya here we have the navarasas or the nine psychological states – love, wonder, anger, fear, humour, disgust, sympathy, courage and peace. The Rasas are actually eight in number and peace has been added as the ninth. Ancient *Sangam* literature speaks of 8 rasas and they are called *Yennsuvai* (எண்சுவை).

Love or Shringara is the most dominant rasa around which the other rasas revolve. This has been sublimated into Bhakti, the yearning of the individual soul for the supreme, the *Jivatma* seeking the *Paramatma*. The other aspect of Bharata Natya to be appreciated are the elasticity, plasticity and the flexibility of the art making it the vibrant and dynamic art that it is. Elasticity in the sense is that the theme can be expanded or contracted. Plasticity means capacity to mould an idea with the aid of the changing gestures. Flexibility means that the theme and the gesture can be used in a variety of ways to project the emotion, the idea and the story.

A Bharata Natya recital lasts for about 2½ to 3 hours consisting of ten to fourteen items. It was given its present form by the Tanjavur quartet Chinniah, Ponniah, Vadivelu and Sivanandam who were court musicians in Tanjavur about 175 years ago. Beginning with a simple item as the invocational dance, the tempo is built up to the piece-de-resistance, that is the varnam, which is a test for the

capacity, training and stamina of the dancer. After this, there is the leisurely exposition of Abhinaya, for songs and love lyrics and finally a beautiful and rhythmical finish in the Tillana.

Change is part of civilization. There is change from moment to moment. Bharata Natyam has reached this stage of development keeping within the framework of tradition, like carnatic music with its ragas which though set in a framework, allows for endless possibilities, variations and innovations depending on the musician handling it. In spite of its apparent rigidity the art of Bharata Natyam is almost like a fresh canvas in the hands of each artist enabling him or her to express the theme in an imaginative way and making it distinctive. Just as in painting the three basic colours combine to form innumerable hues, so also in Bharata Natyam the basic movements are strung together and woven in an enchanted loom into forming alluring beauty. The whole movement is kaleidoscopic, ever changing, forming myriad patterns of beauty and form. It hardly matters whether it is authored by a single person or a group, nor does it matter whether it is a compendium or a single treatise; what matters is, that it has stood the ravages of time in this ever changing universe and has maintained its pristine purity to a large extent and this is a pride of our Tamil Culture.

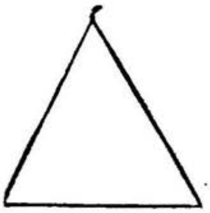
Fig. 1

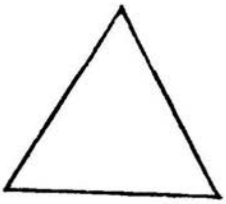
Fig. 2

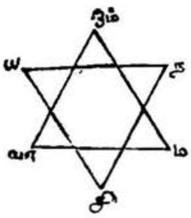
Fig 3

Fig. 4

It is interesting to speculate on the figure of Nataraja, as it represents the very quintessence of Tamil Philosophy. Two triangles (Fig. 1 and 2) placed one over the other (the second invented) form a six sided star – "Shatkonam" (Fig. 3). The figure of Nataraja fits in beautifully into this (Fig. 4). The Lord suppressing evil symbolically repre- sented by Muyalakan, the Damaru (drum), on the right hand to represent the rhythmic nature of life, fire on the left hand to symbolize life's energy, the crescent moon – the height of knowledge, Ganges on the head – the water of life, snake symbolising air - thus the panchabhuthas are represented. The raised right hand indicates Abhayam while the left hand indicates "here I am."

The raised left foot – path to salvation, the flying veil-removal of illusion and so on. The Tiruvasi represents the vibrant, rhythmic and cyclic nature of life. This symbolic figure of Nataraja represents perhaps the highest philosophy of Tamils, that all life is essentially made of five elements, there is a constant effort to suppress evil, life is rhythmic, vibrant and cyclic. Life is bliss.

SECTION 5

DRAMA

ANCIENT TAMIL STAGE

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Symbol of Civilization

Art is an imaginative expression of the significant experience of an artist. He is endowed with the power of penetrating perception which enables him to discern in life the things of perennial value which is beneficial to the humanity at large and enshrine it in his creation. A nation which attains perfection in various forms of art is hailed to have achieved greatness in its civilization. In other words, a nation which is in its height of civilization will naturally be rich in chief forms of art. Among several forms of art, music, dance, drama, literature, painting, sculpture and architecture distinguish themselves as the index of a nation's culture and civilization. Of them, music, dance and drama are the exhibitive arts of stage.

Genesis of music and dance

The ancient Tamil works—Tolkaappiyam, Sangam literature and epics and also the inscriptions bear sufficient evidence for the fact that music, dance and drama, besides other chief arts, flourished in the hoary past in Tamilakam. Though there are no authentic evidences to trace the origin of those triple stage arts we may say, that music besides being anterior in its origin to the other two arts, must have been also served primarily as a source for their birth and development. We find generally that when a man's overwhelming emotion of joy gets intensified, it is spontaneously manifested in the form of song or music. This must have been true with the people in the primitive age, and the song should have emerged in their jubilance, which in course of time must have been attuned to music. Music is the only art which has the power to touch our heart directly and arouse our emotion, unlike other arts to which relative requisite media are essential for the creation and for exercising their influence over us. This unique power of music makes man dance to its tune and thereby exhibit his exhuberance. Hence we may say that the art of dance would have had its origin as a physical manifestation of the powerful emotion aroused by the note of the music.

Sangam age

Instances are many in Tolkaappiyam and Sangam literature which indicate perfection and popularity of the musical art in the Sangam age. According to

Tolkaappiyam the Tamil land was divided into five regions viz., mullai or the forest region, kurinji or the hilly region, marutam or the region of cultivable lands, neytal or the coastal region and paalai or arid region, and a special panh or tune of music is assigned to each region. The saataarippanh, kurinjippanh, marutappanh, cevvalippanh and paalaippanh belong to regions of mullai, kurinji, marutam, neytal and paalai respectively. [1]

Paripaadal was a kind of musical lyric that was in vogue during the Sangam period. Mutunaarai, Mutukuruku and Kalariyaavirai were other musical works in existence in that period. We come to know from the commentary of the Iraiyanaar Ahapporul that there were numerous Paripaadals in the First Sangam age, and that almost all of them perished in course of time. [2] Seventy paripaadals are said to belong to the third Sangam period and only twentyfour of them are extant now. At the end of the twentyone of the twentyfour paripaadal songs the panh or tune in which that song should be sung is mentioned. The commentary of Iraiyanaar Ahapporul also makes mention of the works 'kuuttu', 'vari', 'citrisai' and 'perisai' which were in existence in the third Sangam period. The work 'kuuttu' seems to relate to the music specially intended for dance and the remaining three works to the different patterns of music. [3]

The chief musical instrument was yaal or harp in the age of Tolkaappiyam and Sangam literature and the musicians were called paanhar. The arts of dancing and acting had also flourished in that age and the dancers were known as kuuttar, and the actors the porunar. [4] The female dancers and actors were called viraliyar. The name had been derived from the world 'viral' which means the talent to express inner emotions through physical manifestations. Kuuttar, porunar and viraliyar used to visit the courts of kings and chieftains to entertain them with their performances and receive munificent gifts in recognition of their artistic talents. Nourished with the generous patronage of the kings and chieftains, the triple arts had grown with vitality in the ancient past. Since we find in the Sangam literature that the paanhar, kuuttar and porunar entertained the kings and chieftains with the performance of their respective arts in their courts it can be surmised that the stage for the performances was situated within the court precincts. There are no specific instances in Sangam literature of the artists giving their performance in any public place. But there was a public place in each village or town called manru or manram or potiyil, where the affairs of public interest used to take place.

There is a reference in a Puranaanuuru verse to a paanhan telling the chieftain Aay that he had come to see him after having himself stayed at a manru. [5] Another poem of Puranaanuuru mentions about the mulavu hanging at the manru having been tied over there which produced sound as the wind blew on it, and the sound thus produced from it was mistaken to be the signal of war by Atiyamaan nedumaan Anji who was the patron of Avvaiyaar. [6] These instances indicate that the

public performance of music, pure dance and the dance depicting a story (natakam) might have also been held at the manru or potiyil in the sangam age. Natakam in the ancient past, we may presume, was in the form of dance-drama ie, dance depicting a story. But there are no evidences to give us details or any idea about the formation of the stage at the manram.

If a paanham or kuuttan or porunan who was returning from the royal court with rich rewards received from the king or chieftain happend to meet another artist of his class on his way, he would direct him to the patron from whom he received the gifts so that he might also get the gifts for his performance. The poems entitled Paanhar aatrupadai, Kuuttar aatrupadai and Porunar aatrupadai represent these themes presenting a vivid picture of the appearance and the talents of the respective artists and the benevolence of the patrons.[7] Tolkaappiyam also prescribes the principles for composing such poems.[8]

A Puranaanuuru verse sung by the poet Marutan Ilha naakan extols the generosity extended to the paanhar or musicians by the chieftain Naanjil Valluvan.

A paanhan who returns with rich gifts from Naanjil Valluvan meets on his way another senior paanhan who is an expert in yaal music and tells him that Naanjil Valluvan, who has accumulated his wealth little by little, as a parrot stores the ears of millets in a hollow in a tree, will never fail to present him with gifts even if he visits him times without number.[9]

Another verse in Puranaanuuru composed by Peruntalai-c-caattan pays glowing tributes to the chieftain Kumanhan praising him as a descendant of a great family which is traditionally known for its boundless benevolence in banishing the poverty of the kuuttar or dancers by giving them always generous gifts to them[10].

The poet Mudattaamakkanniyaar in her poem entitled Porunaraatruppadai eulogises the king Karikaalperuvalattaan's generous hospitality spontaneously extended to the porunar or actors and his bounteous gifts given to them. An impoverished porunan who approaches Karikaalperuvalattaan is given garments made of very fine yarn and decorated with attractive embroidery. He is given in golden vessels liquor of high quality to drink and is feasted with a variety of delicious dishes. When he goes to the king, after having enjoyed his hospitality for several days, to take leave of the king he is presented with elephants, chariots, valuable ornaments and dresses as gifts.[11]

Post Sangam age

Immediately after the Sangam age the twin major epics Silappadhikaram and Manimekhalai came into existence and their age is generally accepted by the scholars to be the 2nd century A.D. Silappadhikaram which is the earliest extant

Tamil epic affords a vast fund of details about the isai, kuuttu and natakam which indicates that these arts were in bloom with all their luxuriance.

Stage

A description of the stage as it existed in the age of Silappadhikaram for the performance of these arts is given with elaborate details in the epic. According to it the length of the stage is eight kools, the breadth is seven kools and the height of the platform of the stage from the ground is one kool. Twenty four times the length of the thumb of a perfect man's hand make one kool. One kool roughly works out to four feet. Hence the size of the stage in terms of feet was as follows : The length was thirtytwo feet, the breadth was twentyeight feet and the height of the platform from the ground was four feet. A wooden plank on the top supported by the pillars of the stage formed the roof of the stage, and its height from the platform was four kools or sixteen feet. There were pillars on the left and right sides of the stage. It is noteworthy that this size and measurement of the stage are more or less the same as the present day stage intended for drama or dance in general. There were two door ways on the stage for entrance and exit. The painted portraits of the Varunhappuutar or supernals belonging to the four castes were placed on an elevated place to be worshiped by all the spectators. The stage lights were so arranged as to avoid the shadow of the pillars falling on the stage. There were screens fixed to the pillars. They were called orumuka elini, porumuka elini and karantuvaral elini, which denote different screens for the different scenes. The top portion of the frontage of the stage was adorned with attractive paintings and garlands made of beautiful pearls. [12]

Two kinds of ance

We may presume that this was the structure of the stage generally prevalent about 1800 years ago in Tamilakam. Two kinds of kuuttu or natakam were in existence, and they were known as vettiyal and potuviyal[13]. Vettiyal denotes kuuttu or natakam intended for the royal personages and potuviyal denotes performance of kuuttu or natakam meant for the common folk [14]. The performance relating to vettiyal must have been necessarily of higher order than that of potuviyal, and the location of its stage was within the precincts of the royal palace. The stage for potuviyal kuuttu or natakam, as the Kadalaadu Kaatai of Silappadhikaaram indicates, was situated in a suitable public place [15].

Madhavi

Madhavi who belonged to the dancer class was trained in the art of music and dance for a period of seven years, from her fifth year to her twelfth year and she attained high proficiency in them. Her beauty added charm to her acquisition of

these arts, and arrangements were made for a public display of her maiden performance in the presence of the Chola king. Since the inauguration took place in the king's presence, it is evident that Madhavi's performance was of Vettiyal form.

Before the commencement of Madhavi's performance, the Arangketru kaatai in Silappathikaaram furnishes full details about the accomplishments prescribed for the masters of the arts of aadal or dance, isai or music, tannumai or drum, kulal or flute and yaal or harp, which throw abundant light on the techniques of these arts.

The techniques of kuuttu and natakam

The details given about the accomplishments of the dance master bring to light the kinds and techniques of kuuttu and natakam. There were two major kinds of kuuttu or natakam known as akakkuttu and purakkuttu [16]. The former was the dance drama having love as its theme, and the latter having themes other than love. The performance of the dance drama should have all its requisite elements called 'Vilakkuruppukkal', which were of fourteen kinds. They are porul or theme, yoni or the place from which the theme emerges, virutti or the characteristics of the natakam, santhi or the plot structure of the natakam, cuvai or emotions, caati or the classification of natakam, kurippu or inner feelings, sattuvam or the bodily manifestation of the emotion, avinayam or action as an expression of emotion, col or expression in words, colvakai or the kinds of expression in words, vannam or the song consisting of stanzas of four lines each, vari or the song intended for the varikkuuttu and chetam or the traditional story adapted to the two kinds of dance drama viz., Aariyam and Tamil [17]. Each of these fourteen main elements consists of several detailed parts.

Canti (sandhi)

For example let us take canti or plot structure of the dance drama and examine the inner elements of it. Five inner elements constitute canti. They are mukam, piratimukam, karuppam, vilaivu and tuyttal. Mukam is compared to the sprout of the crop from the seed, piratimukam to the growth of the crop, karuppam to the yielding of the ears of corn, vilaivu to the ripening of the corn and tuyttal to use of the ripened corn, [18]. These five inner elements of canti correspond to the plot structure of the drama outlined by William Henry Hudson, a critic of the modern school. According to him the plot structure of a drama comprises Initial incident or incidents in which the conflict originates, the Rising action of Growth, the Climax or Turning point, the Decline or Resolution and Conclusion or Catastrophe [19]. We may say that mukam denotes the Initial incident, piratimukam the Rising action, karuppam the Climax, vilaivu the Resolution and tuyttal the Conclusion.

Display of symbols with hands

There were in vogue eleven other kinds of dances relating to gods and celestials which will be dealt with later on. The art of dance required adeptness to express ideas through the display of symbols with one hand and two hands. The symbols displayed with a single hand were called pindi and those displayed with double hands were known as pinaiyal [20]. These are called muttirai in Bharatanaattiyam.

While ahakkuuttu (dance drama having love theme) and purakkuuttu (having a theme other than love) are being performed, the symbols to be displayed with a single hand should not be mixed with those to be done with double hands, and the symbols to be displayed with the double hands should not get mixed with those to be done with single hand. Likewise while pure dance takes place it should not get mingled with physical expression (avinayam or acting) of emotions and when physical manifestations of emotion are displayed they should not be mixed with pure dance. Ilangovadikal technically expresses this as follows :

Kuudai ceytakai vaarattuk kalhaitalum
vaaran ceytakai kuudaiyir kalhaitalum
pindi ceytakai aadalir kalahitalum
aadal ceytakai pindiyir kalhaitalum.[21]

Similarly the accomplishments of the masters of vocal music, drum music, flute music and yaal music described in Silappathikaaram bring to light the requisite techniques of these arts that were in vogue in the age of the epic.

Madhavi's maiden performance

After explaining the talent of the various artists, Madhavi's maiden performance of dance in the presence of the king is described. The king, his men and others took their respective seats assigned to them according to their status. The various instrumental musicians stationed themselves in their respective places. Madhavi entered the stage placing first her right foot on the stage and stood at the pillar on the right side of the stage. At the pillar on the left side the turiya makalir or the veteran female dancers stationed themselves and invocatory songs were sung by them and by Madhavi as well to the accompaniment of the music of harp, flute, drum etc. Soon after the invocatory songs were over Madhavi's performance of dance took place. She performed the dance called tesikkuuttu exquisitely well to the accompanishment of music and the beat of the cymbals, adhering strictly to the principles of the art of dance. In recognition of her high proficiency in the art, the king honoured her presenting 'talaikkol' made of the stem of the white umbrella (venhkotrakkudai confiscated from the enemy king) ornamentally decorated with nine kinds of valuable gems and also a garland made of gold to the value of one thousand and eight kalanju [22].

Madhavi's performance of eleven kinds of dance-drama

Towards the end of Indira vilaa (festival to invoke the blessings of Indiran) celebrated in the city of Pukaar for a period of twenty eight days, Madhavi's dance performance took place on a stage in a public place in the city. According to Adiyaarkkunallaar, the commentator of Silappatikaaram, the stage for the public performance was situated facing a street which was large enough for huge chariots drawn by steeds to run without any impediments.[23] The structure and form of the stage might have been the same as described above. Since her dance performance was intended for the benefit of the public it is evident that it was the 'potuviyal' type of dance. The structure of the stage must have been the same as the one mentioned above. She performed eleven kinds of a dance-drama representing the dances of gods performed for having gained victory over the asuraas. These dances were popular in that age. The names of the dances are (1) alliyam (2) kodukotti (3) kudai (4) kudam (5) paandarangam (6) mal (7) tudi (8) kadaiyam (9) pedu (10) marakkaal and (11) paavai.

Alliyam is the dance depicting the god KannaN breaking the tusks of the elephant sent by Kamsan by deceit to kill him.

Siva reduced the three fortresses of the asuraas to ashes and as they were in flames eh. overwhelmed with joy at the sight, He danced clapping his hands. Kodukotti is the dance depicting this incident.

Kudai is the dance representing the dance of Muruha performed after having defeated the asuraas.

Kudakkuuttu represents the dance of Kannan played with the metal pot to release Anirutta, the son of Kaama who was imprisoned by the asura VaanaN.

Paandarangam represents the dance performed by Siva after the three fortified cities of asuraas were burnt to ashes, for the sake of Naanmukan who acted as his charioteer.

The dance of Tiru Mal depicts killing the asura Vaanan by Kannan after having waged a wrestling bout with him.

Tudi portrays the dance performed by Muruha playing on with his tudi or hand drum on the surface of the sea after having killed the asura by name Suura in the sea.

The dance of Kadaiyam represents the dance played by IndiraN's wife Ayiraani in the guise of the female of the ploughman's caste in the field on the north side of Vaanan's city, Cho.

Pedu represents the dance performed by Kaama to release his son Anirutta from the prison of Vaanan in the city of Cho.

The asuraas unable to fight straight against Kotravai, decided to kill her by setting serpents, scorpions etc. on her. But she kills them all by trampling over them with marakkaal or wooden feet. The marakkaal dance represents this incident.

Paavai dance portrays the dance of Tirumahalh performed to make the acuraas who came to wage a war with her get bewitched with her charm and die.

Silappadhikaaram explains in clear terms, the arts of isai or music, kuuttu or dance and natakam or dance depicting a story that was in vogue in that age. The nature, techniques and presentation of these arts dealt with in the epic indicate their richness in 2nd century A.D. It is not an over-statement to term the epic as a repository of the triple stage arts.

Age of the Pallavaas

Natakam or drama which was in the form of depicting a story through dance and songs till the post-Sangam period, developed into the form of regular acting and dialogue during the age of the pallavaas(3rd century to 9th century A.D.). The Pallavaa king Mahenthiravarma (7th century A.D.) himself wrote a play entitled "Mattavilaasappirahacanam". This is revealed in the inscriptions of his time inscribed in the cave temples at Pallaavaram and Tirucciraappalli [24]. The word 'Mattavilaasa' is found in the inscriptions. The word refers to Mahendravarma who had written the drama 'Mattavilaasam'. In an inscription inscribed in Sanskrit in Maamandur cave temple which came into existence during his time, the word Mattavilasapprahacanam is mentioned [25]. The word 'prahacanam' means a humorous comedy. The play Mattavilaasam is a humorous satire on the sects of Kaapaalikam and Paasupatam of the Saiva religion and also of Buddhism.

A kaapaalika by name Sattiyasoma goes to a toddy shop with his wife Devasomai, in the city of Kaanji and while both of them take toddy, the Kaapaalikan in his intoxicated state leaves his white coloured begging bowl at the toddy shop and comes away with his wife. On his way he remembers his begging bowl and goes back to the toddy shop only to find his vessel missing. Then he and his wife go along the city in search of the begging bowl and they happen to see Naagasenan, a Buddhist monk holding his begging bowl hidden under his ochre coloured garment and the Kaapaalika suspects that the Buddhist monk has stolen his bowl. He goes to him followed by his wife and asks him to return it. The Buddhist monk gets fascinated with the beauty of the Kaapaalikan's wife and admires her beauty within himself. Then he argues that the vessel that he is having is his own. The Kaapaalikan asks him to take out the bowl hidden under his garment and show it

to him. The Buddhist monk refuses to do so. The Kaapaalikan tries to snatch it from him. But the Buddhist monk kicks him with his foot, and the Kaapaalikan falls down. His wife getting enraged pounces on the monk to catch hold of his head. Since the head is completely shaven she is unable to seize his head and she also falls down. The monk seizes her hand to lift her. The Kaapaalikan cries aloud that the monk tries to seduce his wife and then attacks him. The monk shouts "Misery is transient" (according to the Buddhist teaching). The Kaapaalikan also shouts saying that the Buddhist monk is a scoundrel and that he has stolen. his begging bowl. Hearing the Kaapaalikan's shouts a Paacupatan comes to him He also gets attracted by the beauty of the Kaapaalikan's wife and desires to get her. Kaapaalikan reports to him that the Buddhist monk has stolen his begging bowl, but the monk denies it. The KaapaalikaN asks him to take out the begging bowl from its hidden place. The monk takes it out from his garment and shows it to KaapaalikaN, asking him to notice the black colour of the vessel which indicates that it belongs to him. Even then the Kaapaalikan argues that the white colour of his vessel has been changed into black by the monk. Thereupon the Buddhist monk asks them to go to the court of justice. The Kaapaalikan and others agree to his suggestion and walk towards the court of justice. On the way they meet a mad man and see that he is in possession of the Kaapaalikan's begging bowl. The Kaapaalikan tactfully takes the bowl from the mad man and cajoles him to go away. The Buddhist monk says "I am glad the plaintiff's succeeded in getting his bowl". Paasupatan also expresses his gladness over it.

The story reveals the pungency of satire on the conduct of the Kaapaalikar and the Paasupatar of the period and also of the Buddhist monks. Since king Mahenran was a jain by religion in the earlier part of his life, we may say that he had exposed the undesirable ways of the recluses of other religions in his day through this farce, Further, during the period of the king Raajasimmapallavan some short plays were written in Sanskrit and they were staged in the king's court[26].

Although specific evidences are not available for the performances of dance having had taken place in the Pallavaa period, the paintings depicting the dancing damsels in attractive poses on the pillars of the Sittannavaasal cave temple, indicate that the dance performances were popular in that period[27].

Since the arts of dance and drama were held in esteem, the art of music which forms part of the twin arts may be deemed to have been also popular. In an inscription in the cave temple at Pallaavaram the king Mahenthira refers to himself as 'Sangirna jaati'. In music there are five kinds of taalam or five modes of time in beating the cymbal, and 'sankirnam' is one of them. The historians hold that Mahenra invented sankirna taalam, its varieties and their measure [28]. It is also said that he was expert in playing on a special Viinhai called 'parivaatini' [29]. The king Raajasimman (685-705 A.D.) was also proficient in music as is evidenced from his

titles of distinction in music. They were Vaadya Vidyaataran (expert in playing instrumental music), Aatootya Tumburu (One who is highly proficient like the celestial musician Tumburu in playing on Aatootya Viinhai) and Vina Naaratan (expert in playing on Vinai like the celestial Naaratan[30]. The fact that Pallavaa kings themselves were proficient in the art of music speaks for its enrichment in their period. It is noteworthy that the Aalvaar and Naayanmaar composed their devotional hymns during the Pallavaa period and each hymn was sung in the appropriate tune of music.

The Pallavaa kings created the cave temples in different places in their territory. They were shaped into temples by artistically scooping out the big rocks. But they were not so spacious nor convenient to accommodate a stage for the performance of dance and drama, as the palatial temples constructed with stones by the later Chola kings were. Hence we may say that the performance of dance and drama should have taken place on a stage either in the Pallava king's court or in a public place.

Chola period

The age of the later Cholas is hailed to be a golden era in the history of Tamilakam. Thanks to the effective administration of the Chola kings the country was rich in resources to all intents and purposes for which agriculture was the primary source. The arts of music, dance and drama flourished along with other arts such as architecture, sculpture, painting etc. in this age.

Literary and inscriptional evidences show that the arts of music, dance and drama were widely popular in the period. The patronage extended by the kings and the interest evinced by them gave impetus to the growth and popularity of these arts.

There are instances in Jivakacintaamani which indicate the esteem in which these arts were held by the people of this age. Gantaruvadattai, the adopted daughter of the rich merchant Cidattan attained high proficiency in the art of yaal music. He decided to conduct a yaal contest with a view to choose a bridegroom who would be able to defeat her in the contest and marry her. He constructed a beautiful music hall and arranged for the competition. Several kings took part in it. Gandaruvadattai vanquished all of them. Finally Jivakan participated in the competition and defeated her and of course married her [31].

Anangamaalai, an accomplished dancing girl of bewitching beauty, whom Jivakan adorns skilfully with valuable ornaments and garlands performed her dance recitals in the royal court in the presence of the king Kattiyankaaran. Her performance was so captivating that the author of the epic praises it in glowing terms as follows : "Anangamaalai danced on the stage of the minds of the men who witnessed her performance"[32].

In a stage erected at a grove in Cantiraapuram, the capital city of Pallavateyam, Tecikappaavai, a charming courtesan performed her dance recitals. Jivakan who happened to reach that place had the opportunity of witnessing her exquisite dance recitals. As her eyes fell on Jivakan, she got so enamoured of his pleasing personality that she even missed her dancing steps [33].

Soon after Jivakan became king of Emaangata naadu, he arranged for staging in a dramatic form the life history of the celestial being Cutanjanan who saved him from the men of his enemy Kattiyankaaran, who arrested him, by carrying him away without anyone's knowledge with his supernatural power. Jivakan gave away a whole village to meet the cost of the actors who were required to enact it on the stage[34].

These incidents in Cintaamani speak for the high place that the arts of the stage viz., music, dance and drama had in the society of the Chola period.

Most of the temples in this period were built in stone. Smaller and bigger temples constructed by the Chola kings are still in existence in Tamilakam. A separate building intended for the performance of several kinds of dances, music and drama was attached to big temples and shrines. The building was in the form of mandapam with extensive space and decoration. For example in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram (12th century Chola structure) we can see a dance hall called the Niruttasabha. The dance or dramatic mandapams in the temples were intended for public performances. We may call them public stages or theatres. There are references in architectural literature to naatiyacaalaas, the halls used for theatrical performances and dances in the royal palaces[35]. The Chola king Raajendrateevaan made endowments in A.D. 1036 to enact in the Big Temple at Tanjavuur a drama called Raajaraajesvara natakam by an expert named Tiruvaalan Tirumutukunhan alias Vijayaraajendra Aacaryan. He and his descendants received from the temple 120 kalams of paddy annually. A royal grant of land was made to meet this expense. The play was ordered to be performed during the annual festival conducted in the month of Vaikaaci when a large number of people was expected to attend[36]. A similar endowment was made by another Chola king Raajaadhiraajaa (A.D. 1048) in favour of Araiyan Tiruvidai Marutudaiyan and his troupe of actors for his dramatic performances in the temple of Mahaalinga Swamy at Tiruvidaimarutuur[37]. We come to know many other similar instances from the inscriptions of the Chola kings which throw light on the interest of the Chola kings for the development of the arts of music, dance and drama. These theatrical performances though meant for entertainment were considered to be part of the temple religious celebrations.

The foregoing details clearly indicate that from the age of Tolkappiyam (3rd century B.C.) down to the end of Chola period the triple stage arts of music,

dance and drama had been steadily in their ascendency. Thanks to the liberal roya patronage throughout the period of nearly a thousand years, these theatrical arts developed in all their splendour, contributing in no small measure to the culture of Tamil society. They were instrumental for infusing religious spirit and piety also in the minds of the people and on this account we may hail them as the divine arts.

NOTES

1 Tolkaappiyam – ahattinayiyal – Commentary of Ilampuranar verse 20.

2 Paripaadal, Parimeelalakar's commentary to the invocatory song.

3 Iraiyanaar Ahapporul, Edited by C. V. Daamodaram Pillai, II Edition p.5.

4 Dr. M. Iraajamaanikkanaar, Tamilakak kalaikal 1959 p. 105 .

5 Puranaanuuru, verse 135.

6 Ibid., verse 89.

7 Pattuppaattu, Perumpaanatruppadai, Malaipadukadaam and Porunaraattruppadai.

8 Tolkaappiyam, Purattinaiyiyal, verse 30.

9 Puranaanuuru, verse 138.

10 Ibid, verse 164.

11 Porunaaratruppadai lines 71-129.

12 Silappadikaaram, Arangetrukaatai lines 97-113.

13 Ibid, lines 39-40.

14 Ibid, N. M. Venkadacaami naattaar's commentary, 1966, p. 53.

15 Silappatikaaram, Kadalaadukaatai lines 65-69.

16 Ibid., Arangkeetrukaatai, Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar edn., 1968 – Adiyaarkkunallar commentary p. 79.

17 Ibid., p. 82.

18 Ibid., p. 83.

19 W. H. Hudson, An Introduction to the study of Literature, 1967, p. 200.

20 Silappadikaaram, Arankeetrukaatai line 18.

21 Ibid., lines 20-24.

22 Ibid., lines 129-163. (Twelve panhavidai make one kaLanju, one panhavidai is the ninth of a pagoda.)

23 Ibid, Arangketrukaatai, Adiyaarkkunallaar commentary on lines 95-96

24 Mayilai Sini. Venkadacaami, MahendravarmaN, 1978, p. 131.

25 Ibid.

26 M. Raajamaanikkam , History of the Pallavaas, 1977, p. 168.

27 Ibid., pp. 285-287.

28 Ibid., p. 281.

29 Ibid. p. 282.

30 Ibid., p. 282.

31 Jivakacintaamani, songs 597, 651.

32 Ibid., song 683.

33 Ibid., songs 1253-1258.

34 Ibid., song 2573.

35 Anita Ratnam Rangaraj, Natya Brahman, 1979, p. 57.

36 SII Vol. II., pp. 306-307.

37 N. 264 of 1907.

OPERAS OR MUSICAL PLAYS IN TAMIL

DR. A. N. PERUMAL

Musical plays are dramatic compositions in which the words are sung when the action is going on on the stage. They are knitted continuously with certain structural sections which are easily discernible. But they are entirely submerged in an organisation that spreads over all the acts. The play is composed in a symphonic manner with due interesting features, Its musical structure forms the main source of appeal and gives an individuality of its own. The musical plays are wholly sung to an instrumental accompaniment.

The musical plays in Tamil have closer similarity with the operas of the West. The word *Opera* comes from the Italian phrase *Opera in musica* (work in music). Opera is the term most widely used for a drama set to music. This type of music, its uses and its seriousness of purpose distinguish the opera from other forms of musical theatre. The ancient Tamils were merrily conducting on festive occasions musical plays which could be compared with operas. The earliest musical plays might have been made up of recitations accompanied by a small ensemble of instruments. Probably the melodies were very close to the rhythms and accents of the text-words. The aim might have been dramatic expression rather than musical effect.

Many kinds of *Adal* or *Kuttu* had been conducted during the Sangham period. *Kuravaikkuttu* may be considered as one very important among them. We come across a lot of references regarding this *kuttu* in Sangam literature which leads to the suggestion of its importance and prominence among the ancient Tamils. In such performances there was the sweet combination of songs, instrumental music and dance. A careful analysis of the sources regarding *kuravai kuttu* would indicate the probability of songs being sung continuously to develop a particular theme or incident. If so, it would serve as a sure means for the future growth of dance-drama or musical plays. Tolkappiyar refers to *Vallikkuttu*[2] which may be considered as the fore-runner of musical plays.

Sangam literature sets apart notable references to various *kuttus* which might have been dramatic performances accompanied by songs. Sometimes these songs would develop an impressive incident. If so the performance would become a dance-drama. Moreover there are sure indications to suggest that such pieces of entertainments were highly valued by the people and the rulers. The ancient

Tamils glorified the arts of dance and drama and so the poets naturally specify them in many places in their poems.

Adiyarkkunallar in his commentary on Silappadhikaram gives ample material to clarify certain obscure points regarding dance and drama. It is clear that musical plays were enacted by the ancient Tamils in various forms at different situations.

Stereotyped musical plays

After the decline of the later Chola empire the territories were fragmented and there was no central royal rule. The dramatic troupes lost their prestige for want of patronage. Even then the poets wrote short plays having local importance. They praised their deities and chieftains in stereotyped dramatic forms. There were four types of musical plays namely Kuravanji, Pallu, Nondi and Kuluvam. People enjoyed them when they were enacted along with songs sung in different tunes.

Kuravanci

Kuravanji was very popular in Tamil Nadu from the 17th to 19th centuries. In this form of street-shows a procession of the hero opens the dramatic action. The heroine seeing him fell in love with him and pined after him. Her maid tried to console her.

The Kurathi made her appearance, and read her hand and told her that the hero would return her love. On hearing her sweet words, the heroine was happy and gave liberal gifts to the fortune-teller. The second part of the Kurvanji introduced the Kuravan to the audience. He came in search of his wife who went away telling the fortunes of people. Soon they met happily and resumed their life. In a smooth running plot the life and role of various types of people are mixed.

Social, philosophical and religious thoughts are evenly combined in the scenes to the satisfaction of the audience. Nothing is uncommon and so everything seems to be natural and real as the play progressed on the stage.

Kuravanji is not a form designed for the stage all on a sudden. From the Sangam period onwards the kurathi had her share in literature.[3] As known from Pannirupattiyal we see that the kurathi women conveyed their message through songs.[4] Kuram and kurathippattu are also related with kuravanci. They all love the common elements of fortune-telling, describing the hills, praising the hero and so on. Later the poets developed the role of kuratih into a literary form full of songs to please the people and called it *kuravanci*. It is a late form of musical play.

Pallu

Pallu is a kind of dance-drama in which the main role of action centred round a *pallan* whose business is farm labour. During the 17th and 18th centuries

pallu was a form of popular entertainment. Even from the time of Tolkappiyar songs related to tillers were in vogue.[5] Silappadhikaram also mentions such songs in recognition of its popularity among the people.[6] Koyiloluhu in the temple of Tiruvarangam also speaks about *palluppattu* and *paraippattu*. *Ulattippattu* referred to in *Pannirupattiyal* would have had its relation with *Pallu*.[7] These songs connected with the farmers might have developed into the form of *pallu* written for enactment.

There are beautiful songs in *pallu* written for dramatic purposes. Many kinds of metres like *kirttanai, sindu, viruttam, kalippa* etc. are used in it. All of them are sung as the action proceeds. Generally in *pallu*, the social and family life of the tillers found vivid expression. The relationship between the land-owners and the farm workers is also dealt with. The songs are written in simple style with melodious music to suit lively action.

The poetic beauty and the literary value of some of the Pallu poems are indeed rich. They carry excellent descriptions of nature. Social and religious ideas find place in the songs, pun upon words and similar tricks make the songs interesting to the audience.

The innocence of the peasants is well brought out in an interesting social setting. The farm-workers have had a separate world of their own . The trifling conflicts in their lives have been portrayed by the authors developing problematic situations. Out of those powerful emotions situations are made to evolve but without any bitter consequences,.

Nondi Natakam

Nondi Natakam was a special form of dramatic performance in which a lame man related his own evil actions through songs and appropriate actions. With suitable settings and songs the action progressed impressively. Such performances were popular during the 18th century. Comic items were added resulting in loud peals of laughter from the audience. The people would assemble in the hall with a great expectation of fun and frolic. They were never disappointed.

Ordinarily Nondi Natakam abounded in colloquial usages since the authors wanted their work to be native and natural. The audience were in fact strangers to high literary etiquette. Perhaps the authors desired to make literature easier and enjoyable to all. Without much effort the common man could catch the ideas conveyed in the Nondi Natakam besides fully enjoying them. As a musical play or mono-acting Nondi Natakam occupied an important place in the society.

Kuluva Natakam

The Eighteenth Century and the earlier decades of the nineteenth century had produced *Kuluva Natakam*. Mostly the chieftains who ruled small bits of lands in the Ramanathapuram district, had patronised such kinds of street-plays.

Kuluvam praises a hero who has not got any direct action in the real show. The poet and the dramatic personages make ample references to him and make much of his achievements. In fact Kuluvan, Cinkan and Cinki are the three characters who directly participate in the action of the play. Hunting the birds and sharing them are the main actions shown on the stage. All these are presented wonderfully through songs and suitable action.

Kuluva Natakam is full of songs and viruttam. The songs are spun in a style which can be understood and followed by any one. The materials are well known and the music in the song is attractive. So they could impress the common man. Since the language used is in the spoken style it appears to be natural and real to the people. By using certain folk-techniques the author has tried to give a powerful effect in what he presents. Literary flavour and embellishments are less because of the simplicity of style. But on the other hand the effect upon the audience is quite satisfying. Thus Kuluvam has got its own little share in enriching Tamil language and literature as a dramatic form with well marked individual qualities.

Natakak-kirttanai

During the later half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries musical recital popularly called Katakalakshepam was an enlightening item of entertainment in Tamil Nadu. Generally puranic and epic stories were recited in this manner. The materials were presented in songs and viruttam which would be sung by a single man who was respected with due consideration and called '*bhagavathar*.' Since the stories were dramatically presented mostly in kirttanai (musical composition), it was named *natakak-kirttanai*. It furnished an instance of a particular form of composition and mode of presentation wherein the libretto was by one man and the music by another. Occasionally a single person would do both of them.*

Ramanatakak-kirttanai by Arunacalak-kavirayar recited first in 1771 is the earliest of the type. It was followed by many. But thereafter Nandanar Carittirak-kirttanai written by Gopalakrishna Bharati even excelled it. The original story of Nandanar had been developed from *Periya Puranam* and now it appears to be a pure creation of the author's imagination. Its outstanding merit is the choice of ragas. They are in perfect consonance with the sentiments expressed by the songs. The author was himself a great musician and his songs naturally are supremely melodious, They could be sung with ease. He had rendered signal service to Tamil music by immortalising many of the folk tunes. His recitals charged with devotion were enjoyed with great admiration by musical lovers.

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* This is not quite correct. The writer himself was generally a musician and he set the tunes for the songs.—Ed.

Many Natakak-kirttanais were written and recited in the later days with popular appreciation. With the accompaniment of instrumental music they were recited with great effect and enjoyment. A few of them were slightly changed in their forms and were enacted before the stage with the help of many actors. The most important thing to be noted is that in all the changes undergone by the natakak-kirttanai due to the passage of time, the presentation technique through songs had not been changed. Natakak-kirttanai can be compared with the European opera to a considerable extent. There are many things in common between them like the recitatives, arias, duets etc. In Natakak-kirttanai most of the advantage has been availed of by the performer whereas in the Western operas the orchestral music provides a powerful commentary upon the action. In Tamil orchestral music is fast coming into existence and now Tamil musical plays could be performed more attractively to the accompaniment of regular Tamil instrumental music. As a consequence it would open the way for fresh possibilities in this direction. Tamil musical plays have to be enriched by the introduction of overtures and leitmotifs.

Certain Kalakshetras are trying for instrumental introduction to operatic compositions. They appear to be excellent performances and seem best examples of absolute music in dramatic art-form. The Kalakshetra artists have wonderfully associated musical themes with dramatic ideas and persons.

From the 18th Century onwards *Terukkuttu* forms an important pastime of the Tamils. Even to-day in many of the villages *terukkuttu* is conducted during festivals. It is a dramatic performance full of song. Since prose dialogue occupies an occassional place within the musical form of dramatic presentation, *terukkuttu* could not be considered as a perfect form of opera. Even then it has got much in common with that of an operatic composition.

The term *Isai Natakam* may be considered as the equivalent of the opera or musical play. The germ or nucleus of the Tamil operatic compositions has to be traced from *Vallkkuttu* mentioned by Tolkappiyar. The earlier operas of the Tamils were not written but orally transmitted and had undergone various changes in their form and presentation techniques.

Besides the musical plays of Tamil have their own historical and literary values. These plays represent the earliest memories and the localised wisdom of the Tamils. The consciousness of the people in their religious and moral attitudes can well be seen through these musical plays. They also discuss philosophic thoughts and moral codes in very simple terms so that the common man can understand them and would try to live that life. They carry with them ethical thoughts and also emphasize abstract qualities of virtue. Both the happiness and the sorrow of man are depicted in those pieces with the high aim of upliftment. They also portrayed in bold types eminent and bold heroes and dignified heroines as real

embodiments of virtue. Villains are also found in their places in these plays. Since music is an indivisible element in the opera and serves as a powerful commentary on the action, the writers of such presentations can be seen to be well versed in the art of music. Moreover the people have enjoyed the art to their great satisfaction. The untiring efforts of the present day artists can give a good turn in the field of musical plays in evolving better a creation.

POOT-NOTES

1. The New Book of Knowledge, Vol. 14, p. 130.
2. Tolkappiyam, Puram 5, Line 5.
3. Kuruntokai, 298. Venkataic cirukol akavan makalir; Akananuru 152, and 208, 'Nunkol akavunar'.
4. Pannirupattiyal 217, Tonnul Vilakkam 283.
5. Tolkappiyam, Ceyyul, 133. 'Ceri moliyar cevvitir kilantu'.
6. Silappadhikaram, Viruntirpani, Natukalkatai, 131; 'Ermankalam', Ibid 135; 'Mukavaipattu, Ibid, 137.
7. Pannirupattiyal, ulattippattu, 216.

SOCIAL PLAYS AND MODERN TRENDS

POORNAM VISWANATHAN

Introduction

Students of the history of Tamil theatre must naturally be surprised to find that social plays were late in coming to the Tamil stage. The professional troupes which were holding complete sway over the Tamil stage in the good old days revelled in puranic and historical themes, perhaps because they thought that those themes had rich social content by implication. Though they had also been staging social plays from the early part of this century these plays were few. It is only in the 1930s that professional troupes started presenting social plays regularly and in a big way.

But public enthusiasm for theatre has been there in Tamil nadu from time immemorial. Theatre being a real medium of direct contact with the people, whatever is produced in theatre has a ready impact. Days were when professional troupes would enter into a contract with a local man and camp in a small town for months on end, attracting large crowds from all over the neighbourhood, including the rural areas. There would be daily shows of the same play for a week or a fortnight or even a month at a stretch and it was only after the attendance came down steeply that the next play would be taken up. The themes were puranic and historical. The plays had music as their most attractive feature and every artiste of those days was a competent singer. Looking back, one is unable to believe that a play used to last more than four hours, with twenty to thirty songs in it. It is interesting to note that even now in the southern districts, professional troupes based in the district headquarters fan out to semi-urban and rural areas and perform regularly for an unbelievably low price. For them, continuance of these activities is a must for their very existence. These troupes also produce mostly puranic and historical plays with a strong music-bias. We must all be grateful to the fine artistes in these troupes for the way they keep the traditional theatre going.

The advent of a great savant, Tiru Sankaradas Swami marked the beginning of a golden era which is still being kept alive by traditional troupes. A dedicated teacher, the Swami trained up in his life-time innumerable young boys in dramatic art. It is Sankaradas Swami who started the famous tradition of Boys, Companies, where boys at a very young and impressionable age got trained up to do a variety of roles with admirable poise and finesse. Swami worked with a lot of zeal for more than 30 years to lift up the standard of the theatre to great heights of discipline and performance. He was a prolific and effective playwright apart from being an ideal

teacher. He would himself write the lyrics for his plays. Many of his plays are still being staged by the traditional troupes in Tamil nadu. All his plays are rich in their content and message, which elevate the performers and the viewers alike. The social message implied in the plays was quite easy to grasp and assimilate. Most of his plays were also puranic and folk-based. After the Swami's death in 1922, the Tamil theatre held his torch aloft and operated with renewed vigour.

The Indian freedom struggle had its impact on the stage too ; a number of competent and popular artistes used the stage to project patriotic themes in spite of the risk of police repression and obstruction. These brave artistes courted arrest a number of times, but the audiences were always with the artistes emotionally. We can go on reeling the names of the great artistes—men and women—who spread patriotic fervour through their lively plays and songs. Viswanatha Das, in spite of poverty and police threat refused to give up patriotic plays and songs till his last breath. He died on the stage while performing, causing considerable grief to the theatre goers. That fateful night, in the presence of a full house and with the police holding the theatre under a virtual siege, ready to arrest him the moment he would sing the objectionable songs, Viswanatha Das went on with the play and suddenly collapsed and died.

It must be noted that all the political plays had their social overtones.

Sankaradas Swami had innumerable disciples ; the brightest among them was Avvai T. K. Shanmugam, who, a few years after Swami's death, started the T.K.S. Brothers' dramatic troupe and popularised his plays. There were several other professional troupes producing the Swami's plays. There were great stage personalities like S.G. Kittappa, Ananthanarayana Iyer, Kalyanarama Iyer, Ramudu Iyer, Parameswara Iyer, Vairam Arunachalam Chettiar, K.B. Sundarambal, Kanniah, Manamohana Arangasami Naidu, Balamani, Balambal, Rajambal, Nawab Rajamanickam Pillai, Vasudevan Nair, M. Kandaswami Mudaliar, N. S. Krishnan, Velu Nair etc.

Social Plays

The 1930s saw the advent of amateur theatricals ; Pammal Sambanda Mudaliar, F.G. Natesa Iyer, V.C. Gopalaratnam and others started amateur troupes and produced a number of plays, many of which were social plays. Sambanda Mudaliar himself wrote several plays. He adapted Shakespeare, Moliere and others to suit the requirements of the Tamil theatre. He wrote social plays too. Eminent men like Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar and Mr. Satyamurthi had donned roles in his plays in their younger days. All his plays were staged by various amateur and professional troupes. In fact, in the 1930s and the 1940s, the social plays going on stage grew in number. The TKS troupe itself produced several social hits like *Clerk's Daughter*, *Manithan*, *Andaman Kaidi*, *Inspector*, *Kalvanin Kaadali* of Kalki

etc. N.S. Krishnan's NSK Nataka Sabha also produced several social plays which had a tremendous appeal with theatre-lovers. The late C.N. Annadurai and M. Karunanidhi came on the scene as dynamic playwrights. They wrote a number of social plays with a rational base and a strong message. The word-power in their plays was superb. Their content and dialogues used to be received by theatre-goers with great enthusiasm. It is significant to mention here that Sivaji Ganesan, one of the greatest of Tamil artistes of the stage and the screen, got that prefix 'Sivaji' by donning the role of the Maratha Warrior in one of the popular plays written by Annadurai.

In the early 1950s were born S.V. Sahasranamam's Seva Stage, M.G.R. Nataka Manram and R.S. Manohar's National Theatre. While Manohar has been producing only historical and puranic plays throughout, Seva Stage and M.G.R. Nataka Manram with a high level of troupe-talent, made a significant contribution to the promotion of social plays. Several prominent writers like B.S. Ramiah T. Janakiraman, G. Alagiriswamy and Komal Swaminathan wrote plays for Seva Stage. All the plays had powerful story value and dramatic content. Sahasranamam, like T.K. Shanmugam, is a name which is treated with a lot of respect by standard writers. Seva Stage lasted a little over two bright decades. Both the Seva Stage and the TKS troupe were wound up only after reaching full glory and popularity. M.G.R. Nataka Manram also lasted more than a decade with tremendous popularity. Happily, Monohar's National Theatre is still going strong with a fine record of 25 years of service to the Tamil stage.

Amateur Troupes

The amateur theatrical movement started by Sambanda Mudaliar and others found its feet in the real sense only in the 1950s. As the amateur troupes have been producing only social plays, it will be useful to narrate here the way these troupes operate, their approach, their ideals and their achievements.

In the post-war years, particularly between 1955 and 1975 a very powerful theatre-going public was built-up in urban Tamil nadu mainly through the efforts of the amateurs. The rise of the amateur troupes in Madras was so meteoric that there was a simultaneous decline for the professional theatre. Apart from the TKS troupe and Seva Stage, several other professional drama companies had to wind up because of the growing popularity of the amateur theatricals. Manohar is perhaps the only artiste who is keeping his professional company really viable and prosperous too. Manohar has been a big draw for 25 years continuously. The few others still operating in Madras and the districts are struggling hard to strike even.

The amateur troupes in Madras and elsewhere in Tamil Nadu (with one or two exceptions here and there) are amateur only in name. Perhaps all the male artistes in these troupes are enthused by the thrill of producing plays on the stage.

But the women, the make-up artistes, the musicians and the light and sound experts are all drawn from the professional side. The sets and props are taken on hire from professional companies. The expression "professional artistes" means artistes who work full time for a payment. The performing men-artistes in amateur troupes may, if at all, accept a nominal amount for conveyance. In the matter of talent, a standard amateur troupe is as good as a well-established professional company. But, as the amateur troupe does not have to pay its men-artistes, the cost of production of amateur plays is always much lower than that of professional plays. This fact must explain why there has been a simultaneous rise of amateur theatricals and decline of professional companies.

Well, both the amateur and the professional look to a sponsor for patronage. And here in urban Tamil nadu, a Sabha, not a contractor, happens to be the sponsor. Sabhas are sponsoring bodies founded in cities and big towns with a solid membership and with the laudable object of promoting standard dance, drama and music. In the early days, these Sabhas were very few in number and even these were concentrating only on music and dance. In the 1950's a peculiar situation developed when these Sabhas found that the attendance in music and dance programmes was getting thinner. Stage plays were found to attract large crowds. It was therefore purely for economic reasons that the Sabhas started sponsoring plays.

The Sabha-economy must be dealt with as a very relevant point here. These Sabhas are sustained by the subscription paid by their members. Ordinarily, the members would expect their Sabha to give them at least a couple of stage-plays in a month, apart from a music concert or dance programme, if at all. For the Sabhas this is purely a commercial proposition. They cannot afford to go in for high priced programmes with the funds at their disposal. And when the members are particular about plays, the Sabhas have naturally to look for low-priced shows. This is how the amateur troupes gained an upper hand. Once plays became popular, more and more amateur troupes came into the picture. Amateur theatricals are not run on commercial lines. The amateur troupes are well satisfied if they strike even. As all the male artistes, stage managers etc. are working in various other avocations in life, they do not depend on the stage for their livelihood. The leader of an amateur troupe is not a proprietor ; he is there only to direct and coordinate. He does not aim at or work for any personal profit. The troupe is run jointly by all the members. As the men in the show-namely, the artistes, stage managers and assistants–do not work for any payment, as they produce only social plays with low cost setting and props and as the artistes bring their own dress for the show, the cost of production is naturally low. This suits the Sabhas. As for the professional troupe, the proprietor or the producer has to organise his shows on a commercial basis, because he has to pay a fee to every one taking part in them. His cost of production is therefore much higher than that of an amateur troupe. For example, a Sabha can sponsor

two or even three amateur shows with the money it spends on one Manohar show. Any professional troupe, which can produce a social play for a price as low as an amateur troupe does, will certainly get the patronage of the Sabhas.

But, whether it is an amateur troupe or a professional troupe, it depends solely on Sabha patronage because this arrangement is less cumbersome. Apart from a consolidated payment, the Sabha offers the troupe a theatre and a ready-made audience. Amateur or professional, the troupes always want to perform to large audiences and therefore find this an ideal arrangement. This is more so in the case of amateur artistes, because pre-occupation with their main avocation in life would not let them collect an audience by selling tickets from door to door as is done in the case of plays in other languages.

Taking a cue from the Madras Sabhas, several sponsoring bodies came up in a number of cities and big towns in Tamil Nadu. Sabhas in Bangalore, Bombay, Trivandrum, Calcutta, Cochin and other cities outside Tamil Nadu are also sponsoring Tamil plays as a routine. Troupes from Madras make regular visits to these cities and big towns where they find tremendous public enthusiasm for stage plays. There are more than one hundred sponsoring bodies (big and small) in Madras city alone. In the districts we have nearly fifty Sabhas and in Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta, Trivandrum and other cities nearly thirty. It is to the members of these Sabhas that some eighty to one hundred performing troupes in Madras and elsewhere have to present their plays, social or otherwise.

These elaborate details have been given in this paper with the sole purpose of showing how a conducive atmosphere for the promotion of Tamil social plays has been there for a number of years now. This account also indicates how the performing troupes are almost altogether dependent on the sponsoring Sabhas for the presentation of any social theme through the medium of stage. This dependence is a firm fact and it must be accepted as such. For those troupes which want to produce plays without the patronage of the Sabhas, it is very difficult to reach a sizable audience.

Art Appreciation

What is the level of art appreciation of these Sabha audiences ? It cannot be called poor, but it certainly is quite inadequate. The office-bearers of the Sabhas claim to know the pulse of their members in the same way as a film producer claims to know the pulse of the cine-goer. For the office-bearers of the Sabhas, any play which fetches a good gate is a good play ; whether the play is intrinsically good or bad is not their concern. One is tempted to ignore their attitude and claim. But it is not that easy. Nearly fifty social plays go on stage every year in Madras. The average theatre-goer of the present day would like the subject of the play to be heavily sugar-coated, whether the theme itself is heavy or otherwise! I would put the blame

on the play-wrights and producers and the Sabhas alike. The trend, as it obtains now, has not been the consistent trend all through the past 25 years. A number of social subjects have been dealt with on stage quite successfully by purposeful play-wrights and producers. TKS Brothers troupe, K. Balachander's Ragini Recreations, Sahasranamam's Seva Stage, V.S. Raghavan's Indian National Artistes, Cho's Viveka Fine Arts, Sivaji Ganesan's Sivaji Nataka Manram, Major Sundararajan's Ennessen Theater, Komal Swaminathan's Stage Friends, T.S. Seshadri's Shanti Niketan, Mouli's troupe, Visu's Viswashanti and some other troupes have presented innumerable social themes quite powerfully and successfully and without much sugar-coating. Any number of social problems have been presented on the Tamil stage with well pointed structure, and audiences have received them very well. The humour in these plays was never contrived ; it was incidental.

TKS troupe's *Manithan*, *Andaman Kaithi* and other social plays; Annadurai's *Velaikkari*, *Ore Iravu* etc ; Seva Stage's *Policekaran Magal*, *Naalu Veli Nilam*, *Vadivelu Vathiyar*, *Puthiya Pathai*, *Minnal Kolam*, etc.; M.G.R. Nataka Manram's *Inbakkanavu* and *Advocate Amaran* etc; Sivaji Nataka Manram's *Vietnam Veedu*; *Thanga Padakkam* etc.; NSK Nataka Sabha's *Paithiakkaran* and *Mullil Roja*; Sakthi Nataka Sabha's social plays; K. Balachander's *Server Sundaram*, *Edir Nichal*; *Mezhuguvathi Major Chandrakanth*, *Neer Kumizhi* etc.; INA's *Chaturangam*, *Dharma Yuddham* etc.; Cho's *Sambhavami Yuge Yuge*, *Is God Dead*? *Why Not* ? *Yarukkum Vekkamillai*, *Chattam Thalai Kuniyattum* and the latest *Judgment Reserved* ; Komal Swaminathan's *Nawab Narkali*, *Jesus Varuvar*, *Yuddha Kandam*, *Swarga Bhoomi*, *Chekku Madugal* and the latest *Thanneer*! *Thanneer* ! ; Mouli's *Oru Pullaankuzhal Aduppu Oothukirathu*, *Thani Manithanukku Unavillai*, *Nanri*, *Mindum Varuga* etc.; Shantiniketan's *Gopuram*, *Raagam Thaanam*, *Pallavi*; Sujata's *Oru Kolai-Oru Prayaanam*, *Kadavul Vandirundaar* and *Adimaigal* ; Ennessen Theatre's *Oonjal*, *Kal Thoon*, *Santhathi*, *Julius Sekhar* etc.; Visu's *Dowri Kalyana Vaibohame*, *Bharatha Matharukku Jai*, *Uravukku Kai Koduppom*, *Kudumbam Oru Kadambam* ; Marina's *Thani Kudithanam*, *Oor Vambu* and *Kaal Kattu*—All these plays, each with a powerful social content, have been popular hits on the stage. Theatre-goers have loved these plays not for their humour, but for the social problems, they dealt with. Widow-remarriage, dowry-evil, child marriage, working girls' problems, communal amity, unity in family, generation gap, women's rights, rape, corruption, dominance of power, naxalite problem, reforming the child, evil of bigamy, drink-evil, rich-poor disparity, educated unemployed and inter-caste marriage—these are only a few examples of the subjects of Tamil plays in recent times. I would not therefore agree with the view that Tamil theatre audiences have always been for heavy sugar-coating.

Of the plays quoted above, quite a few are fine comedies with humour well built-in. The success of these plays prompted some writers to fabricate (I am using

the term deliberately) a number of dialogue-plays with a lop-sided accent on a juvenile brand of humour. Even the minute thread of a social problem dealt with in these plays gets diluted by flabby, irrelevant and contrived humour. A section of theatre-goers which did not want to see real life themes on the stage started raving about this escapist entertainment. The gate-money these plays fetched enthused the Sabhas to patronise such plays as a routine. The fad for these plays once reached such a pitch that a sizable section of theatregoers used to feel bored with heavy social themes presented well on the stage ! An unhealthy racket developed on the sponsoring side and a number of mushroom Sabhas sprang up overnight. The boom provided a sort of hunting ground for easy going entertainers who cast their nets wider by forming new performing troupes. 'Hilarious comedies', as they were called, were the order of the day. Thus, we had quite a few writers, sabhas and performers in the field with no firm commitment either to society or to this enchanting art-form. That the theatre-goers succumbed to and encouraged such a development was painful in the extreme. In a way this development sabotaged the well meaning efforts of at least some playwrights and producers to mould the standard of art-appreciation among theatre-goers.

But thank God, these playwrights and producers have been persevering with their standard plays. And theatre goers also, having got tired of the so-called hilarious comedies, would like to see something worthwhile on the stage. They are sure to shake off their temporary aberration soon. Most of the mushroom sabhas and troupes have been wound up. The trend is encouraging. The day is not far off when Tamil theatre-goers will patronise only purposeful social plays. We have turned a full circle and the time is now opportune for playwrights and producers to put in a fresh effort to mould art appreciation.

The kill-joy critics in ivory towers who have been deliriously blabbering off and on that nothing worthwhile is happening on Tamil stage are not worthy even of our casual attention, because they deliberately shut their eyes to what is being done here. They revel in making sweeping remarks that there is no theatre-movement in Tamil nadu. They refuse to recognise that with the rich writing competence, the performing talent and the sizable theatre-going public at our disposal, we can take big strides in promoting a purposeful theatre. We shall ignore these prejudiced pandits. We shall also ignore those who still persist in producing 'quickies' without a social purpose.

Playwrights

For the growing demand and support from theatre-lovers, there must be more and more good plays going on stage. But, with only a few playwrights of real standard operating in the field, and with their commitments in other spheres like films and magazines mounting day by day, they are not able to cope fully with the demands

of the stage. With all their other preoccupations, brilliant playwrights like Cho, Komal Swaminathan, Mouli, Sujata, Visu, K.K. Raman, Marina, Thuyavan, N. Muthuswamy and Indira Parthasarathy are certainly straining themselves a lot to write for the stage continuously. Even so, the dearth of plays persists. The need is for more playwrights of quality. Old giants must resume writing for the stage. And new writers must have a lot to say through the medium of the stage. Fortunately the sabhas are aware of the fact that whatever be their own make-shift postures off and on, they can be sure of the quality of the social plays only when they are produced by standard troupes and written by established playwrights. These playwrights and troupes have been consistently rendering valuable service to the Tamil stage by presenting topical social themes through their plays. Having built up a solid clientele for themselves, they can go ahead with greater confidence and present bolder themes for the benefit of society.

There are several social themes which have universal appeal in our country, irrespective of regional and language barriers. It will be good if a give-and-take project is launched and Tamil adaptations of standard social plays in other languages are produced here and vice versa. Without sounding impolite, I want to make a passing reference here to my own Tamil adaptation of the Hindi play *Under Secretary*; this Tamil version has been staged all over India, and in some cities abroad too, more than a thousand times so far. This has been possible because of the universally applicable theme of the play. Some of Indira Parthasarathy's plays have been rendered in Hindi and Urdu, again because of the themes which are common to all-India. The National Book Trust has its *Aadaan-Pradaan* project under which plays in other languages have been rendered in Tamil. I have myself translated Mohan Rakesh's Hindi play *Aadhe Adhure* into Tamil. By staging the Tamil versions of social plays of other languages, we can enrich Tamil theatre to a great extent.

Pareeksha is a Tamil troupe which operates without the patronage of the Sabhas. This troupe has produced Badal Sarkar's play *Evam Indrajeet* in Tamil. Madras Players have done in English the plays of Tendulkar, Badal Sarkar, Mohan Rakesh and Girish Karnad. A regular such flow into Tamil is quite possible.

Urban-Oriented

Having said all this, I have to point out with regret that almost all the plays staged in Madras and elsewhere by amateur troupes are urban-oriented. They do not reach the rural folk at all. It is the professional troupes which still go to semi urban and rural areas with their plays ; though these plays are puranic, historical and folk-based, they do serve their social purpose all right. I doubt whether all our amateur plays will be fully accepted and appreciated by the rural folk with all their nuances. This underlines the need for our playwrights and producers to have the rural audiences also in mind when they do social plays in Tamil.

Amateur plays are mostly urban-oriented for the simple reason that amateur troupes do not have to go to rural areas with their plays. While the professional troupes have their own way of finding facilities in rural areas because of frequent visits and contacts, the amateurs would not think of taking their social plays to villages or small towns where such facilities as a well designed theatre (open air or closed), transport, lodging etc. are not quite satisfactory. Though the amateur troupes, by their very nature, cannot make frequent visits to rural areas as the professional troupes do, they can at least make periodical visits, provided the basic facilities for staging their social plays are created in those areas. It is here that Government assistance can play a vital role . At least one improvised theatre must be put up at the headquarters of every Panchayat Union. Transport and other facilities to take artistes and technicians and sets and props from one place to another should be offered by the Government to professional as well as amateur troupes. Any theatrical troupe must be eligible for the special patronage of the Government. As it is, the Government engages performing troupes to spread the messages of family planning, small savings, communal harmony etc. in rural areas. This arrangement must be extended to all troupes capable of presenting good social plays on any subject to the rural audiences. Playwrights must be encouraged to present social themes bluntly and in their true perspective to rural as well as urban people.

I have not said anything about experimental plays, because experimental plays, by their very nature, are meant only for the elite. They are not suitable to project social themes to large sections of the people. But I appreciate the enthusiasm with which a group of young men in Madras have started street theatre in all seriousness. They take their social plays straight to the man in the street. It is a very novel and bold attempt (which has taken the cue from Badal Sarkar's efforts in West Bengal) though it has built-in risks and set-backs. But these young men have so far met with considerable success. Their plays are being received very well by the people who collect in large numbers to see them. Such bold efforts must also get adequate attention and assistance from the Government.

The Tamil theatre has a great future in projecting social themes, provided the right approach and the right ideal are maintained by the playwrights and the performers with a deep sense of involvement and dedication.

TERUKKUTTU: THE TRADITIONAL THEATER OF TAMIL NADU

RICHARD A. FRASCA

Introduction

There is still prevalent in the Tamil speaking area of South India a rich and important traditional dramatic form which in Tamil is called Terukkuttu.[1] It is similar in a great many ways to the traditional theaters of other parts of South India such as *Yaksagana* of Karnataka but also has many interesting characteristics which are uniquely its own. What is most curious concerning this theater is that up to this time, it has been almost totally ignored by both modern scholars and connoisseurs alike. Even though very recently a small minority of some perceptive yet economically weak writers and painters have tried to draw attention to this form, those who control the resources which nourish the dramatic arts in Madras City and throughout Tamilnadu concentrate their efforts on classical dance such as Bharata Natyam and the modern theater and cinema. This is a reality which this article, before presenting its academic contents, wants to bring out very clearly. Until the connoisseurs of the art of Nataka[2] in Madras realize this, the Terukkuttu will continue to languish as an unpublicized, economically struggling art form which is misunderstood and, in actuality, looked down upon by most of the Tamilnadu middle and upper classes. This casts the majority of connoisseurs of drama in Tamilnadu in a very poor light, first of all, because the Terukkuttu is, in reality; a fascinating and vital remnant of the ancient dramatic traditions of South India and secondly, because their counterparts in other parts of south India, especially, Karnataka with its *Yaksagana*, take great pride in patronizing and developing their traditional theater. The real need for this article becomes therefore obvious. It is hoped that this study, albeit only one chapter in a larger volume, will bring out the true value of the *Terukkuttu* as a vital drama form and will garner enough attention especially in Tamilnadu, that the support and patronage this traditional theater so richly deserves will be forthcoming.

Writing about a developed theater form like the *Terukkuttu* requires an article much longer than that presented here. While it is admittedly not a short piece, it is inadequate. For this reason certain limitations were imposed on this study. First of all, because this actually appears to be the first lengthy research paper ever dealing with the Terukkuttu, it focuses its attention only on two aspects of this form: its performing techniques and its socio-religious context. Secondly, the conclusions made are based primarily on comparative research but deal mostly with the

Terukkuttu styles prevalent in the North Arcot and Pondicherry areas of Tamilnadu. This latter fact points out a real problem in this area of research. There has been so little work done on this subject that we have very little idea of the areas of prevalence within Tamilnadu of this dramatic form and the stylistic differences between these areas. This paper deals chiefly with the styles of North Arcot and Pondicherry because they were the most readily available and the only ones that received any publicity at all. However, this should not cause one to conclude that other styles do not exist or that they have lesser artistic value. In fact, it is the contention of the author of this paper that, rather there being a dearth of truly artistic exponents of this art in Tamilnadu, there are actually a significant number of centers throughout the state where it is still carried on in a very interesting and developed manner and that these centers have notable stylistic differences. An interview which the author had recently with Thiru M. G. Ramachandran, the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu who has a depth of knowledge and experience concerning Tamil dramatic art, assured him that this was exactly the case not so many years ago. Future research in this area must look at all of these forms in detail in order to understand properly the mode and depth of the development of the Terukkuttu in Tamilnadu.

While not attempting to garner credit for himself, the author of this paper is happy to say that his most satisfying achievement during his stay in Tamilnadu has been to focus through numerous talks and lectures based on his research much-needed publicity on this form. Many Tamilians in Madras and other parts of the state are now more conscious of the artistic and cultural value of the Terukkuttu because of this. However, the fact that an American scholar has come to do research on this most ancient folk theater of Tamilnadu should not be the sole reason for a renewal of interest in it. The Government of India and the Government of Tamilnadu as well as interested private parties who have the means must do much more than they are presently doing in order for this interest to be lasting. One very strong recommendation which the researcher who developed this paper would like to make is that the Iyal Isai Nataka Manram whose office is in Madras City should have fieldworkers permanently stationed at least in the various regions of Tamilnadu but more preferably in each district headquarters. Just the presence of one permanent fieldworker in each of these areas would immeasurably improve the amount and quality of information we have concerning the prevalence and development of not only the Terukkuttu but also the numerous other performing arts which are part of the rich traditional culture of Tamilnadu. It would also provide a renewed inspiration to these artistes in that they would become convinced of the interest of the Iyal Isai Nataka Manram which they now look upon as a very remote difficult-to-contact government agency situated in a faroff urban setting that has very little real connection with the folk milieu.

Even though many of the observations and conclusions made in this study were developed on the basis of research comparing numerous styles of *Terukkuttu*,

it has been necessary at times for the sake of clarity and brevity to use one particular style as a reference. The style of a Terukkuttu group from Purisai village in North Arcot District was chosen to be this reference because it is well-developed and received more publicity than others. Therefore, when mention is made of the Purisai group, it refers to them. Other points and ideas which have been brought forth are made from more general observations of performances by numerous other groups both in rural and urban settings.

Before beginning the next section of this study, that which deals with the performing techniques of the Terukkuttu, a few very general descriptive comments about this form will be made. The Purisai theater group puts on its performances out of doors most frequently before the rural village audiences of the North Arcot District of Tamilnadu. These performances are all-night affairs presented on an open area of level ground called the *sabhai*[3] in Tamil. It is approximately fourteen feet wide and sixteen feet deep. The audience sits in front and on the left and right hand sides of this performing area while the musical accompanists occupy the area behind it. All but one of the various kuttus put on by this group are drawn from the famous *Villiputturar Bharatam*, the Tamil version of the famous Sanskrit epic of India, the *Mahabharata*.[4] The remaining ones are based on the *Bhagavatam*, also a Sanskrit work. Some of the important presentations included in this repertoire are *Draupadi Vastirapaharanam* (*The Disrobing of Draupadi*), *Karna Moksham* (*The Defeat of Karna*), and *Pirakalatan Carittiram* (*The Story of Prahlada*). The dramatizations are basically musical and consist of songs and chants that carry the story which are rendered by the actors playing the various characters concerned. Dance also plays an important role in any *kuttu* presentation. The songs and chants were composed by the two preceding generations of Purisai performers while the distinctive dance style and choreography employed was also developed by them.[5]

The music of the Terukkuttu while not purely classical is based upon the Carnatic system of *ragas* and *talas*. The instruments which provide an absolutely essential accompaniment to those playing the various villainous, heroic and female characters include the *mrdangam*, double-handed harmonium, *mukhavina* (a short double-reed instrument), *kanjira* and *tala* (small cymbals for keeping time). These are played by various musicians who sit on a small dais raised behind the *sabhai*.

While the social implications have not been discussed in this study, it must be noted here that all the performers are male. Women find no place at all in any *kuttu*[6] presentation and all the female roles are acted out very effectively by men.

Now that a few very basic but essential aspects of the Terukkuttu have been described this study will proceed to present rather detailed analyses dealing, first, with the performing techniques most essential to this form and, second, with its socio-religious importance.

Performing Techniques of the Terukkuttu

One of the striking qualities of the Terukkuttu which this study will bring out is the clear relation which its performing techniques have with India's classical traditions of dance and drama. Of course, this is something which has also been noticed by other scholars who have looked at this form in less complete studies. One of them describes it very concisely and aptly as " a folk theater with a classical base ".[7] This section of this paper which examines in a more elaborate fashion the actual performance of this theater form supports with even more detailed evidence this idea.

To examine properly the performing techniques of any style of Terukkuttu it is essential to look first at the basic framework around which a performance is built, that is, the songs, chants and poems relating to a particular kuttu. As discussed in this introduction, these were composed by earlier generations of performers and have been preserved and handed down, for the most part in tact, through a curious interaction of the oral and written traditions which there is no room to discuss here. These compositions could be said to form the "skeleton" of any Terukkuttu presentation.

A consultation with Purisai Kannappa Thambiran concerning these composed pieces surprisingly brought forth a long, rather detailed list of classical song and chant types prevalent in Tamilnadu. These included the musical pieces, the *Tillana* and the *Javali*, which are ordinarily included in the repertoire of Bharata Natyam, the classical dance form of South India. While acknowledging the presence of all the ten or more types in the various kuttus, it was found that the forms called *taru*, *viruttam* and *kantarttam* were the ones chiefly relied upon. This is a finding confirmed by some other studies.[8]

The *taru* which is the form that predominates in the Terukkuttu and functions in many different contents is a song set in a South Indian *raga* and *tala*. The ragas most frequently employed are *Mukhari, Sindhumukhari, Bhairavi, Ananda bhairavi, Kapi, Senjurutti, Mohanam, Madhyamavati* and sometimes a mixture of these while the most common talas are *Adi, Rupaka* and *Jhampa*. There appears to occur in any particular kuttu, numerous types of tarus from the long, complex very ornately poetic ones to shorter and simpler ones. The taru has its counterparts in other South Indian traditional dramatic forms like the Yaksagana and probably has some historical connection with the *druva*, a musical type discussed in Bharata's *Natya Sastra*. The *viruttam* is the next most frequently occuring type essential to a performance. Even though it is, in reality, a distinctly Tamilian verse form, it, unlike the *táru*, is sung without rhythm. The *kantarttam* though occurring much less frequently than these two other forms is nevertheless very important. It is a highly lyric poem recited sometimes in almost a monotone and other times more musically.

It often provides information very essential to the audience's understanding of the story being presented in a particular kuttu. For example, in the presentation of *Pirakalatan Carittram*, a kantarttam relates in detail the circumstances leading to the birth and coming to power of Iraniyan (Hiranyakasipu), one of the major characters in this story. Iraniyan, who recites the kantarttam, is actually telling the audience his *purvottrangal*, which means "the antecedent and the subsequent".[9] That is, he is giving the audience events which may precede and/or follow the particular point which the kuttu has reached. This is a characteristic of this theatrical form which occurs in numerous episodes.

For a very particular reason, the word "script" was avoided when referring to the above songs and chants which are memorized by the performers. This is because there is one more essential element in the dialogue of the Terukkuttu which involves no memorization at all. This is what is known in the performers' parlance as *vacanam* meaning prose (utterance) and in several ways it may be even more important to this form of theater than the pieces discussed in the preceding paragraph. First of all, it is the chief means by which the often highly poetic content of the songs and chants of a kuttu are understood by an audience which is, for the most part, unfamiliar with such language. The way it functions is that following a taru or *viruttam* by a particular character, this same character gives within, of course, the context of the particular point a kuttu has reached what is sometimes almost a prose paraphrasing of its meaning and at others, a creative elaboration. The language of this prose is both very unabstruse and usually very colloquial and is actually an elucidation of the preceding piece. Even though what some academics refer to as "illiterate village audiences" often follow more of the high-flowing Tamil of some sections of a Terukkuttu performance than modern university-educated scholars and urbanites would expect, the *vacanam* is a great help at certain points in keeping up with the story being presented on stage.

The second reason that the vacanam is very significant is that it is improvised and developed *on the spot*. In terms of the literary content of the Terukkuttu, it is the most important element for a performer's showing and applying this creativity. According to the depth of his knowledge of the *Mahabharata* and other puranas important in rural Tamilnadu, his expertise in Tamil language and literature, his familiarity with the place in which he is performing, and his creative wit, a kuttu performer improvises and elaborates his prose dialogue based on the content of the preceding song or viruttam. An actor of some experience and/or creativity will naturally bring forth a more developed, stage-worthy and, above all, elucidatory vacanam than a less talented or experienced one. The following example drawn from *Pirakalata Carittiram* gives us a good example of a fairly developed prose elaboration. The taru is the second one after Iraniyan's first entrance into the stage

and it is immediately followed by the vacanam :

Taru (Mohana Ragam, Adi Talam)

Iraniyan : With all praising and performing namaskaram to me and calling me a god, I put on my crown so that I am proclaimed a deity.

Vacanam

Iraniyan : Hey ! Tutakancaki (referring to the Kattiyankaran[10] whom he is talking to) : Look all around us ! As I enter this Sabha, are not thirty-three crores Gods and Goddesses, forty thousand rishis, Kinnaras, Gandharvas, Siddhas, Vidyadharas, and other celestial beings who have gathered here along with the nine planets and their many moons in addition to Munis and Acharyas, are not all of these great personages falling down at my lotus-like sacred feet and praising me ?

Even though much of the prose in the Terukkuttu is delivered using moderately exaggerated rhythms of normal speech, the particular vacanam translated above is almost chanted employing a style of prose recitation which is common in the traditional style of story telling in South India. It appears that about fifty per cent of the improvised prose in kuttu is of this "chanted" variety.

Often a taru or viruttam will only mention a character's name and the place he is at at the moment. It is then up to the performer according to his creativity to improvise a vacanam describing the particular scene's surroundings and the important aspects of the character's mood at the time. Sometimes on the basis of only a few details an actor will elaborate a very colourful and vivid description. Such elaborations echo exactly, the concepts of *sancharibhava*[11] which one finds discussed in Bharata's *Natya Sastra* and which one sees employed so effectively in both Bharata Natyam and *Kathakali*, two classical dance-styles of South India. In Bharata Natyam, an experienced and creative dancer will, employing facial expression and hand *mudras*, give the audience a vivid description of a particular context often from numerous points of view, and this will all be based on just one line from the musical piece being rendered. Similarly, in Kathakali, a well-trained dancer will improvise through gesture a complex and beautiful interpretation based on the literary content of a *padam* that will hold an audience's attention for hours. Even though the on-the-spot improvisation of the vacanam in Terukkuttu is not as developed as what we see in both these classical dance-styles, its relation with Bharata's ideas on *sancharibhava* is obvious. This reflects very clearly the unity which this Tamil folk drama has with the classical dramatic tradition of India.

. A third way in which the improvised prose dialogue is very essential to Terukkuttu is comic relief. Since most of the episodes presented are in a rather serious tone, humour is introduced through the vacanam. Much of this has contemporary relevance and consists of jokes or puns relating to the local or more general political

and/or social scene. Often this satire concerns personality types. One such example of this involves a group of Brahmin *purohits* who come to visit Duryodhana and ask the court herald to announce their arrival to the Kaurava king. The herald who is rather dim-witted mispronounces the word *purohit*[12] and reports to the king that several *pokkirigal* have come to see him. *Pokkirigal* in Tamil refers to the most undesirable type of street ruffian[13] and Duryodhana naturally asks the herald to drive them away. The entire audience, young and old alike, rocks with laughter at the ensuing scene of the silly herald beating the astounded avowedly non-violent Brahmin purohits.[14] Another important aspect of the humor in the Terukkuttu is its often racy nature. A good example of this is an episode involving Arjuna and a warrior- queen, Alli, whom he desires to marry. Arjuna comes to the queen's bedroom in the form of a snake with Krishna as his snakecharmer. Upon meeting her highness, the snakecharmer warns the queen that his snake is a very unique one in that if she is bitten by it, her stomach will swell temporarily. The reference is obvious to all except of course, the queen herself and those in the audience who enjoy bawdy humour, which is a healthy percentage of them, find the whole scene raucously funny[15]. Some humorous scenes and lines are particular to certain episodes while others are of a less specifically applied nature. Concerning the latter variety, it appears that the gags, jokes and puns form a "comic" pool which an experienced actor, like a fine comedian adlibbing in the West, would draw upon according to his sense of wit and a particular situation to provoke an audience to fits of laughter. Such a pool is not rehearsed but is built up by a performer over years of performing in the Terukkuttu.[16]

A character called the *Kattiyakkaran* or buffoon who is an essential part of any Terrukkuttu performance participates in much of the humor developed in the vacanam. He is the counterpart of the *Vidushaka* or clown of the classical Sanskrit dramatic tradition. His role in this drama form should actually be discussed separately but that is impossible here due to lack of space. However, some other aspects of his function will be elaborated upon later on.

Bearing in mind the elements of elucidation, creativity and comic relief discussed above, it was essential that this study deal with the improvised vacanam of the Terukkuttu in some detail. Clearly, it is a major aspect of the performing techniques involved with this folk theater.

The presence of the vacanam imparts to a Terukkuttu performance a particular rhythm of composed pieces alternating with improvised prose elaborations which one finds reflected throughout the storytelling traditions of South India. That this applies to both the folk and classical cultures can be seen in the fact that not only the totally Tamil-oriented village *Villuppattu* (bow-song) of the southern districts but also the highly classical Sanskritized *Kathakalakshepa* employ this same rhythm of presentation.[17] This resonance of the Terukkuttu with the *Katha* or

storytelling tradition in South India will also be seen in certain other aspects of performance. It indicates an important relation with story telling which will be further commented upon.

The delivery of the vacanam appears, for the most part, to follow a particular pattern in which one performer who is proficient in improvising such prose will do most of the talking while a second will listen. However, this second actor's "listening" is not passive but actually leads on the main speaker's words with properly timed questions and comments. Actually this study would prefer to call him an "answerer" in that his role in the vacanam actually entails an ability to know when and how to "respond". This ability is one of the arts of the Terukkuttu and a talented "answerer" will be able to develop his responses in such a way that he does not unnecessarily break important lines of thought but still prevents the main man's speech from becoming a monologue which would bore the audience. An impressive example of this can be found in the presentation of *Karna Moksham* where after the kuttu is approximately three-quarters over the actor playing karnan delivers an important vacanam lasting for more than an hour which deals with the unique aspects of Karnan's background. Without a second man providing the essential answers, the performance would almost certainly lose its hold on the audience at this point.[18] Martha Ashton in her interesting book on the Yaksagana the folk drama of Karnataka in South India calls this a "responsive dialogue".[19] It is another element which kuttu shares with the storytelling tradition in Tamil nadu in that the Villuppattu, a folk form of storytelling, also requires an "answerer" in its presentation. Here the main percussionist who plays on a mud pot while the singer delivers the story in the particular style of this form will provide the essential responses.[20] In both the Terukkuttu and the Villuppattu these responses are for the most part, very short and consist often of just single words like "yes", "Really", or "Ayoh !" (used often in Tamil to express sadness or consternation). It is the timing and tone of these short answers that make them effective. Ellappa Thambiran, a senior member of the Purisai Terukkuttu Manram is such a talented and experienced "answerer" that he has proved irreplaceable to the group for the past forty years and has become something of a legend in areas where they frequently perform. The Kattiyakkaran who was briefly described earlier most often appears in the role of an "answerer".

It is necessary at this point to return to the songs of the Terukkuttu to make one brief but very important point about their delivery. After a character sings each line of one of his songs, it will be repeated by the chorus or what is called in Tamil, *pinpattu.* This *pinpattu* is composed of the various percussionists and instrumentalists who accompany the kuttu performance who can sing as well as play on their instruments and also any actors who are not engaged on stage. Such repetition-singing called "responsorial" by ethno-musicologists has been much discussed in the realm of musical research concerning India. It is believed by some

scholars to be directly related to the *Guru-Sishya* (master-pupil) learning system previously prevalent throughout the sub-continent where repetition after the teacher or leader was required.[21]

The above discussion has presented a detailed analysis of the literary or "oral" aspect of the Terukkuttu. (It was necessarily brief because this study is but a chapter in a larger volume.) It is now important to turn to the "kinetic" aspect of this drama form, that is, the use of dance and body movement. This element, it will be seen, is essential to kuttu and has a great importance in that it significantly relates to some very important classical concepts of movement.

It is in this area of dance and body movement that the Terukkuttu's relationship with the classical dance and drama traditions of South India can be seen. This is evident in both the concept and execution of the dance steps and the choreography of this form. However, since this point has been discussed earlier and has also been established by others, this study has chosen not to overemphasize it. In numerous papers dealing with other folk drama forms and also in a few recent academic lectures concerning the Terukkuttu, the connection of these forms with traditions of classical Indian drama and with the *Natya Sastra* have been so overdiscussed that the identities of the folk forms themselves have been overshadowed and lost. This is said with all reverence to the truly great and unique work of Bharatamuni. This is a point that is very important and must be borne in mind when dealing with any folk theater in India. While this paper, due to the exigencies of analysis, will make the unavoidable comparisons of the Terukkuttu with the classical dance form, Bharata Natyam, and will also draw from this tradition in the area of terminology, it must be stated at this point that both the dance steps and choreography of Terukkuttu have a character and identity uniquely their own that is very much alive and very much a part of the Tamil-speaking folk culture of Tamilnadu.

The convention of the curtain entrance which is used in the Terukkuttu will be examined at this point because it makes clear one very important concept concerning the dance aspect of this form. The curtain entrance which in Sanskrit is called "*patrapravesam*",[22] and in the Tamil kuttu parlance, *tirai varutal*, is an element which is found in almost all the folk theaters of India and is certainly shared with, if not borrowed from, the classical system of drama. In the form that is being discussed here, it is very important because it punctuates a night's performance of a particular kuttu. It is used whenever any character appears on stage for the first time. For example, it would be used for major characters and personages like the five Pandavas, Duryodhana, Draupadi and others who play important dramatic roles in a performance as well as for characters of lesser importance. Its significance can be seen in that, first of all, it freezes the progress of a kuttu for a certain period of time and that secondly, it takes a great amount of dramatic energy. While

tirai varutal is taking place all the attention of not only the entire group of kuttu performers, instrumentalists and actors alike, but also the audience are focussed on the "entering" personality, be he a hero or a villain.

A general outline of what occurs during a standard tirai varutal will be described here. First of all, at an appropriate time the *tirai* or curtain will be stretched across the performing area about three feet in front of where the *pinpattu* sits. It is held by two members of the group who are not at the moment engaged on stage. This *tirai*, when stretched, covers an area of sixteen feet long and ten feet high so it will conceal more than adequately from the audience a Terukkuttu actor, who, even to the tip of his large *kiritam* or "crown" will normally be only about seven feet tall. After the curtain is held up, the actor who is to enter will come behind it carrying his crown, if he is a king, and his dancing bells in his hands. Immediately after coming behind the curtain, he, in conjunction with the *pinpattu*, will sing a song in praise of a particular deity, either Amman, Krishna or Siva. This song is called a *tuti*, from Sanskrit *stuti*, meaning praise. Only as this song is being sung will he tie his dancing bells around his ankles and, if he is a kingly character, don his crown. After this song is over the actor will then sing a *viruttam* describing the character to come on stage referring to him not in the first person as one would expect but in the third person. This is the song during which the curtain is whisked away and the character actually "enters" the performing area. A consultation with the Purisai group concerning this use of the third person behind the tirai brought a very interesting reply. It appears that the actor does not become the character himself until he performs his acting of entering or what is called, *piravesam* (Skt.-*pravesam*). Only then is it appropriate to use the first person, pronounced *Nan* in Tamil. What is of real significance concerning this is that it seems the actor actually perceives his own personality merging or in some way becoming one with the personality of the character. This idea appears to be confirmed by the fact that one can see on stage actors playing fierce characters actually losing control of themselves and becoming sincerely violent and those playing female roles truly "swooning" and physically hurting themselves when they fall. The sequence of *tuti* followed by a *viruttam* followed by a *piravesappattu* or entering song is the standard one adhered to during a curtain entrance for both male and female characters in the Terukkuttu.[23]

The way that the curtain entrance relates to dance is that it is during it that the two essential conceptions of dance in the Terukkuttu are made very clear. The first is the fierce, energetic dance of the kingly and villainous roles characterised by leaps, jumps, high skipping-like steps, foot-stamping and very frequently by a stylized, very rapid type of spinning called *kirikai*. The second approach to dance is that of the female characters. Here the style is much softer in that the character's dance steps are accompanied by swaying movements and also include numerous womanly gaits. There are no leaps, jumps and spins as in the "fierce" entrance.

This dichotomy in dance styles is remarkable in that it corresponds exactly to the conceptions of *Tandava* and *Lasya* one finds in classical dance. *Tandava* is the masculine dance characterized by virile, martial traits while *Lasya* is feminine having in it the grace and charm innate in the Indian conception of womanliness.[24] Even though the repertoires of both Tandava and Lasya steps are expectedly not as complex or developed as in classical dance and Terukkuttu performers make no active reference to such classical terminology, the correspondence between the dance steps they employ and these two classical conceptions will be abundantly clear to anyone observing a performance.

Even though the various characters dance throughout a night's performance whenever a composed piece, that is, a song or chant from kuttu is rendered, it is during the curtain entrance that the dance is most energetic and most concentrated and it is here that the dichotomy of the Tandava and Lasya steps becomes most obvious. This seems to be because it is at this point, the point of entrance, that a particular character must first establish his personality on stage. After the tuti, during the viruttam, while either he or she is still behind the curtain, dances of either of the two types described in the previous paragraph will be commenced. Both by lifting the bottom of the curtain to reveal the various movements of the feet and legs and/or by lowering the top to show for only split-seconds a performer's crown or face the nature of the character who is to enter will be tantalizingly displayed to the audience at this time.[25] Listening to the words of the viruttam and observing these various rather obvious clues given behind the tirai will enable the audience to quickly conclude whether the incoming character is fierce or mild, male or female, villainous or heroic. During the actual entering song which follows the viruttam, the second after the curtain is whisked away is the peak moment of the curtain entrance. This is because it is the first time the character's personality is fully revealed to the audience and the first time that they actually get a full, uninhibited view of him or her. According to the Purisai performers, this is the point at which a kingly character must establish what they would call in Tamil his *kampira rupam*, that is, his majestic personality, and a female, her *singara rupam*. This latter term is rather difficult to translate but in the context of its use here could be approximated by the English terms "womanly image". The king, be he heroic or villainous, would accomplish this by an extended sequence of Tandava-type movements resorting especially to the very rapid kirikai described earlier. The female, Draupadi or some queen, would for a similar span of time very intensely dance in a Lasya fashion. The movements used in establishing both these rupams would cover the entire performing area, both in circular and linear patterns.

The dance movements discussed above would in the classical terms of Bharata Natyam as interpreted nowadays be described as nrtta because they are movements of pure dance. However, what is very interesting and rather unique about the Terukuttu is that this nṛtta appears to harken back to a very old tradition. According

to Padma Subramaniam, nrtta or the art of pure dance was considered by medieval authorities to be "*bhava vihinam*" and "*rasa vihinam*", that is, devoid of *bhava* and *rasa*. *Bhava* here means emotion and *rasa*, aesthetic pleasure. She further notes that "this opinion has continued to exist to the present day".[26] From the discussion above it is abundantly clear that the *nrtta* of the Terukkuttu is anything but devoid of feeling and is, in fact, one of the chief modes of communicating the temperment and moods of the various characters when entering. The fact that it is a medium of expression is truly fascinating in that, according to Dr. Padma's findings, it shows that in this area, the Terukkuttu connects with an aspect of dance which disappeared from Tamilnadu more than four centuries ago.

Another interesting aspect of body movement in the Terukkuttu can be seen during the vacanam. Here, the body as well as various dance steps are used, particularly on the part of the fierce characters, to accentuate and further develop what is being related in improvised prose. For example, Duhsasana in a long vacanam from the kuttu, *Draupadi Vastirapaharanam*, at one point emphasizes his "travelling here and there" by turning his body in stylized manner to the left and right. He also accents many of his angry, villainous words with high, violent leaps and various loud, stamping dance steps.[27] These are not isolated examples but are a normal concomitant of the elaboration of the vacanam in this theater form.

In a Terukkuttu performance the coordination of all the performers, those playing the numerous musical instruments, those actually acting on stage and those handling more subsidiary duties, is an essential. This is particularly important in connection with proper tala where the actors must be moving and dancing in the same rhythm in which the percussion instruments are playing and with episodic sequence where the very large number of songs, viruttams and openings for vacanam elaboration must be presented in the proper order and at the proper moments. If there are consistent problems in either of these two areas, a terukkuttu presentation will almost certainly make a shoddy and very ineffective impression. The way the difficult task of coordinating the various elements of a performance is accomplished is that one of the members of a manram will assume the role of a "leader" or "conductor" who will give essential "leads" and "cues" at the proper times. The other performers will then respond to his signals by doing what they should be doing at these particular points, be it singing the appropriate songs in the correct talas or properly placing a vacanam or by otherwise carrying out correctly the numerous other stage duties. This conductor will give his cues whether he is actively playing a character on stage or whether he is occupied in some way in the pinpattu. In the case of the Purisai group, it is Kannappa Tambiran, the most knowledgable and talented performer in the group, who fills this role. It is not uncommon to see him, while totally involved in the part of Duryodhana, suddenly snarl back at an erring accompanying musician who is out of *tala* and promptly correct him by exaggerating his dance steps in the proper tala. Such a sight would surprise a western observer used to a

different type of theater decorum but goes unnoticed by the Tamilnadu rural audience which has imbibed the flexibility inherent in its folk culture. Professor Robert Simon, a noted American ethno-musicologist has confirmed that it is a common phenomenon in folk performances that require a group of people that one of them act as a leader and that this leader is usually the most talented most respected and, often, the eldest in the group.[28]

In presenting analyses of both the oral and kinetic aspects of the performing techniques of the Terukkuttu this study gives the student of folk drama as much as is possible in the space provided here. When all is said and done the impossibility of truly understanding a performing art through a research article must be acknowledged. To properly perceive the true vigor and grace of the Terukkuttu one must sit one evening among the tall rustling palm trees of a Tamilnadu Village and watch a manram unfold the great *Mahabharata* before his very eyes.

Socio-Religious Context of the Terukkuttu

Even though occasionally for the purpose of foreign research scholars and/or urban folk-art connoisseurs Terukkuttu presentations are arranged solely for the purpose of recreation they primarily occur as an integral part of ritual celebrations or performances. Since such rituals in Tamilnadu are innumerable in type only the most important ones will be mentioned here. Theoretically any Amman or Mother Goddess festival should include a Terukkuttu performance. This is usually a one-day festival so the Terukkuttu presentation will take place on the same night. Similarly, according to the Agamas or Temple ritual guide-books, this drama form can be and is frequently associated with temple festivals of all kinds.

It is also included in ritual celebrations of a more personal kind particularly those enacted at the family level. These include a child's *katu kuttu* or ear-piercing ceremony and the *kula Devatai Pujai* the puja to a family deity. Two other rituals of this type which may also involve kuttu performances are the *Hari Servai* which is done on a family's return from a visit to the important Vaishnava temple at Tiruppati and what is called *Titi* or *Karumati Pujai.* This latter puja is performed on the eighth or tenth day after the death of an aged one by his family. It is of great importance throughout Tamilnadu and is one of the most essential functions in which a Terukkuttu performance is included.

The final ritual which deserves mention here is the massive all important eighteen-day Draupadi amman Festial. This is enacted periodically at the numerous Dharmaraja and Draupadi amman temples which dot rural Tamilnadu. The presentation of numerous Terukkuttu performances is an obligatory aspect of this festival and appears to constitute the most important ritual and religious context for this drama form.

Since the final two rituals mentioned above appear to be the most essential vis-a-vis the Terukkuttu they warrant separate discussion in this study. During the *Karumati Pujai* the requisite rituals are completed during the day while a presentation of *Karna Moksham*, The defeat of Karna, is put on at night. The belief is that the performance of this kuttu will facilitate the deceased one's atma, or soul attaining moksha, the Hindu concept of ultimate release and emancipation from the cycle of rebirths as did that of the great hero, Karna, after his death in the epic *Mahabharata*. This episode of Karna's attainment of moksha occurs at the end of a performance of the Terukkuttu, *Karna Moksham*, which as mentioned earlier is drawn almost entirely from the Tamil version of the *Mahabhatata*. When this kuttu is enacted during a Karumati Pujai, at exactly this point in the performance something very important occurs. Karna, lying mortally wounded on the battlefield, in an imaginary context conjured up very nicely in the art of the Terukkuttu, while talking to the Lord Krishna will actually mention the deceased person's name and will ask for his moksha and for the worldly welfare of his family members. After this, a Kamakshi Deepam, a special type of ritual lamp, will be lit and with it an *aradhana* or act of adoration will be made to Karna. When this scene is over this deepam is taken still lit directly to the deceased's house and kept burning for the whole of the following day. All of this it is thought will greatly aid the emancipation of his soul from worldly rebirth.

Apart from its important relationship with the above ceremony, *Karna Moksham* is very significant in that it is the most popular kuttu in Tamilnadu. It is the presentation most frequently requested for single-night performances and is regarded by the Purisai group as being the most important one in their large and developed repertoire. There is not enough space here to delve into the social and cultural bases for this. However, one interesting sidelight should be looked at before leaving the subject of Karna. This is the fact that it appears that despite the attention which Rama, the hero of the epic *Ramayana*, gets among urban connoisseurs and practitioners of the classical performing arts and among sophisticated Tamil scholars who revere the Tamil *Ramayanam of Kambar* as the premier work of Tamil classical literature, Karna is the epic hero who captures the hearts and minds of the rural folk, be they performers or non-performers.[29]

The Draupadiamman Festival is, in reality, the most important socio-religious context of the Terukkuttu and since the Purisai manram's style seems to have developed actually in response to the needs of this festival the analysis presented here will be based chiefly on observations made of their involvement with this enormous folk ritual.[30]

The festival is in actuality a ritual re-enactment of the *Mahabharata* and is also referred to in Tamil as the *Bharata Vila* or *Bharata* festival. It begins on an auspicious day during *Çittirai*, the first month of the Tamil calendar (April-May) and lasts for twentyone days. The re-enactment of the epic is carried out in four ways :

temple ceremonies according to the relevant sastras, large-scale ritual re-enactments of certain important incidents from the epic, literary discourses referred to as Prasangam, and dramatic presentations in the form of the traditional Terukkuttu depicting a major portion of the work from the marriage of Draupadi to the defeat of Duryodhana.

Before coming to any essential conclusions, it is best for clarity's sake to give a summary narration of each of these four approaches to the *Mahabharata*. The first , involving the temple ceremonies, will only be touched upon lightly because the science of Hindu temple ritual is not an important focus of this paper. It should suffice it to say that many of the rituals normally taking place at a Hindu temple festival will be conducted along with other more specific rituals that deal primarily with the propitiation of Draupadi as a chaste Goddess and the affirmation of the sovereignty of Dharmaputra (Yudhishtira). Among the most important rituals of this type are the marriage of Draupadi to Arjuna, the tying of her hair in a knot representing the fulfilment of her vow and the *Pattabhiseka* or crowning ceremony of Dharmaputra.

The second area of large-scale ritual re-enactments of certain important incidents from the *Mahabharata* is more relevant to this paper in that even though these are of a different nature than the Terukkuttu dramatizations, kuttu performers play an essential role in each of them. Although there is a great fluidity, the significance of which will be discussed later, between what is depicted in the Terukkuttu performing area and these enactments, it has been possible to set off distinctly at least five such large-scale ritual re-enactments during the festival. They all take place outside of both the temple precincts and the Terukkuttu performing area but within the particular village's boundaries and they all involve substantial numbers of villagers and a few kuttu performers. The five incidents which are therefore "ritually" re-enacted are the burning of the wax - palace, the killing of Baka the Asura by Bhima, the erection of Siva's bow, the cattle raid on King Virata's kingdom, and the final defeat of Duryodhana the Kaurava King. Due to want of space, it will be possible here only to describe one of these, but this should be sufficient to communicate the essential aspects. In the incident dealing with the defeat of Duryodhana, a large reclining mud figure approximately eighty feet long which had been previously beautifully fashioned and colored by the villagers and in whose right thigh a mud pot containing chicken's blood as well as other ritually important substances had been placed represents the villainous king. Immediately, after the final kuttu performance, *The Battle of the Eighteenth Day*, is over, two kuttu performers playing Duryodhana and Bhima come beside this gigantic effigy and enact in Terukkuttu style the final conclusive fight of the *Mahabharata*. As Duryodhana collapses in defeat his personality becomes instantaneously transferred to the mud sculpture and the performer playing Bhima, in the frenzy of possession, jumps on to it and smashes the pot placed in the thigh. This symbolizes the breaking

of the Kaurava king's legs and his ultimate defeat. After this entire ritual enactment is complete, the surging crowd of villagers will swarm over the Duryodhana figure. In some areas each person will struggle to get a handful of mud to place in his storeroom as it is believed that its presence will prevent any decrease in the grains stored there.[31]

The rendering of the entire *Mahabharata* through a daily *Prasangam* (discourse) for each of eighteen consecutive days is, after the Terukkuttu, the most important element in the Draupadi amman Festival. In the art of Prasangam, the speaker or *prasangi* (speaker) explains and elaborates upon the relevant text in an attractive, sometimes musical, and always very instructive manner drawing on his scholarly knowledge of prose, poetry, related literature, traditional Indian teaching methods, and the folk culture. His aim is to communicate the essence of what is usually a highly difficult and poetic text which a relatively uneducated village audience would be unable to follow. He should do this in a manner and with language that the village audience will grasp and above all, enjoy. In this festival the text is the very old *Bharatam* of Villipputturar. Since the rendering of Prasangam is a highly developed art form which itself would require a separate study to properly describe, it should suffice it here to say that it is scholarly, instructive and entertaining all at the same time.

Except on the occasion of a few large-scale ritual re-enactments such as the killing of Duryodhana, the prasangi will deliver his artful discourse within the premises of the Draupadiamman temple in the afternoon from about two p.m. to about five p.m. On the days that a Terukkuttu is to occur there will be an attempt to correlate some of the incidents related in the Prasangam with what will be enacted in the kuttu at night, that is, at the least, the prasangi should mention them if not elaborate upon them.

It is significant to note that besides rendering his scholarly lectures, the prasangi, like some of the kuttu performers also finds a place in the large-scale ritual re-enactments dealt with slightly earlier, for example, in the defeat of Duryodhana, In fact it is he who ties the knot in the hair of the image of the Goddess Draupadi, the all important act which symbolizes that her vow has been fulfilled and the outrage on her chastity avenged. He also plays an important part at times seemingly as important as the pujari, in many of the temple rituals themselves. These include some of the preliminary ceremonies and also some of the important functions which occur on the final days of the festival.[32]

The most important and, to this study, a most relevant mode of dealing with the *Mahabharata* is the cycle of Terukkuttu performances. These dramatize in the traditional Terukkutu style the most essential episodes from the marriage of Draupadi to Arjuna upto the retying of her hair after Duryodhana's downfall. This is

accomplished in nine consecutive all-night performances which, in the case of the Purisai Manram, comprise the greater and most important part of its repertoire. The presentations are *Draupadi Kalyanam* (*The Marriage of Draupadi*), *Supattirai Kalyanam* (*The Marriage of Subhadra*), *Alli Arjunan* (*The Marriage of Arjuna to the Warrior Queen, Alli*), *Pancali Capatam* (*The Vow of Draupadi*), *Arjunan Tapam* (*Arjuna's Tapas*), *Kirushnan Tutu* (*The Mission of Krishna*), *Abimanyu Cantai* (*The Defeat of Abhimanyu*), *Karna Moksham* (*The Defeat of Karna*) and *Patinettam Por* (*The Battle of the Eighteenth Day*). The first kuttu begins on the tenth night of the festival and the last one ends on the morning of the penultimate day. A performance usually begins sometime between nine-thirty and ten p.m. and runs through the whole night finally ending at or slightly before the break of dawn the following day.[33]

The significance of the Terukkuttu performers' role in the festival is something which has to be looked at very closely. While this study is not prepared to say that the performers are actually perceived as becoming the deities whose characters they play, it is clear that upon assuming the dramatic roles assigned to them they enter a state of great sanctity. This would seem to be supported by the idea discussed earlier regarding the curtain entrance when it appears that the actors perceive themselves as "becoming" the characters and also by the fact that they experience sincere religious "possession", which in Tamil is called avesam, frequently throughout the kuttus and rituals in which they take part. The consequence of this is that the audience seems to regard the kuttu performances as more than pure dramatizations but as something approaching real re-enactments of the events in the *Mahabharata* by the actual gods, goddesses and epic personages included therein. This idea finds support in the numerous very clear examples from various parts of the festival. The most striking occurs after the "breaking" of the thigh of the gigantic mud effigy of Duryodhana. At this point the prasangi ties the hair of the processional image of Draupadi into a knot thereby symbolizing the fulfilment of her oath. As an exactly parallel occurrence to this, the leader of the kuttu group, who is called the *aciriyar*, (literally, teacher) ties the hair of the performer playing Draupadi into a knot at exactly, the same place and exactly the same time. [34]One sees here a true resonance between the temple ritual and the Terukkuttu sabhai. A second very significant occurrence of this type takes place when Duhsasana is trying to dishonour Draupadi by disrobing her. Of course, the miracle of Lord Krishna protects her chastity by causing numerous saris to appear replacing the ones which are being pulled off her body. When this is enacted in the Terukkuttu" during the presentation of *Pancali Capatam*, the saris which are used to "recreate this miracle are actually donated by the audience.[35] It appears that the contribution of a garment constitutes an act directly connected with the maintenance of the Goddess' chastity and carries great merit. The sacral importance of what occurs in the Terukkuttu is further confirmed by the fact that the marriage of

Draupadi to Arjuna and their actual visit to the temple as a couple occurs in a kuttu before the temple ritual connected with the Goddess' marriage is performed.[36]

The enhanced state of sanctity of the kuttu performers would explain the fluidity which the Terukkuttu sabai has with the areas of the large-scale ritual re-enactments and with the temple rituals and the concomitant fact that the actors move easily and freely from one of these areas to another. It is striking that the prasangi also appears to enter a similar state of high sanctity in that he, in numerous instances,performs duties that only a temple pujari normally would. The role of a performer connected with the Draupadiamman Festival appears to be a very sacred one indeed.

The importance of the *Bharata* festival manifests itself on numerous levels. One of these is the fact that it represents the triumph of good over evil. Wicked Duryodhana and his cohorts have been defeated and the sovereignty of Dharmaraja and the Pandavas confirmed. Another level is connected with Bhakti, that is, worshipful adoration and praise, particularly as relates to Lord Krishna and the village Goddess, Draupadi amman. One must also look at the fact that the huge celebration makes manifest the basic unity of the village by bringing all of its inhabitants together to re-enact the great epic of India, the *Mahabharata*. Another interesting factor is the harmless release of the social and sexual tensions which build up in a society as traditional as that of rural Tamilnadu. The humor of the earlier discussed vacanam of the Terukkuttu which deals very frequently with highly ribald subjects and also with the numerous social streotypes of a village is a very obvious outlet for these tensions.[37]

The most important level of significance, however, appears to be the reaffirmation of chastity, symbolized, in the case of this festival, by the protection of the virtue of Draupadi. Even though this is a very essential element in any interpretation of the *Mahabharata*, it appears to be the area of prime emphasis here. First of all, the Terukkuttu dramatizations, as pointed out earlier, only focus on the sections of the epic related to Draupadi as a chaste wife, that is, from her marriage to the fulfilment of her oath. There is no kuttu performance concerned with the crowning and Pattabhiseka of Dharmaraja. Further strengthening this idea is also the fact that the ritualized crowning of Dharmaputra which occurs in the temple on the final, twenty-first day of the festival appears to be an anti-climax to the whole thing. The point of maximum festive and ritual intensity definitely seems to be the slaying of Duryodhana and the immediate re-knotting of Draupadi's hair, that is, the point at which her chastity is actually reaffirmed. The entire twentyone day affair builds up towards this point and then appears to die down. This is all very striking in view of the fact that George Hart, in a rather remarkable contribution to the understanding of Indian culture, has noted the overriding importance of chastity in Dravidian culture through extensive research on the ancient Sangam poems of

Tamil literature. This scholar even goes so far as to postulate that, most probably, the great importance which Indian culture throughout the sub-continent puts on the chastity of the female was an influence of Dravidian civilization.[38]

It is in this *Bharata* festival, therefore, that one sees the true importance and impact of the theater form, the Terukkuttu. By re-enacting, dramatically and ritually, the trials and travails of the sacred heros and heroines and epic villains of the rural folk of Tamilnadu, it enables them to embark on the new year with minds and souls at ease because the chaste have been avenged and just kingship reasserted.

NOTES

1. The translation of this term in English is "street theater". Even though this has some historical importance, it was not dealt with here because it has, for many Tamilians, in recent decades picked up some rather derogatory connotations which would distract the discussion.

2. The Sanskrit term for "drama" or "dramatic production".

3. This word is actually derived from the Sanskrit word, sabha, meaning hall. It has come to refer to the Terukkuttu's performing area most probably because of the frequency of scenes placed in the meeting-halls or "sabhais" of kings.

4. For words, names and titles in Indian languages which appear often in English language works, the familiar but unscientific transcriptions which appear in these works have been used throughout this study. However, for other words seen less frequently in such works, the accepted international schemes were employed for both Tamil and Sanskrit.

5. This information is based on interviews made in Madras with Purisai Kannappa Thambiran, the knowledgable Terukkuttu artiste and teacher.

6. The distinctly Tamil word meaning "drama" or "dance". When used in reference to drama, however, it definitely denotes the traditional Terukkuttu rather than the modern theater.

(In the Terukkuttu staged in the Tanjavur district upto 1930, women's notes were played invariably by women and not by men, —Editor)

7. Padma Subrahmanyam, *Bharata's Art : Then and Now* (Madras: Nrithyodaya, 1979), p. 14.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

9. Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary* (Delhi : Motilal Banarsidass, 1974), p. 644.

10. This refers to a character who appears in all Terukkuttu performances and is, in fact, essential to a production. He is briefly discussed a little later Padma Subrahmanyam notes that he is the counterpart of the sutradhara of the classical Sanskrit dramatic tradition. See Padma Subramanyam *Op. Cit.*, p. 12.

11. This was confirmed by the well-known male Bharata Natyam and Kathakali dancer, V.P. Dhananjayan, who was formerly a disciple of Smt. Rukmini Devi at the famous Kalakshetra in Madras city. He and his wife, Shanta, also a very accomplished Bharata Natyam dancer, now run, also in Madras, a well-known school of classical music and dance, Bharatakalanjali. The author of this study is greatly indebted to the Dhananjayans for the information, guidance and encouragement which they gave him to make its completion possible.

12. Sanskrit term meaning "a priest capable of performing numerous family rituals". See *The Lifco Tamil-Tamil-English Dictionary* (Madras : The Little Flower Company, 1978), p. 490.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 517. This word although found in the dictionary finds frequent use in very colloquial Tamil as an insulting or rather derogatory term.

14. This sequence was observed at a performance of the Terukkuttu, *Draupadi Kalyanam* (*The Marriage of Draupadi*). in March-April, 1978 put on by the Purisai Raghavan Paramparai Terukkuttu Manram at the village of Uttaramerur in the North Arcot District of Tamilnadu as part of the Draupadi amman Festival being celebrated there.

15. This sequence occurred during a performance of *Alli Arjunan* which was also enacted at the Draupadi amman Festival of Uttaramerur in March-April, 1978.

16. This was discussed extensively with Purisai K. Sambandan, the son of Purisai Kannappa Thambiran. This young man, due to the great interest of a few individual Terukkuttu enthusiasts, including the author of this paper, who hired him as his research assistant for two years. has finally entered the kuttu field after originally pursuing another line of employment and, true to his lineage, has blossomed into a fine performer.

17. This idea is based on actual observations of numerous performances of Villuppattu and Kathakalakshepa in Madras city and in various villages of Tamilnadu from 1977-1979.

18. Based on the observation of *Karna Moksham* during the Uttaramerur Draupadi amman Festival of March-April, 1978.

19. Martha Bush Ashton and Bruce Christie, *Yakssagana*: *A Dance Drama of India* (New Delhi : Abhinav Publications, 1977), p.37.

20. This information was obtained by actually observing Villuppattu performances in the field. A particularly noteworthy performance was that of the Villuppattu, *Pancali Capatam*, by P. Gandhimati of Sivakasi, a female exponent of this form, and her troupe which occurred on 19, March, 1978.

21. This information was obtained during a discussion with Prof. Robert Simon, an American ethno-musicologist, who was also doing research in Madras in 1979.

22. This information was provided by V. P. Dhananjayan, the dancer, in January, 1980.

23. This entire discussion of the curtain entrance is based on observations of numerous styles of Terukkuttu. Mention should be made of a group from the Pondicherry area headed by a teacher and performer named Rajavelan. The Purisai group's style also uses this same approach to the curtain entrance.

24. P. Sambamoorthy, *A Dictionary of South Indian Music and Musicians* (Madras : The Indian Music Publishing House, 1971), III, 5.

25. The curtain entrance or "tirai nokku" of Kathakali is remarkably similar in both concept and execution to the "tirai varutal" of the Terukkuttu. For a brief but rather informative discussion of the tirai nokku see Kapila Vatsyayan. *Indian Classical Dance* (New Delhi : Government of India Publications Division, 1974), pp. 32-33.

26. Padma Subrahmanyam, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 27-28.

27. Observations made from a performance of *Draupadi Vastirapaharanam* in Madras in March, 1980.

28. Based on a discusion with Prof. Simon in Madras in 1979.

29 The great popularity of Karna in Tamilnadu was also attested by P. Ravishankar, cinema director, the son of the late and famous film director, Sri Pantulu, of Padmini Pictures, Madras. Sri Pantulu produced and directed the Tamil movie entitled *Karnan* starring the famous Sivaji Ganesan which dealt with the epic hero's life. He based his screen play on traditional sources and obtained most of his information from the well-known Prasangam and Kathakalakshepa exponents Anantarama Dikshitar and Kripananda Variar. The film was a great hit in Tamilnadu and to this day still attracts great crowds when screened. The above information was obtained by actually seeing the film in April, 1980 in Madras and by interviewing P. Ravishankar in the office of Padmini Pictures in January, 1980, also in Madras.

30. The Ph.D. dissertation of the author of this study will be completed sometime next year and it will be a detailed full-length study of all aspects of the Terukkuttu including a great deal of comparative work based on the styles of various kuttu groups. In it, there will be an extensive discussion of the important historical relationship which the Terrukkuttu seems to have with the Draupadiamman Festival. The author's dissertation will be submitted to the Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies at the University of California at Berkeley in the U.S.A.

31. Based on actual observations of this event during the Uttaramerur Draupadiamman Festival of March-April, 1978.

32. Based on actual observations of the Uttaramerur Draupadiamman Festival of March-April, 1978.

33. Information obtained from observations of the Uttaramerur Draupadi amman Festival made in March-April, 1978.

34. An observation made during the Uttaramerur Draupadi amman Festival of March-April, 1978.

35. Information obtained from observations made during the Uttaramerur Draupadiamman Festival of March-April, 1978.

36. Based on observations made during the Uttaramerur Draupadi amman Festival of March-April, 1978.

37. A similar idea was discussed with regard to a Villuppattu (bow-song) performance by Stuart Blackburn, also a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies at the University of California at Berkeley, in a paper he presented at the Annual Meeting of the Folklore Fellows of India in Mysore City in November, 1978. The paper is entitled *Folk Literature Research : Problems, Suggestions and A Case Study.*

38. See his section on Women in Goerge L-Hart III, *The Poems of Ancient Tamil : Their Milieu and Their Sanskrit Counterparts* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1975), pp. 93-119.

MODERN VERSE DRAMA

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Drama is a collective art in which there is a healthy combination of music, dance and poetry. The ancient Tamil plays had all been in verse. In the last few decades of the nineteenth century, the Tamil State turned to prose as a dramatic medium and here was a good crop of prose plays. When the increasing tendency was towards realistic prose drama, attempt was also made to revive poetic drama with a great heightening of language using standard metrical patterns and much imagery. The pioneer in the field of Modern Verse Drama is Prof. P. Cuntaram Pillai who has made his remarkable contribution to Tamil drama through his verse play *Manonmaniyam*. His example inspired many other scholars to follow suit and about thirty plays have come into existence. Of these, a few plays like *Pukalenti* (1935) *Palmati* (1975), *Anicca Ati* (1973), *Mullai Matam* (1969) and *Anni Mignili* (1978) have been taken up for study in this context to reflect on the general characteristics of the Modern verse plays.

Awakening in the field of Drama expressed itself in producing plays modelled on the pattern of Sanskrit and English plays in form and theme, in the last decades of the nineteenth century. *Manonmaniyam* is one such poetic drama. with 4502 lines completely done in akaval metre with no prose passages in between. As F. Moraes points out, "*Manonmaniyam* is an attempt to vivify Tamil Literature with western form".[1] The author's main aim in producing this work is evident from the following passage from his preface to the text.

"Among the rich and varied forms of poetic compositions extant in the Tamil language, the Dramatic type so conspicuous in Sanskrit and English does not seem to find a place. The play submitted to the public is a humble attempt to see whether the defect may not be easily removed".[2] The same has been the aim of many of the modern verse playwrights. Almost all the modern verse plays except a very few like *Pulavar Ullam* have been composed with a sincere intention of imitating Shakespeare's plays or *Manonmaniyam*. It has been the sole model for them and its echo is heard too loudly in almost all the plays. These verse playwrights take pride in announcing to the world that their attempt is to add another Manonmaniyam to the Tamil Literature.

Pulavar A. Nataraja Pillai in his preface to his play *Pukalenti* states that it is humiliating for any Tamilian to note that Tamil language which had a glo-

rious past is so poor as to own Manonmaniyam as the only verse play. To make amends for this, he says that he has attempted to produce another play i.e. Pukalenti.[3]

The South India Saiva Siddhantha works publishing society announced a prize of Rs. 1,000 for the best verse play in 1973. The publishers felt that no play to equal *Manonmaniyam* had appeared till then[4] and *Anicca Ati*, by Pulavar A. Palani was selected as the prize winning play. This play according to them, had certain features common to *Manonmaniyam* ; But *Manonmaniyam* was such a magnificent play with depth of great ideas and literary merit that the readers would feel *Anicca Ati* could be no equal to it.

Manonmaniyam and all the other verse plays that followed except *Manavijayam* and *Anni Minini* and the plays by Vidwan P. Govindan have all strictly followed Shakespeare's plays in form. All of them are divided into five acts ; and subdivided into many scenes. *Manonmaniyam* has 20 scenes, Ravivarma29, Pukalenti 24, Viswanathan 29, Panimoli 21, Palmati 15, Mullai Matam 24 , Anni Migili 22 scenes and so on. Mana vijayam is an one Act play. Pulavar Ullam and Aputtiran have no divisions into acts. They have thirty and twelve scenes respectively. The plays like Tai Ponkal, Pantiyan Netunceliyan, Cirai Mitta Cemmal, Mutin Makal have all been divided into four acts and subdivided into 16,10,17,15 scenes respectively.

All the verse plays prior to the appearance of *Manonmaniyam* were narrative in character. The author narrated the whole story ; he introduced the characters, appeared on the stage and conducted the play to the end. Drama is an art in which a story or an incident is presented through the speeches of diverse characters impersonated by the actors and the words spoken or the songs sung before an audience —This is the modern development that the Tamils have adopted from the western plays. *Manonmaniyam* was the first verse play in which characters were allowed to conduct the play through their speeches and actions. Prof. Cuntaram Pillai has stated in his preface to the play that since the play had been modelled according to the Sanskrit and the English dramaturgy, the readers would have to follow the conversations of the characters and guess the events that were to follow. All the other verse plays that followed *Manonmaniyam* have adopted the same technique. In fact all the Tamil plays of this century have followed the Western plays in form.

As the first verse play modelled on Sanskrit dramatic epics *Manonmaniyam* contains certain qualities that are predominant in all ancient Tamil epics. The author himself has commented that the readers would not miss the epic elements found in this play. The play is replete with lengthy passages of vivid description. Kutilan's eloquent speech describing the grandeur of the fortress of the Pandiyan kingdom (Act I Scene I 41–83), his portrayal of the glory of Nancil state (Act II Scene I 75-150), Natarajan's admiration for the beauty of nature, the sunrise,

and even the earth worm (Act II Scene II) – all these lengthy descriptions add epic colour to the play. At the same time, they are detrimental to the fast movement of the scenes. These descriptions might interest the readers, if they prefer to enjoy the play as a reading material. Moreover *Manonmaniyam* was not intended for the stage. Prof. Cuntaram Pillai has pointed out "the play here submitted, it is needless to say, is meant for the study and not the stage, it is therefore written in the literary and not altogether colloquial dialect".[5] Prof. H. H. Anniah Gowda has said that the example of Shakespeare has done ever so much harm by his very genuis for poets reproduce the diction which in him was modern and in them is obsolete.[6] The same may be stated of Prof. Cuntaram Pillai also. The modern verse playwrights have imitated not only the diction that he handled but also all the minor and major aspects of the play.

All the modern verse plays with the exception of Mullai Matam have employed akaval metre and the rigidity of this medium had made the gap between procenium and auditorium wider and wider. They were also not planned for the stage and the size of the play is also quite lengthy for any producer, to undertake staging it within a limited time. Viswanathan has 3057 lines, Pukalenti 3257 lines Maraintha Manakar 5420 lines, Anicca Ati 3756 lines and so on. Shakespeare uses prose and verse as character, circumstance or mood demand of it though he was usually conventional about these demands retaining prose for peasants and comic characters. The audience of the time was used to this language and considered elevated style natural for characters of noble birth. Modern verse playwrights have not attempted to make new innovations in the medium to make their plays stage worthy.

Manonmaniyam begins with prayer songs, laudatory verses in honour of the goddess Tamil, and a homage to the audience, The same is followed in all the modern verse plays.

The same may be said of the graphic descriptions found in these plays. They try to imitate *Manonmaniyam* in introducing such descriptive passages.

In *Pukalenti,* the importance of astrology (Act I Scene III) is discussed in 28 lines. The greatness of Tamil language is described in 29 lines. Again there are graphic descriptions of the Uraiyur streets (Act III Scene I 1-19) the beauty of the sunrise (Act IV Scene IV 1-36) and the beauty of Sentamilcelvi (Act IV Scene IV 11-45). Such descriptions, though appreciated as literary pieces prove themselves as breaks in the course of the fast moving events of the play.

In *Anicca Ati* the author forgets his part as a playwright and he being a poet enthusiastically exhibits his academic excellence by describing in detail the different stages in the course of love making following the classical poets of the Cankam age. Out of 234 lines of the scene (Act I Scente II) 112 lines are devoted to this. Again there are descriptions of the mountains, river and sceptre etc.

(Act I Scene III). These passages would appeal to any one who would like to enjoy reading the play within four walls.

In *Mullai Matam*, its author Issac Arumairaj has attempted to drift away from *Manonmaniyam's* influence a little. Even though the verses are in the *akaval* metre, he has tried to make it a little flexible, a language close to that of the audience. But the same author has not deviated from these traditional descriptions. Just as *Manonmaniyam* has a descriptive picture of Nancilnatu, so also *Mullaimatam* engages itself in a still more lengthy description of Nancilnadu (pp.84-86). The author also attempts to give a classical touch to the play by introducing passages of *Tinai mayakkam* (pp. 67-69). Again there is a vivid picturesque description of the Chera kingdom (pp. 70-71).

Soliloquy in a verse play is a powerful instrument to educate the audience about the inner feelings of the characters on the stage. It also serves to give a glimpse of the intentions of the characters and prepares the audience for the events to follow. Shakespeare has employed soliloquies for this purpose. But an artiste should be extra careful not to use this excessively. In *Manonmaniyam*, soliloquies play their roles a little too much for the audience. Out of the total number of lines, one eighth is spent on soliloquies. The characters like Civakan, Purushottaman, Natarajan and Narayanan utter soliloquies and they engage 602 lines on this. Sin scenes in the play (I-V, II-II, III-II, III-III, IV-I, V-I) open with the soliloquy of one or the other. Act IV Scene 5 ends with Kutilan's soliloquy and the next scene opens with another soliloquy.

Manavijayam, an one act play written by V. G. Curiyanarayana Castri has made an elaborate use of this technique. Out of the total of six scenes, three scenes are devoted to the different soliloquies of the Chera king, the Chola king and the Poet Poykaiyar. The author expresses his hope that this play would be a successful production on the stage.

In Pukalenti, about half a dozen soliloquies are introduced. Manivannan's soliloquy (II-III 244-255; III-V 89--105) and Pukalenti's soliloquy (II-III 1-29; II-III 83-90; IV-I-1-54) are a few instances.

In *Mullai Matam* lengthy passages are devoted to the soliloquies of different characters like Maran (pp. 16-17) Mullai (p. 64) Kuttuvan Kotai (pp. 112-114), Kamakkanni (p. 162) and Elilan (pp. 164-165).

Even though Prof. Cuntaram Pillai, followed the Sanskrit and Western dramaturgy in the production of his play, he was not completely indifferent to the needs of his audience. Tamil audience had been used to the musical drama till the end of the nineteenth century. The street plays were full of songs and prose passages were inserted to explain and illustrate the songs. A play without

song was quite alien to them. When Campanta Mutaliyar tried to introduce prose plays in the beginning of the twentieth century, he could not completely do away with songs in his plays. In his play *Pon-vilanku*, he attempted first to stage it with a single song and when he found that the audience could not tolerate it, he had to introduce a few songs in the play later on. The only achievement he could claim at the beginning of this century was that he could limit the number of songs to six or seven. Prof. Cuntaram Pillai had thought it wise to make the play interesting with a few songs. The songs sung by Vani and Manonmani (I-III); the song by the mother of Palatevan's love (II-II), the songs sung by the bards of Civakan and Purushottaman (IV-I; III-II), Purushottaman's love song (V-I) and Vani's song at the time of Manonmani's wedding – are the few that add colour and charm to the play. This detail also is imitated by the later day playwrights unmindful of the needs of the present stage.

In Pukalenti, Karpakavalli's songs of *ammanai* (II-III) and ball game (I-III), Kuratti's song (I-III) and Karpakavalli's maid's song about Tatatakai Tirumanam-all make the play interesting.

Anicca Ati has also quite a number of songs to its credit. The songs of the lady love (I-I), of the poet Paranar (II-III) and of Arulali are worth mention.

Mullai Matam has comparatively less number of songs. Maran's song (p. 71) and Vanavarampan's song are to be noted.

Anni Mignili and Palmati are exceptions in the sense that they have no songs to make the play interesting.

Even minor details of Manonmaniyam have been imitated by the later playwriters.

In Manonmaniyam, the author has introduced a play within the play i.e. Civakami Caritam. Vani Sings this ballad to the accompaniment of Veena (III-III). Karpakavalli's maid, in the play Pukalenti in her turn sings the ballad on Tatathakai's wedding (I-IV). In Anicca Ati the poet Paranar sings a ballad on the King Pekan (II-III).

In Manonmaniyam, the heroine is portrayed as playing ammanai with her maid. In Pukalenti the heroine plays kalangu and ball game with her friends. In Mullai Matam the heroine is represented as playing Chess (caturankam) with her maids. Separate scenes are devoted to exhibit these details.

In Manonmaniyam, Civakan is portrayed as a valiant warrior, while addressing his soldiers he delivers an inspiring speech, kindling their national spirit, (IV-I). This scene has been applauded as a beautiful passage and appreciated by many of the critics. An imitation of the scene is found in Mullai Matam in which

the king Vanavarampan makes an eloquenst speech on his love for his country and entreats them to rise up to destroy the enemies. The excellent poetry and the powerful language used in this passage add to the charm of the play.

When Prof. Cuntaram Pillai published his play, he considered it essential to give the synopsis of the play in English, along with his foreword both in Tamil and English for the sake of the English friends. Prof. V. G. Curiyanarayana Castri also followed this practice while publishing his prose and verse plays. After the first two decades of the twentieth century this practice ceased in prose plays but continued in the verse plays, Visvanatham, Pukalenti, Anicca Ati and Anni Mignili.

Except Kalatter, Panimoli, Palmati and Periya Verri and Maperum Aram, the best of the modern verse plays are either adaptations or derivatives. *Manonmaniyam* is an adaptation of Lord Lytton's *Secret Way* published in the poetical selections, *The Lost Tales of Mile.* The opera introduced in the play by name *Çivakamiyin Caritam* is again based on *Edwine and Angeline – A Ballad* found in *The Vicar of Wakefield* by Goldsmith. The author has successfully created a Tamil atmosphere in the play that there is no trace of foreign origin evident anywhere in it. The Cankam literature and other classics have provided the framework for the other modern verse playwrights to work on. They are either historical or literary. Viswanathan, Marainta Ma Nakar, Ravi Varma are historical plays. Pulavar Palani has found the theme in two Kuruntokai verses (72, 297) and developed into *Anicca Ati. Anni Mignili's* theme is laid in two *Akananuru* Verses (196, 262). In *Mullai Matam*, the author has adapted the names of the characters from *Purananuru.* They have done good work out of these themes and the plays are effective as literary closets.

Before concluding it would not be out of place to spell out a few suggestions for the successful growth of verse plays in the future. The modern dramatist is working on the contemporary world, creating situations close to actual life. Verse dramatists still lingering on archaic themes should try to increase the realism in their writing by taking note of what is happening actually in the theatre. The blank verse should be made to shed off its stiffness and artificiality and attain the simplicity of natural speech. Again the emphasis on the language of the common people would tend to produce unfavourable results. One can become too pedestrian. Anyway successful handling of the language depends upon the skill of the playwright. The verse playwright, along wth his mastery over the language, should also have the knowledge of stagecraft in all its aspects. History goes that Yeats recast his *The Snowy Walkers* in the light of the theatrical knowledge he acquired later. The verse playwrights should have the living theatre in their minds, and if they are extremely alert to the contemporary issues, these plays would attract a wider audience to see and listen. Let us also remember Somerset Maugham's

remarks that "a play which does not appeal to an audience may have merits but it is no more a play than a mule is a horse."

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SECTION 6

HISTORY

SOME ASPECTS OF CHOLA RULE IN KARNATAKA

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From the early 9th Century A.D. the imperial cholas had to face their rivals in the north west, the Rastrakutas first and secondly the Chalukyas of Kalyani, for the occupation of Karnataka. Both the Cholas and the Chalukyas were well equipped with materials and personal resources and each of them was ambitious and able rulers who had a vaulting territorial quest in order to extend their frontiers and administration.[1] Finally the imperial Cholas under Rajaraja I and Rajendra Iconquered Gangapadi,Nulambappadi,Tadigaippadi and Irattapadi which formed the modern Mysore, Kolar, Bangalore and Tumkur and also parts of Bijapur districts of Karnataka during the last decade of the 10th century A. D. It was actually in A.D. 997, that Rajaraja stepped into Karnataka through the Mulbagal—Chittor route. Mulbagal (*Mul*-East, *bagalu-door*) of the Kolar district was considered as the eastern door-way for the Chola army to enter into Karnataka. Later it became the gateway for the Hoysalas who had stationed their armies and it was continued even by the Vijayanagar rulers. This fact is borne out by the inscriptions of Southern Karnataka i.e., Bangalore, Mysore and Kolar districts. Thus Rajaraja settled the boundary of the Chola empire from Yedatore Nad 2000 to the Tungabhadra along the line of separation between Malnad and Maidan districts of Mysore. It seems that for about 118 years (from A.D. 997 – 1115 A.D.) the colas held their sway in southern Karnataka and especially after the demise of Kulottunga Chola I they lost their territories to the powerful local dynasty i. e. the Hoysalas. Thus the rule and administration of the Cholas in these territories occupied by them, left a memorable mark with an imperishable impact on the Kannadigas as well as the Tamils influencing their languages, culture and economy. Even today we find typical Tamil customs and habits among many Tamilians settled in Kolar, Mysore and Bangalore districts.

The purpose and aim of this paper is to throw some light on the cultural and economic conditions prevalent in the Chola occupied areas. This is a field unexplored, a pasture new. The Tamil inscriptions of the Cholas in and around Kolar, Mysore and Bangalore districts have to be studied very carefully as they furnish a lot of interesting information. The epigraphs are in Tamil and Grantha characters and they help us a lot to study the economic conditions of Kolar, Mysore and

Bangalore districts. It is true as Derrett says that the inscriptions found in Kannada language belonging to the Hoysalas and later Chalukyas do not furnish such adequate information as the Tamil inscriptions of the Cholas found elsewhere in the country.[2]

The administration of the Cholas was an elaborate one. After their victory over the Gangas in A.D. 1001, they divided their empire into *mandalams* or provinces, then into *valanadus* or districts, *nadus* or taluks and finally into *ur*, *gramas*, *puras-mangalas* etc., This was maintained even in Karnataka. The *mandalam* consti, tuted the higher unit of administration of the Cholas and it is no exception here also. Rajaraja I gave new names to the conquered territories of Karnataka, i.e. Gangavadi was named as Mudikonda Chola Mandala, its important town being Talakad alias Rajarajapura; Tadigaipadi was bestowed with a new name called Vikrama Chola mandala and Nulambapadi came to be known as Nikarili-Chola mandala.[3] The most important centre of activity for the Cholas in Vikrama Chola mandala was Kolala (or Modern Kolar district). The application of new names to the conquered territories by the Cholas might be for a uniform identification and integrity of all these territories into a unified Chola country.

Identification of the Chola administrative Divisions (Mandalas) in Karnataka

A deep study of the Chola epigraphs found in Karnataka, shows that the Chola mandalam consisted of six *Valanadus:*

1. Tondainadu alias Tondamandalam or Jayankonda Chola Mandalam which belonged to the ancient Pallavas, consisted of 21 valanadus.

2. Kudagunadu or Malai nadu or the modern Coorg district appears to have been a part of the Chola empire being controlled by Rajaraja's feudatories.

3. Mudikonda Chola mandala was the southern portion of Gangavadi or Gangapadi, the modern Mysore district. It formed one Valanadu called Gangai-konda Chola valanadu and its nadu was Padi-nadu identified with Hadinadu or Hadinuru with its capital at Alur in modern Chamarajnagar Taluk of Mysore district.

4. Vikrama Chola mandala, a part of Gangavadi formed the northern-most portion of Bangalore district (Magadi which is mentioned often in inscriptions was an important town). Its chief *Valanadu* was Jayankonda Chola valanadu, the present North Arcot district comprising Bangarpet, Vellore, Ambur, Kuppam, Katpadi, Jolarpettai and parts of Salem etc.

5. Nigarili Chola mandalam is the modern Kolar district with Kolala as its chief town, and parts of Chittoor districts.

6. During Rajendra Chola I's period, Idaturai-nadu was also included which is now identified with Yedatore as the northernmost part of the Mysore district.

7. Nulambapadi or Nolambavadi, the modern Bellary, Cuddapah and Anantapur districts which belonged to the Nolamba Pallavas formed part of the Chola territory. Its chief nadu was Parivai Nadu, named after Paruvai i.e. the modern Parigai, 7 miles north of Hindupur in the Anantapur district. Its chief places were Kudalur and Kusavur.

8. The modern Tumkur district north-west of Bangalore was also controlled by the Cholas for some time as we get a few inscriptions[3a] there but it seems they left it to be controlled by their feudatories who claimed their descent from the solar race of the Chola vamsa called Nidugal chiefs.[4] They ruled around Hemavati and Nidugal and their capital was Penjeru or Henjeru, in Tamil it was called Peruncheru now Hemavati the northernmost border of the Sira taluk of Tumkur district. The Nidugal cholas, a local dynasty who were subordinates of the Gangas and later the imperial Cholas call themselves *Chola maharajas* and their epigraphs are found scattered in the Chitaldurg and Bellary districts.

Imperial Headquarters of the Cholas in South Karnataka

With the acquisition of Nolambavadi and Gangavadi the Cholas started improving the towns and their capitals. Talakad which was the earlier Ganga capital was named as Rajarajapura; Manalur the present Malurpatna near Channapatna, was Nigarili Cholapura, an important capital named after Rajaraja's titles; Kuningal, the modern Kunigal became Rajendra Cholapura after Rajendra Chola I led an invasion on Mysore territory; Manne in the Nelamangala taluk of Bangalore or Manyakheta of the Kanyakumari inscription became an important "sporting ground for Rajendra Chola's army". Kolar maintained its usual ancient name Kuvalala–the most important headquarters for the stationing of the Chola armies. An inscription also mentions him as seated at Kaivaranad (Chintamani taluk) and making grants to the goddess Pidariyar.[4a]

Revenue system and Taxation

The revenue terms used by the cholas, in Karnataka only, are *Kattarampam*[5] (tax on dry land), *Nirarampam*[3] (tax on wet land), *Kumarikatamai*[7] and *Vetar Kummari*[8] (tax on hill crops), the *Karvaraku*[9] (tax collected during the Kar harvest) and tax on houses, sugar cane mills[10] etc. The *Valangai Idangai Maganmai* and *acuva-vari* (tax on weavers) which was levied in the Chola country was present in Karnataka also. But we find slight differences in revenue terms for e.g., *cirrangadip-pattam*[11] (tax on shops) in Karnataka was known as *angadippattam*[12] in their home and so also the *cirucunkam*[13] (tolls) was called *cunkam*[14] in Tamilnad. Tax on the

sacred animals such as the cows and buffaloes was not collected in any part of their occupied areas.

The rate of tax collected on wet lands was assessed upto 2/5 (40%)[15] and 1/4 (25%) on dry lands[16] and as it should cause no surprise taking into account the yield of the fertile land. The rates differed from the Tamil country where we do not find some rates at the homeland. Probably it may be that the Cholas must have assessed the rates on tax according to the local rate prevalent earlier and they did not make any amendments in Karnataka. This is clearly revealed by a thorough study of Tamil epigraphs of the Cholas in Karnataka. There were revenue officers (*adikarihal*)[17] who regularly made entries in the revenue register (*puravuvari*) and there was an accountant (*kanakkan*) who maintained the revenue accounts regularly. The head of a *mandalam* known as *mandala mudali*[18] executed the revenue function of a *mandalam*. The revenue department known as *Puravu vari tinaikkalam* had different types of officers with different designations. To note here, the officers were all Tamilians who were transferred from the Chola country to administer in Karnataka. We get evidences of an officer Pallava Naranapuram udaiyan Aravamudu holding the *mugavetti*[19] (officer of the royal seals) designation and his eminent service brought him the promotion that he merited to the rank of *varippottakam*[20] (officer of the keeper of revenue records). The chief of the revenue department was the chief secretary (*tirumantira olai nayakam*) and his subordinate, the royal secretary (*olainayakam*)[21]. This type of revenue system of the Cholas was even accepted by the later dynasties as they concentrated on the nucleus of the revenue administration in Karnataka which suited both the local people as well as the officers. They did not introduce any tax which was new to the natives and even if it was done so, there was no resistance.[22] The Cholas thought in terms of the village autonomy and considerable freedom to local bodies.

Weights and measures

The Cholas used standard weights and measures around Bangalore, Kolar and Mysore districts. The units of measurement of food grains in southern Karnataka were *alakku, nali, padi, kuruni, marakkal, padakku,* and *kalam.* In cases of measurement of Paddy, no separate measures were used and they were uniform in Karnataka and Tamilnad. The relative value of measures and their equivalents in modern terms have been worked out by Appadorai[23], Nilakantasastri[24] and this is confirmed by the Kolar inscription of Kulottunga Chola I dated A.D. 1071.[25] The same measures for liquids and grains were used in different places and we find mention of numerous kinds of nali and marakkal in inscriptions.

For measuring lands *Veli* (equal to 6.6 acres) which was in vogue in the Tamil country was also present in Bangalore, Kolar, Mysore and Coorg districts.[26]

Kuli found in the Tamil records was also popular in the districts of Bangalore, Kolar, Mysore and Tumkur, units of 100 to 2500 *kulis*, measured in rods of varying length between 18 to 22 spans which was the maximum during the Chola period. One kuli was equivalent to 576 ft.[27]

Sometimes the measures were entitled to be "recognised by the Kings" indicating a standardised measure of the empire[28] or indicated specified measure such as *Kaladi* (feet of rulers) – a common unit of measure in Tamil country. *Ottolgele* (one shoulder limb measure) or after the people of the region tambula i.e. after the Tamils. According to Prannath *kaladi* was equivalent to 14 angulas or 10.5 inches.[29]

Coinage

With the expansion of the Chola empire in Karnataka their currency system was also retained as it was in the Tamil country. This is also confirmed in the gold coins of western Chalukhya king Jagadekamalla and of the Kadambas of Goa where one can find coins bearing the exact weight of Rajaraja's coin[30]. Sometimes on account of dynastic strifes as Prof. Sastri points out, the *adavalam gadyana*[31] of the Kongalvas in the 11th century as opposed to the *gadyana*, is a modified form of a Chola coin.[32] At the same time we find the local varieties of coinage being in circulation which was unanimously recognised by the Cholas.

Madai,[33] a gold coin of the Cholas was in common circulation in the areas occupied by them. The coinage of Rajaraja seems to have been followed by his son also, as we get instances of *Rajendra solankasu*, apparently issued in the Kolar district.[34] For information the *kasu* was a gold coin and when weighed with the weighing stone *niraikallu*, it was equivalent to 3 *kalanju*.[35] An inscription records a grant to a tank dated A.D. 1023 of 57 *gadyanas* in gold, 359 golden grains of rice and 42 *poral* and another grant of 37 *poral* is also mentioned.[36] A deep study in this reveals that after twentyfive years of Rajendra chola's rule the rate of interest had increased three times than earlier.

The Rajarajan *kasu* which was a gold issue was half of the *Madurantakandevan madai* in value which was also issued by Rajendra Chola I. It also appears that it had a good standard and purity in gold content. The *Madurantakamadai* was in circulation in the Chola province of Mysore. Thus we get an inscription of kulottunga Chola I recording a grant to God Tirunandisvaram udaiya Mahadevar of "one plate weighing by the standard weight of the city, eight *kalanjus* and one *kunri* of gold which was superior in fineness to the gold coin name dafter Madurantakan"[37]. Another similar inscription in his 44th year records grant to the same god at Nandi of 1 *kalanju* of gold of the fineness of the gold coin named after *Madurantakan*.[38]

A gold coin Idai Kondavar by name antiyakabharanan *madai* is referred to in an epigraph of Rajendra Chola dated A.D. 1023.[38A] It records that the chief of Padinad (Hadinad) and a merchant from Madurantaka, (in the modern Chingleput district of Tamil Nadu) purchased some land for granting it to a temple at Homma and the cost for it was 20 pieces of this particular coin (*madai*). We learn that *madai* was a Tamil gold coin which was equal to half of a *pagoda*. Another inscription records[39] a grant of madai in Idainad. Ilam or Ilamkasu also seems to have been registered in the fineness of gold in Karnataka and elsewhere.

Influence on Literature and Religious Toleration

The Cholas left abundant wealth to the people of Karnataka during their rule. During the powerful reign of Rajaraja and his son South Indian literature attained the culminating point of its glory. The tradition about the life and times of the 63 saints was embodied in Sekkilar's *Periyapuranam* which was composed during this period. Fifty years later Harihara, a Kannada court poet of the Hoysalas, composed his *Nambiyanna Ragale* (Ragale – Poems). He is known for his poems and stories in Kannada about some of the 63 Saiva saints of Tamilnad. The story of Nambiyanna and Tirunilakanta,[40] a respected priest of Ponnambalam who was accused as a thief of a vessel by God in disguise as a priest, is evidently borrowed from Sekkilar's *Periyapuranam*. Dr. G. S. Dikshit Observes that "the scene of this story is laid in Tamilnad and though it is based on a Tamil work *Periyapuranam* still the poet Harihara who wrote the story in Kannada may be taken to depict the conditions with which he was familiar in Karnataka and this is also true of the other work Nambiyanna Ragale.[41] From the poet Harihara we also come to know about the different communities who resided in different streets such as streets for *Brahmans, Kurubas, Settis*[42] etc., a counterpart of the social conditions prevalent in the Tamil country.

The 63 Saiva Saints of Tamilnad are called 63 *Purathanas* of Karnataka where one finds the depiction of the story and influence of Tamil culture in Kannada nadu. The peple also worshipped the same god and the identical names were maintained, as it existed during the Chola period and in Tamilnad. The *Nuthanas* of the post Chola times who were the Saiva saints of Karnataka were influenced by the Saiva cult of Tamilnad and they considered its Saivism as important. The sect or school of Saivism (or Saiva Siddhanta) which developed in the Tamil country influenced the Vira Saiva cult of Karnataka during the later Chola times. Though Ramanuja was persecuted by the Cholas he had a good opportunity to come and settle at Melkote where he started influencing the Kannadigas (people of Karnataka) with his Vaishnava philosophy and ideas which he had developed from the Saiva school of his home land.

The story of *Satyendra* Chola told in Kannada and Telugu seems to refer to Rajendra chola. A later version in Kannada is by Gubbiya Mallanaraya in his

Bhavachinta Ratna in A.D. 1513.[43] Satyendrachola was one of the Navacholas or (Nine Cholas) who are praised in the Virasaiva work *Navachola charita.*

The Cholas had an immense love for saivism and the Saiva revival started during the period of Rajaraja. Rajendra Chola was a great Saiva follower and temple builder. His endowments to goddess Pidariyar of Kolar reveal the fact that staunch Saivism was not held in that region of many primitive beliefs and apart from this in his 7th year his general Uttama Chola rebuilt some of the brick portions of the temple with stone.[44] He also worshipped Chamundesvari which is stated in an epigraph dated A.D. 1038 found in Alur, Mailanahalli Hobli, Nagamangala wherein he granted 500 *kuli* of land for its daily offerings.[45] He also respected his Saiva guru Isana Siva Pandita for whom he built a temple called Isana Isvaram udaiyar temple at Suttur in Mysore district and made some grants to it.[46]

About the gods worshipped during the Chola occupation of Karnataka there is an interesting inscription[47] of Kulottunga Chola I dated A.D. 1071. This epigraph is very important for it gives a detailed list of temple services, the allotments etc. for gods. The chief deities were Virabhadra, Brahmani, Isvari, Vaishnavi, Indrani, Ganapati, Chamundesvari, Kshetrapala deva, Mahasasta, Surya deva, Yogini and Yogesvara. Though there was considerable religious toleration, Saivism received great impetus under the Cholas.

Migrations and Tamil settlements

When the Cholas conquered Karnataka many Tamilians were brought along with them to Karnataka to perform administrative work as the Kannadigas were not good at that. The Chola epigraphs of Kolar, Bangalore and Mysore districts mention the immigrations of various Tamil people who held the designations of officers and officials in the Chola government.[48] There were trustees and managers of public and private properties;[49] We also find a mention about the traders and merchants;[50] artists and craftsmen;[51]or about a common man[52] who migrated to Karnataka.

During the entry of Cholas and after their expulsion from Karnataka we find evidences about the Tamil immigrants. We hear of the settlements of *Tigulas* (Tamil), their town-hall and their temple of Tigulesvara at Huli, Saundatti taluk, Belgaum district.[53] In another place we find a mention of the Nirgunda village being granted to Tigulas (Tamil immigrants) for their settlements in that place.[54] Another interesting record[55] of 12th Century A.D. found in Hangal taluk of Dharwar District mentions the boundary of the street (*Keri*) of Ramesvara deva being marked and set up by Nandanapille where Tamil merchants (*tigula bevahari*) had settled. Even though the Cholas were at loggerheads with their rivals, the ruling native dynasty which opposed them did not exploit nor harass the Tamil immigrants but in turn promoted the cultural and economic relations, which was equally supported

by the Cholas also. They never took it as a linguistic barrier nor a political issue, i.e. territorial aggrandizement, but thought in terms of the welfare of all societies.

The Ayyavole guild otherwise known as the Federation of commerce of South India which flourished in Karnataka influenced the Tamil immigrants from the Chola country. It safeguarded the interests of all communities of trade guilds and even the Cholas aided its working and organisation. During the Chola period and even later also the *nanadesis*, *ubhaya nanadesis* and *samasta nanadesis* were trade guilds at the regional level and spread over different parts of Karnataka, Tamilnad and Andhra. *Harihara's Nambiyannana Ragale*, a Kannada work, points out that the *mahajanas* examined the duties of the priest where Nambiyanna was his servant. It also mentions the sincerity among the village assemblies and the uniformity in administering justice. Dr. Dikshit asserts that "Certain differences in the Tamil and Kannada versions made it quite clear that there were differences in the working of local assemblies in Tamilnad and Karnataka".[56]

Building Activity

The Cholas showed a keen interest in constructing tanks and temples. Most of the temples were renovated and rebuilt in stone around Mysore, Kolar and Bangalore districts. Adjacent to the *mathas*, rest houses were built for the pilgrims wherein they were fed three times a day according to the inscriptions found on the walls of the temples. Regarding the construction of temples in Mysore the same methods were adopted as were done in the Tamil country. This will be a separate study where one can work on the features of art and architecture of temples of the Chola period especially in the Mysore province. One finds here the southern or Dravidian style of Architecture. The following are the temples built and extended during their rule :

(1) The Aprameya temple at Dodda Malur is a big temple with a lofty gopura.

(2) The Nandisvara temple at Nandi which belongs to the Rashtrakutas was originally renovated by the Cholas and the Hoysalas.

(3) The Somesvara temple[57] is a ruined one found in Gangavaripalli Budigere Hobli, Bangalore district.

(4) The Durga temple at Yelandur (Mysore) of 11th century belongs to Kulottunga Chola I.

(5) The Ranganatha temple at Seringapatam of 12th century A.D. is one of the largest temples of the Dravidian style.

(6) Dinesvara temple[58] at Alur, Chamarajnagar taluk, Mysore belongs to Rajendra Chola I, and the Tirumulastanam udaiyar temple at Alur may probably be assigned to Kulottunga chola I.

(7) The Kolaramma temple of Kolar is of the Dravidian style. Many grants were made by Rajaraja and his son to this temple and some of the brick parts were rebuilt with stone.[59] The Somesvara temple at Kolar may also be assigned to the Chola period.

(8) The Siva temple at Paparajanhalli in Kolar is another.

(9) Another, Hosa Budanur temple, is located 5 miles to the east of Mandya. We also get Tamil Inscriptions[60] of Rajendra Chola from the Somesvara temple at Hale Budanur which is one mile east of Hosa Budanur.

(10) Chandesvari temple at Vogata, Hoskote taluk of Bangalore district is yet another example.

(11) Dharmesvara temple at Kondarahalli, Hoskote taluk of Bangalore district is a Dravidian temple which can be assigned to Chola Raja Mahendra.[60a].

(12) The Vaidisvara temple at Talkad is a beautiful Tamil style temple dated A.D. 1100 of Kulottunga Chola I.

(13) We have another instance in the Somesvara temple at Husigala, Hoskote taluk of Bangalore district dated A.D. 1100.

(14) The Agastyesvara temple at T.Narsipur, Mysore district of circa 1100 A.D., will complete the list.

Sati

"Sati" was not uncommon in the Mysore province of the Cholas. A very important Mahasatikkal[61] dated A.D. 1057 of Rajendra Chola period records that a lady performed "Sati" as her husband was executed by the King's men, for the reason, that he killed his opponent (who was a relative to the king) in a wrestling match. We also get evidences of a woman performing heroic deeds by which she lost her life in a cattle raid and a *viragal* was erected for her.[62]

To conclude : the Chola rule over Karnataka was a golden epoch in South India and an enormous impetus was given to Tamil culture. It paved the way for the future dynasties to have a correct footing in their administration. They gave the people of Karnataka, flesh and blood in all walks of their life. We can say without any fear of contradiction that the Cholas were not autocrats but allowed the local people to carry on their self-rule. They did not solely and wholly rule Southern Karnataka but in turn it was ruled by the indigenous people. The Cholas modified their administration in such a way as to suit the convenience of the administrators as well as the natives and it was partially accepted by the succeeding dynasties also.

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3a. *EC.*, XII, Kg. 2, Mi. 76.

4. *Epigraphia Carnatica.*, XII, Si.7, Hiriyur. 30, 43, 50, 52, 53.

4a. *EC.*, X, K1. 112a, 111.

5. *EC.*, IX, N1. 25 ; *Ibid.*, X, Mb. 107.
6. *EC.*, IX, N1.25.
7. *EC.*, X, Mb.49(a) ; *EC.*, IX, N1.38a.
8. *EC.*, X, Mr. 101.
9. *EC.*, IX, NL. 38a.
10. *EC.*, X, K1. 110.
11. *EC.*, IX, CP. 77.
12. *EI.*, XV, 5 ; *SII.*, IV, 223.
13. *EC.*, X, Mb.49(a) ; *EC.*, XIV, Y1.146.
14. *SII.*, XIX, 351 ; *Ibid.*, I, 146.
15. *EC.*, IX, N1.25.
16. *EC.*, X, Mb.49(a), 107 ; *Ibid.*, IX, N1.25.
17. *Ibid.*, X, K1.112a.
18. *EC.*, XIV, Y1. 146.
19. *EC.*, X, K1. 111.
20. *EC.*, X, K1. 19.
21. *EC.*, X, K1. 112a.
22. *M.A.R.*, 1910, P.29 ; *Kallavalike* was a tax on spirituous liquor sellers. Dr. G.R. Kuppuswamy in his book *Economic Conditions in Karnataka*, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1975, pp. 169, fn.says that the word seems to have been derived from Tamil *Kallai* and it can be split up into *Kallu* .. *ilike* — tax on liquor at the point of tapping.
23. Appadorai, A., *Economic conditions in Southern India*, A.D. 1000 - 1500, Vol. II, P. 783 ; also refer Prannath., *A study in the economic conditions of Ancient India*, London, 1929, Table. 5, P. 77.
24. K.A.N. Sastri., *The Colas*, University of Madras, Madras, 1975, P. 624.
25. *EC.*, X, K1. 106a, 108.
26. Appadorai, A., *Economic conditions in Southern India*, Madras, 1936, Vol. II, App.iv. b ; *Beli* was the Kannada equivalent of *Veli* (Tamil).
27. According to Saletore a kuli is a square measure varying from 1 sq. ft to256000 sq. ft — *Social and Political life in Vijayanagar*, P. 444 ; Mahalingam T.V., *Economic Life in Vijayanagar*, P. 188 ; According to G. R. Kuppuswami Kuli is a term not unfamiliar to the region of Karnataka meant only a pit

of 1 sq. ft for planting arecanut trees - *Economic conditions in Karnataka* P. 163, 148.Kuli in the modern day in Cholanad means only an area of 12'×12'—Ed

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35. *Ibid.*, 1916, Para 12, App. B.No. 176.
36. *EC.*, IX, Ht. 10.
37. *EC.*, X, CB.24.
38. *Ibid.*, X, CB,25.
38a. *Ibid.*, IV (ii), Ch.69.
39. *Ibid.*, IV (ii), TN.33.
40. In Harihara's *Tirunilakantha Mahatme* — Hariharana Ragalegalu., Pt.I, Ed.P.G. Halkatti, PP. 26-27, Bijapur, 1932.
41. Dikshit, G.S., *Local Self-Government in Mediaeval Karnataka*, P. 116 Fn.
42. *Social conditions in Harihara's Ragales* by K. G. Kundangar in 'Sivanubhava., XXIII, P. 28.
43. Narasimhachar., *Karnataka Kavicharite*, Ed. 1919, 443, 193 ; Wilson., *Mackenzie MSS*, 324.
44. *EC.*, X, K1.109a.
45. *Ibid.*, IX, Ng. 7a.
46. *Ibid.*, III, Nj.164.
47. *EC.*, X, K1.106a, 108, 110.
48. For example Ramabhadra Ravi Settiyar who was a superintendent of a *nadu* (*EC.*, IX, Ht.140a) ; Ammai Nayan a superintendent under the Hoysala Viraballala (*EC.*, IX, Ht.97) ;
    Velan, a revenue officer (*EC.*, X(i), Kl.19) ; Koyiraman, who was the collector of taxes of some place (*EC.*, X,K1,25) ; Dharmapriyan, the writer of Sasanas or epigraphs (*EC.*, IX, CP.77).
49. Devapillai who was a holder of Temple lands (*EC.*, IX, CP.88a) ; Sokkaperumal dasan — manager of the temple at Matur (*EC.*, X (i) Mr. 9).
50. Iravi Tripurantaka settiyar of Talakad (*EC.*, IX, Bn.10) ; Manika Setti of vanapuram (*EC.*, IX, N1.7a) ; Nambidevi Setti (*EC.*, IX, Ht.56).
51. We get evidences of stone mason by named Aravindalochana Chandra sekhara (*EC.*, IX, CP.77) ; Varadan a goldsmith and Cholachari a sculptor.
52. Sokkaperumal a citizen (*EC.*, X, Mr.9) — An epigraph from Hiriyur which is dated A.D. 1207 mentions the immigration of all the farmers of Pandyianad

to Muttana Hosevur under the leadership of Marajiya (*EC.*, V(ii), AK.106, P.477, 11.23-24 (Text))

53. *Annual Reports of South Indian Epigraphy.*, 1940-41, App. E. No. 17.
54. *Epigraphia Indica.*, XII, No. 19, P. 154, 1.64 (Text).
55. *Karnatak Inscriptions.*, V.No. 105, P. 307 ; Apart from this there were town assemblies which were independent organisations, like those of the Tigulas—*Inscription from Bombay — Karnatak region.*, 17 of 1940-41 ; There were also weavers of that place (*EI.*, XVIII, P. 196) ; Even the *Sabhas* of Tamilnad was parallel to the *Mahajanas* of Karnataka—K.A.N. Sastri., *Studies in Cola History and Administration.*, PP. 81-82, Madras, 1932,
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MADURAI ON THE VERGE OF CHANGE: A DISCUSSION OF THE VALUE OF WESTERN SOURCES FOR THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

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In two recent papers I have ventured the speculation that much of the demographic growth and evident institutional vitality of Madurai city can be attributed to the strength and persistance of its autochthonous institutions.[1] The impact of modern innovations, particularly in education, transportation and industrial organization and technology, obviously cannot be ignored. Yet it remains unclear how such intrusive changes interacted with the pre-existing economic and social structure and with the perceptions, values, and behavioral codes which gave meaning and direction to the traditional life of the city. Madurai's nineteenth century history is thus another instance of the confrontation of what is frequently characterized as modernity versus tradition. Much of the interest afforded by its example stems from the capacity of Madurai's non-modern, non-western characteristics to play an active, perhaps dominant, role in the shaping of what is now a "modern" metropolis of some 700,000.

Madurai's modern response involved a process substantially different from the development of the great Indo-British port cities or the transformation of Delhi into a twentieth century imperial-cum-national capital. As one of the few truly millenial cities, Madurai's urbanism was a distillation of local, regional and universal components within Indian culture. While it was noted by Ptolemy, it emerged as an urban community totally independent of the historical progression which produced the modern cities of the West. As an exemplar, therefore, of a genuine Indian urbanism, its response to exogenous influences constitutes a significant element in India's confrontation with modern western culture.

Understanding of this response requires knowledge of Madurai's character before the process began. The city's first contacts with the modern West can be arguably extended to as early as the Karnatic wars of the eighteenth century during which Madurai's strategic value as the major fortress on the Vaigai plain induced the British East India Company to send troops and back allies contending for its control. But in as much as the British contributed to the turmoil in the region until

they established effective control at the turn of the nineteenth century, their earlier influence upon Madurai can be considered to be marginal and perhaps repulsive.

Substantial contact thus can be dated from 1801, with the creation of a district headquarters at Madurai. Company government brought restoration of order and hence the possibility of reviving commerce after a long period of disruption and spoilage. Yet it can be argued that for more than one-half of the nineteenth century British control had little impact upon either the social organization of Madurai or the values which motivated its life. Revenue was surveyed and collected, roads were sporadically improved, the kallar of the countryside were partially pacified, the walls of the city (it was called the Fort of Madura by Europeans until the early 1840's) were razed in an attempt to reduce pestilence, the affairs of the Minakshi and other major temples were supervised, American missionaries launched a vigorous conversion effort and French Jesuits attempted to revive the mission which had collapsed and split in the eighteenth century. These initiatives brought innovations, but the evidence presented by the Europeans and Americans involved in these efforts suggests they were superficial before 1850. The reaction of these agents of change most frequently was to remark on the conservative character of the city and especially its brahmin elite. In fact, in spite of all of their activities contact by foreigners with elite members of Madurai society generally appear to have been restricted to activities involving supervision of the temples, zamindari estate management and largely abortive attempts to introduce English education. Native India appointees in the District Cutcherry were dominated at the highest levels by Maratha Brahmins and in the middle posts by local Vellalar[2]. Given the limited presense of Europeans—twelve English households were reported in 1851—and the marginality of their roles, life in Madurai essentially remained governed by age old arrangements and customs until the 1850's.

The following generation experienced an acceleration of innovation which produced profounder results. Interest in Anglicized education became obvious in the late 1850's, the foundation for modern education was laid within the next twenty-five years. The cotton boom spurred by the American Civil War broadened Madurai's role as a trade center in the 1860's ; the banking and commercial roles of the Nattukkottai Chettiyar became new factors in the city's economy; incremental improvements in the road system contributed to a notable increase in the movement of regional goods by cart traffic.[3] The establishment of the beginnings of municipal self-government came in the late 1860's and the linkage of Madurai with the South Indian Railway system by 1875. Therefore, the period roughly 1850-1875 can be seen as transitional. Cultural importations were eliciting responses which carried growing potentials for substantive changes in institutions and behavior.

Even so, innovation up to that point can easily be exaggerated. Madurai was to have no newspaper until the late 1880's—several years after the smaller cities

of Salem and Coimbatore ; no industrial firm of a modern character was introduced there until 1892 (totally on the basis of foreign capital and management) long after elements of modern technology had been introduced by Indian firms at Dindigul. Obvious ferment over the challenge of Christian ideas and the beginnings of debate over Hindu social reform was not articulated until 1881 with the founding of a chapter of the Theosophical Society. The emergence of competition among traditional groups quartered in the city came in the 1880's and 1890's as the Chettiyar, Nadar, and Saurashtra communites began to formulate educational and social objectives and new forms of organization and tactics to achieve them. Significant innovation affecting Madurai in depth thus came late in the nineteenth century. Consequently, an understanding of Madurai as a product of its unique urban tradition requires examination of the period before 1850 when little had changed. This paper offers a preliminary summary of the evidence of the character of the city before 1850 as disclosed by Western sources official and private. As will be apparent, such sources can provide only a spotty and distorted picture of the period, largely due to the failure of foreigners resident in the city to establish meaningful contact with a cross-section of Madurai's population. At best they provide rough clues and thus serve as points of departure for further research through indigenous sources.

Madurai in the Early Nineteenth Century

During the first decades of British rule Madurai's prospects either for maintaining its traditional character or for undergoing some new transformation seemed far from bright. Writing in the late 1860's J. H. Nelson claimed that "for 30 years Mudura was almost as poor and backward under British domination as şhe had been under Mohametan" which he attributed to poor crops and recurrent fever epidemics.[4] Frequent instances of famine led the missionary commentator, Chandler, to conclude that Madurai lost forty percent of its population between 1822 and 1836 ; 35,000 being the estimate for the latter year.[5] A severe outbreak of cholera in 1837 and the accusation that filth in the city had been neglected led Collector Blackburne to the decision to tear down the walls which had protected Madurai since Nayak times.[6] Despite the remarks of visitors on its attractive housing, wide boulevards and spectacular public buildings, the impression among Western observers was unanimous that the city was in decline at least prior to the tearing down of the walls in 1841.[7]

This evidence of decadence was reinforced by political changes introduced by the British and by Madurai's relative isolation from new centers of power and economic initiative. Madras had rapidly become South India's metropolitan center for politics and trade and would soon become the hub of cultural and educational innovation as well. After two millenia as a political, cultural and religious center Madurai, under the British, was reduced to a remote district headquarters. Traditionallly dependent upon political patronage, its literati artists and fine craftsmen

were soon to be drawn away to the princely courts of Travancore and Tanjore.[8] Isolated by bad roads—it took a week for travelers to negotiate the 80 miles from Trichinopoly in the early 1830's and at least fifteen days, the 350 miles from Madras—in the perspective of its rulers Madurai was a remote religious center, picturesque but deadly to health, centered in a draught prone plain, dominated by a sacredotal elite whose obscurantism limited possibilities of improvement.

Christian missionaries dedicated to uprooting its culture were the most caustic in the description. Reporting on his attempts to get the American Madura Mission off the ground in 1836 Daniel Poor wrote, "The Fort of Madura, which contains 40,000-45,000 inhabitants is the principal seat of idolatry in Southern India.... Idolatry appears to be the all engrossig subject and wears a bold front...... The brahmins here are extremely numerous, but learning among them is in a low state"[9] Poor paid grudging respect to the work of native schoolmasters teaching their pupils in the anterooms of temples or on the pials (verandas) of private homes. He developed more respect for the hospitable Muslims who gave him several opportunities to preach to them. Apart from the few Maratha officials at the cutcherry, he had little that was positive to say about brahmins, "the main supporters of idolatry (depend) mainly upon the outward pomp and parade of their numerous festivals for captivating the imagination of the people and keeping them in bondage."

Commenting 30 years later and probably with less theological choler, Nelson described the local Brahmins as "so ignorant that Government was unable to give them employment ; and the collectors were forced to call into their assistance Mahratta and other foreign brahmins...... For many years accounts were kept exclusively in Mahratta (Marathi) and business was conducted partly in Hindustani and partly in other northern vernaculars." [10]

These mordant comments and many more like them reflect both the alien attitudes of their authors and the reality created by loss of political and cultural resources in the constant warfare of the eighteenth century. It was difficult to glimpse vitality behind Poor's "gaudy shows" or to expect much from a culture so indrawn that business and government could not be conducted in the classical language of the region.

Stagnation thus was apparent to western observers and the impression was reinforced by official neglect and disinterest ; Madurai was a remote and unpromising region. Later developments proved that such appraisals were superficial and invalid. Destitution and the strains of political dislocation were mistaken for decadence. Within a generation of 1850 new resources, new participants and a willingness to take advantage of such modern innovations as had effectively arrived at Madurai belie that judgement.

Western reports and descriptions written before 1850 are not only misleading, they are also fragmentary. The following attempt to put together evidence on Madurai's economy and society is more a collage of scattered clues whose meaning is often obscure. This evidence does provide points of departure for formulating inquiries that probe deeper into what the traditional life of the city was like. Ironically but perhaps appropriately, many of these clues are provided by the very authors who were at their most eloquent in describing decay.

The Economy

Madurai's religious institutions, especially its temples, were at the center of its life in more ways than one. They also controlled much of the city's wealth, not only in the form of temple treasures, but also in the land of its residential neighborhoods assigned to temple servants (agraharams) and in the income from agricultural land outside of the city (maniyams). Yet the economic data from the 1871 census corroborated by comments from earlier observers strongly suggest that Madurai's economy was persistently dominated by pre-industrial manufacturing, concentrated mostly in textiles. Forty percent of the male work force was classified as industrial, only 17.5 percent were labeled under professional services and arts the category in which religious practitioners would be included with teachers, scribes, government employees and physicians.[11] It is possible this pattern might reflect a shift toward manufacturing before 1871, but earlier reports do not imply such a trend. It seems likely that Madurai has persistently remained an industrial town, in the general sense of physical fabrication and processing, at least since British occupation, perhaps since it lost its political hegemony over its region early in the eighteenth century. Services—religious and secular—and trade appear to have been strong secondary sectors. If this was the case, then Madurai's economy was not functionally dominated by its religious institutions.

Ward, the earliest of our sources (1817) reported a variety of industrial activities dominated by the weaving of muslins and coarser cloths and the production and application of a red dye which then was a hallmark of Madurai. He noted that products of the city included gunny bags (fiber not indicated), brown paper (manufactured in the palace) and pressed castor oil. He remarked at the excellence of its carpentry. The most prominent exports leaving the city were cloth, saltpetre, and raw cotton, the latter two being products of the region not the city. Imports featured sugar, medical drugs and saltfish.[12] Ward offered not indication of the volume of commerce involving Madurai, but he was impressed with the condition of the roads leading from the city.[13].

Writing from the changed economic perspective of fifty years later J.H. Nelson concluded that "the manufactures of the (Madurai) District with the exception of salt are scarcely worth notice." He referred to the making of "large quantities of a celebrated kind of red cloth" in Madurai and the manufacture of "hand-

some turbans fringed with gold lace." But apart from these exceptions "there is hardly any manufacture of any importance." [14] Nelson saw such manufacturing operations as having no future prospects.[15]

Nelson's observations suggest that few innovations in manufacturing had been attempted or been successful. His comments on economic conditions present a mixed picture. He found that increases in the price of rice no longer permitted all classes in the city to consume it as a staple,which he claims was formerly the case. Rice water was the common beverage in 1868, Indians in Madurai had not yet taken up the drinking of tea or coffee, but "most castes" drank toddy.[16] New wealth was becoming apparent, although Nelson did not specify which groups were enjoying it. The wealthy had begun to use sofas, chairs, tables and other furniture of European conception. He noted, as did several other observers, the prominence of "many hundreds of well built, room brick houses, sometimes two stories."[17]

These ambiguous indication of both continuity and change are reinforced by fragmentary reports between 1817 and 1868. Collector Raus Peter reported in 1821 that " in the last two years a very considerable body of weavers established themselves at Madura."[18] Using American Madura Mission materials from the 1830's Chandler corroborates Ward's remarks on manufacturing, but added that pottery flourished alongside textiles in the city.[19]

Conditions of road transport appear to have varied over time and by route. The key roads connected Madurai with Trichinopoly through Melur or through Dindigul, with Tondaimandalam (a salt road), with Ramnad and Ramneshwaram and with Tinnevelly towards the south. Apparently all of these major routes fell into decay in the 1820's. Blackburne is credited with extensive improvements in the late 1830's.[20] His reports vividly describe the perils, e.g., the road to Trichinopoly via Melur in 1834 was "unsafe from robbery, lacked resthouses and bridges."[21] The average trip of eighty miles took seven days with great strain on the bullocks. He claimed that after improvements a bandi cart could make the trip in four days without strain.[22] Blackburne' simprovements must be seen in the perspective of Madurai's relative isolation from the rest of the Presidency. The Madurai Collector's report to the Public Works Department in 1854 described only 10 miles of the 500 maintained in the district as metaled. The District gazetteer recorded that the main road between Madurai and Dindigul was "in a ruinous state" as late as 1868.[23]

Empirical evidence of the volume of trade at Madurai is almost totally lacking for the early nineteenth century. Commenting on the possibility of a railway network in the region, Blackburne passed on reports to the Madas Board of Revenue in 1836 that the volume of goods moving overland northward from Tinnevelly through Madurai to Trichinopoly amounted to 188 tons per month, twelve tons of which originated at Madurai. Some 112 tons were reported to be passing through Madurai

in the opposite direction, most of which originated in Dindigul. Shipments of salt, saltfish and clayroot (used in the red dyeing process) from the Ramnad Coast were calculated at 46 tons per month.[24]

These fragments strengthen the impression that Madurai's economy was isolated and of little importance to the commerce of the Presidency. Certain of its products, particularly textiles, were widely traded, but no evidence of the value of that trade has been assembled for the period. What is known suggests a persisting pattern of customary craft production carried out very largely for consumption within the city and its immediate hinterland. A close trading connection between the city and the adjacent agricultural region is indicated by the juxtaposition of the cotton tract just south of the city with its large textile industry and is suggested by Chandler's correlation of regional famine with declines in the population of the city in the 1820's and early 1830's.[25]

However persuasively the sporadic economic evidence argues for limitation in Madurai's economy, often there was offsetting comment about the city's wealth. Poor referred to the Saurashtra weavers as "among the most wealthy bigotted heathen in the city."[26] Collector Parker arguing in 1848 for an expanded police force in the city claimed "the town contains much wealth" and was threatened by the thievery of the Kallar living in the villages outside.[27]

Blackburne's accomplishments with the roads and the opening of the walls may have produced obvious signs of economic and physical improvement. It is likely, however, that much of Madurai's wealth was associated with the revenues of its temples and the investments of numerous zamindars of the region who maintained establishments in the city.

The American missionaries estimated in the mid 1830's that Minakshi alone supported 2,000 people on annual revenues of Rs. 200,000 (purchasing power of the rupee is suggested by their report that temple dancers were paid a rice allowance and one-half rupee per month). A large part of these revenues must have come from offering of pilgrims and income generated by festivals. Until 1863 district tax officials collected temple revenues from cultivating tenants, and transferred them to the devasthanam treasuries, but the disbursement of Rs. 12,515 to Minakshi in 1859 suggests that private contributions were far more important.[28]

More than twenty zamindars held estates in the district, most of them of minor importance with limited income. Their impact on Madurai was dominated by the large town establishments maintained by the Rajas of Ramnad and Sivaganga. Attended by permanent staffs and retainers these great zamindars maintained great influence on the city throughout the nineteenth century, first by their patronage of the temples and related activities in the arts, and later by their interests in education,

social reform and the early stages of national politics. Their presence must have added notably to both the impression and substance of Madurai's wealth.

Society

An understanding of Madurai's economy depends heavily upon the evidence for the nature of its social arrangements. Despite glaring conceptual weaknesses, the 1871 census once again provides clues to the situation earlier in the century. The most striking conclusion to be drawn from the census data is that the social composition of the city bore little resemblance to that of its hinterland. Perhaps one-fourth of its residents were Saurashtras, immigrants from Western India during Nayak times who clung to their beliefs, customs, language and their mastery of textile production. As much as another tenth were of Telugu extraction, their ancestors having migrated under Nayak patronage to take up positions in government land, trade and some crafts.[29] Another tenth was Muslim divided into Dakni immigrants from the north and Rauthors who were converted Tamils. Muslims were mostly engaged in trade. In addition there were smaller groups of Canarese, Marathas and locally derived Christians who occupied distinctive and important roles in the city.

Tamil groups typical of the region thus formed a minority in its urban capital. The Vellalar cultivating caste reportedly accounted for one-fourth of the population, Konar and Vanniar another five per cent each, the Tamil craft groups perhaps six per cent and the Pariahs less than four.[30].

Brahmins, Tamil and immigrant, accounted for nearly 10 per cent of the population. Their prominence in the city added to its distinctiveness from the rural population in which Brahmins accounted for less than two per cent. Madurai was thus no Tamil village writ large, but a community largely of minorities either by derivation, status or function relative to its hinterland which was dominated by Vellalar, Kallar, other agricultural castes, menials and such trading communities as the Chettiyar and the Nadar who, by 1850, had yet to make much impact upon the city.

Observers reporting on Madurai early in the century are disappointingly superficial in their discussion of social groups and behavior. The distinctiveness of roles such as played by Brahmins, some Telugu groups, Christians, Muslims and Pariahs sometimes are noted, but there is no description in Western sources I have found so far which attempts to account for the organization, life style, distinctive values or interactions of such groups. Nelson in 1868 provides the first extensive discussion of local groups with much valuable comment upon derivation, functions and status, but he does not relate his data to Madurai as a specific urban setting. His data was later amplified by Thurston and by Francis in the 1906 district gazetteer, but within focuses too wide to provide more than occasional evidence

for Madurai as a city. The most valuable literature in Western languages came much later.

Comments from Western sources on early nineteenth century social organisation and behavior often stress complexity or features which were seen as sensational. The annual report of the American Madura Mission for 1863 presented a picture of great intricacy in the Madura district : 28 types of Brahmins, eight types of cultivators, 40 service castes of which 28 were untouchables—presumably many of them were represented in the city, but neither this source nor any other makes this clear.[31]

Reports of the bizarre center upon the temples and especially female temple dancers, the dasis. Poor could not avoid constant reference to scenes of pagan splendor and degradation. But this inability to avoid imposing external values afflicted all Western observers at the time. The result is that virtually none of their comments touching values and attitudes can be trusted. In what frame of reference was the usually careful Nelson thinking when he wrote, "As a rule the Dasis of Madurai are very deficient in good looks ; and are very bad dancers"? [32]

This external bias limits the value of comments on culture more than those on society. Throughout the period under consideration the presumption of Hindu cultural decay is pervasive in the minds of Western residents. This premise was closely associated with the axiom that Indian culture was inferior even to the point of depravity. Hence the prevalence of pejorative exclamations that offer little valid information.

Even so, there were Europeans present who had to respond more deeply or they could not have coped with the responsibilities they bore. This applies to the most effective or experienced of the collectors such as Peter, who served nearly 20 years and Blackburne, who partially rebuilt the city. In carrying out his project Blackburne's knowledge of group interests, attitudes, expectations and rivalries necessarily had to be extensive and intimate for him to have got the necessary cooperation or acquiescence. Responsibility for the management of the temples had to bring him and other collectors into close contact with the most dedicated and influential custodians of Madurai's traditions. Blackburne's urban renewal projects confronted problems of neighbourhood structure and land use patterns that involved the most intimate aspects of Indian household organization. Revenue responsibilities required knowledge of trade and craft practices throughout the gamut of the city's markets. Yet so far as I can determine, Blackburne and the other early Collectors limited their comments on Madurai city to narrow administrative concerns. One can only speculate on the value of their correspondence.

A hint of what collectors were in a position to report on attitudes is given in Parker's comments on the extension of English education in 1854.

"A great desire for a good English education for these children exists among the respectable native at Madura and there is need of a superior English school in addition to the American Mission....The immense number of petitions which I receive in that language evinces a general diffusion of the knowledge of English instruction which is given privately by many of the servants in the court and cutcherry. When it was known that Mr. Fletcher, the tutor to the minor zamindar of Sivaganga, intended to form a small class to pursue their studies with his pupil with a view to excite his enthusiasm, I was besieged with applications for admission to it......"[33]

It is not likely that many such insights from Western reports are yet to be uncovered. Deeper investigation of Madurai's social and cultural life requires use of Tamil and other local language sources in oral and written forms. Such probing holds the potential of unlocking the content of Madurai's life at a pivotal time in its history. Western sources can be useful in setting up a framework in which to pursue the questions they raise but do not answer.

NOTES

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24. Madura Collector (Blackburne) to Board of Revenue, 20 August 1836.
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GREECE AND SOUTH INDIA

From Ptolemy Philadelphus (283–246 B.C.) to Cosmas Indicopleustos (c 543 A.D.)

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This paper does not claim to bring into light new discoveries, since it will deal with a subject studied by eminent scholars like Rostovtzeff and others. But it aims to bring into our memory some historical facts, either forgotten or purposely buried, so that attention will be drawn on other events.

The trade and dialogue between South India and the Western world is a matter known also from excavations (i.e. in Arikamedu), where tangible proofs in the form of pottery and coins, have been unearthed and Indo-Roman trade became a historical fact, with concrete elements in evidence.

But, what is forgotten at least in this part of the world, is that Romans had not initiated this trade but inherited it. They simply continued a well established-for-centuries sea-route, which had been well organised by the powerful Ptolemies, the Greek ruling family of Egypt after Alexander the Great's death. Roman conquest of Egypt was complete by 31 B.C. They inherited not only wealth, the elaborate administration, but also the famous trade with the East and the South that the Ptolemies had organised. Let me be more precise.

Though the big bulk of the Hellenistic literature, a very valuable source of historical information, perished in the fire of the famous libraries of the Greek world, as the AlExondrian ones, for the history of the Ptolemies we have the unique records that the *papyri* of the period are. They give us detailed accounts on the administration, the trade, the structure of the society and the life of Ptolemaic Egypt.

All the histories of the Hellenistic period and those of Ptolemaic Egypt contain of course long chapters on the Eastern trade of Egypt, which was the most important. It is interesting to point out that the Ptolemies desired to attract goods from the South (Africa and Arabia) and East (mainly India), not only for their own needs, but also for the purpose of re-exporting them to the North-East and North-West partly as merchandise in simple transit, partly in the form of manufactured articles, produced in the workshops of Alexandria and Egypt in general.

India, mainly South India, supplied Egypt with ivory, tortoise shell, pearls, pigments and dyes (especially indigo), rice, and various species e.g. pepper, nard,

costum, malabathron, some rare woods, various medicinal substances, cotton and silk.

There were two routes by which Arabian and Indian goods were conveyed to Egypt. One not very extensively used before the time of the Ptolemies, was the sea route along the coasts of Arabia and up to the Red Sea to the Aelanitic Gulf. The other was the ancient land route from South Arabia along the Western coast of Arabia to the country of the Nabateans and Petra, and then to Gaza or across the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt.

The second route was much more important than the first. The Nabateans a strong, thrifty Arab tribe were controlling it in Persian times. This is the reason why the Ptolemies were fighting for possessing Palestine and Phoenicia, so that their supply of caravan goods might not suffer from the Nabateans' control and since Palestine and Phoenicia were also leading various routes, using the well known sea-route of the modern Persian Gulf and from various coastal points Gerrha or Bahrein proceeding by caravans to Tyr, Sidon, the well known Mediterranean ports. Nabateans were not only controlling the caravans, but they were also daring pirates as well as traders.

In order to have a complete free hand in dealing with Nabateans, Ptolemy Philadelphus explored and developed the Red Sea route and tried by making it safe to recommend it to his merchants.

For this purpose he constructed the famous ancient canal linking the Red Sea to the Mediterranean and built the port of Arsinoe which is modern Suez. In 274 B.C. Myos Hormos, another port, was founded halfway down the coast of Egypt and connected to Coptos on the Nile, by a well guarded caravan road. We know that the distance was 6 to 7 days from Coptos. But their most important attempt in the decision to use the Red Sea for the increasing trade from South and East, was the creation of Berenice at the southernmost edge of the Egyptian coast. Berenice was also connected by a well guarded caravan road lasting 11-12 days from Coptos, an important warehouse on the Nile. The Ptolemies knew very well that all this would work only if the Red Sea could be safe from the piracy of the Nabateans.

We possess an interesting positive evidence regarding this. In the late second century B.C. we come upon an unexpected innovation in the administration of Egypt. We first find mention of a special officer in the Ptolemaic service, charged with the care of Egyptian interests in those two seas on the Red and Indian Sea This new post, was perhaps connected with the office of *strategos* of the name of Coptos. The explanation to this is certainly economic and not political. It was undoubtedly, the growing importance of the Indian trade, connected with the discovery of the monsoons and with the ever increasing demand for Indian goods in the ancient world. This increasing trade needed protection and organisation.

Protection on the desert routes from the Nile to the Red Sea had been arranged long back. We do not know the details how the protection on the Red Sea was arranged. It is possible that a squadron of Ptolemaic ships were patrolling per manently on the Red Sea at least during the trading season. Moreover the trade had to be carefully watched, also from the fiscal point of view since the goods imported were subject to the Royal Monopoly. This could be also the reason that the control of this trade was concentrated in the hands of a single official, and the Governor General of the Thebaid, who was at the same time the Commander of the Red and Indian Seas, was indicated for the purpose.

An illustration of the interest of the Ptolemies on the Indian trade, is the well known story of Eudoxus of Cyzicus related to us by Posidonius and borrowed from him by Strabo (xv. 4). It tells how an Indian, stranded in the Arabian Gulf, was brought to Alexandria and after having learned Greek, furnished information to the court of Ptolemy Evergetes IV (c. 170 B.C.), about the commercial route to India. An expedition was immediately decided and sent out. Among the members was Eudoxus who happened to be in Alexandria. The expedition reached India and Eudoxus' ship came back laden with valuable goods (perfumes and precious stones). On the return of the expedition the merchandise brought by Eudoxus from India was taken over by the crown following the well known systems of the Monopoly. It appears that the success of this venture was so great, that it made the King anxious that another expedition should be sent and that Eudoxus should take part in it. The second expedition which had adventures, took place little later, under the successor of Evergetes II, Ptolemy Soter II. It is interesting to point out that Soter II was very popular in the island of Delos – that great mercantile clearing-house, as the man of business, the great merchant, the holder of large stocks of *Indian goods*.

The big push of the Egyptian trade with India towards the middle of the II c. B.C. (Evergetes II and Soter II period) certainly owed its development to some new factors previously unknown. The discovery of the monsoon may have been the possibility given to the Egyptian merchants, to establish direct relations between Egypt and India. It is very likely that Eudoxus received informations on the subject, from the stranded Indian merchant and may have carried out his first expedition with his help; this is a conclusion reached after a long study and research by the great specialist Rostovtzeff.

He has extensively worked on the subject and published two masterly researches on Social and Economic Development of the Hellenistic World (in 3 Volumes) and on Roman World (in 3 Volumes also). He believes that the story of Eudoxus, the Indian material Soter II displayed in Delos, the unexpected innovation in the administration of Egypt to appoint a *strategos* or commander in charge of the Egyptian interest in the Red Sea and Indian sea, are convincing proofs that the trade was important, regular and not a casual event.

The well known sailor or captain Hippalos mentioned in the Periplus of the Red Sea, as being the first who carried out a direct voyage to India using the South-West monsoon is more likely to have been contemporary with Eudoxus.

The date of Hippalos is anyhow disputed, as well as the date of the Periplus of Mare Erythrea. We have tangible proofs that the traditional coastal voyage, from Egypt to India, was well known to the Ptolemies from the beginning of their rule in Egypt.

By the Christian era the Romans had completed the conquest of Western Asia, destroyed Jerusalem in 70 A.D. and ruled Egypt. Economic life in this part of the united civilized world, developed on much the same lines as before, Hellenistic economy and social order were too firmly rooted in the life of the people living on the Western shore of Mediterranean to be abruptly changed by an act of a Roman Emperor. Hellenistic economy as created by Alexander and developed by his successors was a prologue to the stabilization and reorganisation done by Augustus. It is evident that a new economic system was not substituted for the old. In history such breaks in evolution do not occur. Nevertheless the firm establishment of the Pax Romana set in motion new and powerful forces.

Romans continued and intensified the flourishing trade of the Selencids and the Ptolemies. But their great handicap was the growing power of the Parthians. They had never been able to penetrate in Asia. From Mesopotamia to the Caspian Sea, the Parthians were ruling. So all the caravan roads and the trade from the Far East and East were leading towards their territory and of course they were controlling them. Romans had to satisfy themselves in trading with the famous caravan cities Doura Europos, Palmyra etc.

Under these circumstances it is well understood why the routes leading to Egypt, Phoenicia and Palestine, were more extensively used and the sea-trade with South India was intensified, by the Romans. Even the Chinese silk on destination to the Roman market, was passing through Muziris or Barygaza on the Malabar coast, to avoid Parthia.

We should remember that Alexandria never ceased to be Greek, its trade, its intellectual life, everything was in the hands of the Greeks, under the Roman rule. There is no space here to enumerate the names of the writers, thinkers, philosophers, explorers–all Greeks flourishing in Alexandria, in those first centuries of the Christian era. Alexandria was a strong centre of Christian theology and Clement of Alexandria (end of II c. A.D.) is one of the well known names. The Neo-Platonism was also born in Alexandria during the third century. Alexandria was a cosmopolitan city and to use the expression of Strabo who made a long stay in the city in 25–24 B.C. it was "*the world's warehouse*". After 330 A.D. when

Constantine the Great founded the Eastern Empire and the persecutions of the Christians had stopped, the Byzantine Alexandria became the centre of new activities.

This historical background seemed to me indispensable in order to understand how much Cosma Indicopleustos and his Christian Topography, was deeply rooted in the Greek tadition, going far back to the IV century B.C.

Geographical works were a form of literature familiar to Greeks from the classical period. Various types of geographical treatises of a semi-literary or literary character were current in the Greek world of the fourth century: periploi itineraries and geographies. All were practical or scientific in their character or tone. The *periploi* were based on personal experience of travellers or merchants sometime with accounts on unknown regions. Their aim was mostly practical, intended as an aid to seamen and merchants. They contained enumeration of stopping places, especially harbours, in geographical sequence, with hints on orientation. They covered specific regions i.e. the Pontic, the Euxine, mentioned by the well known merchant's guide Periplus Maris Erythaei (assigned to the first century A.D.). The Periplus of Pseudo-Skylax of 350 B.C. though preserved in a fragmentary way, is a good example of a mixed character in which, to the dry enumeration of stopping-places and distances, information of various kinds concerning the nature of the regions, their physical features, their population, their history and their peculiarities, were added. On the *periploi* were based early attempts at a general description of the Earth, with all sorts of data concerning human geography. In the Hellenistic period, geography underwent a spectacular development. The geographical horizons of the Greeks had widened extensively, due in part to the fact that Greek geographers had acquired new knowledge of the East, and in part to the efforts of the Selencids and the Ptolemies to explore beyond the boundaries of their respective kingdoms. From now on the Oriental regions, were as well known as those encircling the Mediterranean ones, and described with the same interest and accuracy. Undoubtedly it was due, as regards the territories of the Eastern monarchies, to the fact that the Hellenistic geographers had access to fresh sources of informationt, which they incorporated in their treatises, and thus gave a new picture of the Greek world.

Cosmas was a Greek native of Alexandria. In this capacity of merchant he travelled far and wide visiting India, Ceylon, the Sinaitic Peninsula and Ethiopia. Later in life he settled in his native town of Alexandria and probably became a monk. This information is based on the authority of one parchment manuscript of the tenth century belonging to the Laurentian library in Florence which calls him Cosmas the monh. One thing is sure, that Cosmas is Christian and the most uncompromising Christian. His exaggeration in this line is often to be regretted. There is however a grave doubt whether he was an orthodox Christian. In the "Histoire du Christianisme des Indes", Dela Croye considers him a Nestorian and

proves it through a number of arguments, based on passages of the *Topography*, Cosmas' major book. For instance in denouncing heretics he omits Nestorians. He confesses to be the pupil and friend of well known Nestorians. He even uses Nestorian modes of expression. Yet there is a doubt, since they are other passages or expressions which refute this argument.

Anyhow whatever could be his religions preference, one thing is sure: he took to writing books, of which the *Topography* only survives. It seems that a work on geography written by him is a real and irreparable loss to students of ancient geography. Cosmas had travelled, over a great part of the then known world. Where he was not feeling obliged to expand theological theories, his enquiring mind, his faculties as a story-teller could not fail to produce a book of travels most interesting. Book XI which deals with India and Ceylon, seems not to have connection with the rest of the Topography and it is believed to be an extract of the lost work of Cosmas on Geography or of some other essay of his.

We are not concerned, with the strange cosmographical ideas of the early theologians, which Cosmas collected and developed into a system – Elaborate details on the size, the shape and the position of the earth, with the heavens above and the waters below the earth, the disappearance and revolution of the sun around a huge mountain, the two storied world with its rounded top, his observations against the wrong-headed pagans who believe in a round world, and the existence of Antipodes, whose inhabitants must "incessantly stand on their head" etc. The arguments, with which Cosmas seeks to demolish this theory of the impious pagan cosmographers, according to whom the earth is a sphere and placed at the centre of the universe, are simply absurd. But this and some similar cosmographical statements, are not particular to Cosmas or his own inventions, but largely prevailing in the writings of more than one theologian of the period, to whom Cosmas often refers, as the Nestorian Theodore of Mosuestia. To end the appreciation on this part of the work of Cosmas, we shall cite Father Montfaucon's statement who was the first to publish in 1706, the *Topography*, in the second volume of "Nova Collection Patrun and Scriptoriun Graecorum". He says, "Cosmas is of interest to us, as the last of the old Christians geographers and in a sense, too, the first of the medieval. He closes one age of civilizaion, which had slowly declined from the self-satisfied completeness of the classical world and he prepares us to enter another that in comparison is literally dark (p. 33)....!t is one of the earliest important essays in scientific or strictly theoretic geography, within the Christian era written by a Christian thinker." (p. 283).

Leaving aside the cosmographical and theological theoires, we must admit that Cosmas has an outstanding position as a geographer. As soon as the *Topography* made its appearance in Father Montfaucon edition, it excited great interest in the learned circles, and was considered at once, a work containing more accurate

and valuable informations on geographical subjects, than any other document that came down from the early medieval age. The language he uses is simple, and his descriptions are not only remarkably vivid, but most important, they are truthful. The greater knowledge we possess today on the remote places Cosmas visited, helps us to realise that he was a man who had a supreme regard for truth, was an acute observer, shrewd in judging the value of the information which he received from others. In spite of his loose grammar seldom does he fail to make his meaning clear.

One of the most interesting and instructive parts of the *Topography,* is when he relates his travels in what he calls Ethiopia. By this name, he designated the vast region southwards from Egypt down to the equator. He visited this part of the world, throughout its breadth and length. Cosmas, along with his friend Menas, a monk of the monastery of Raithu (Sinai Peninsula), copied the famous Greek inscription on the marble tablet and the basinite throne that Ptolemy Evergets consecrated to Ares, twenty seven years after his accession to the throne, to commemorate his successful expedition. This throne lay on the road to Axum. Montfaucon, in his Preface credits him, with the discovery of the true source of the Nile, in the Abyssinian province called Agau (Book II). It was the source of the Blue Nile, which a millenium afterwards was "*rediscovered*" by the Portuguese. Another interesting locality he visited on the other side of the Red Sea, was the Desert of Sinai, where he found fragments of rocks covered with inscriptions.

We also owe to Cosmas, the very interesting details as to the spread of Christianity in his time and we are somewhat surprised to find that in the sixth century, churches and missionaries were at work from France and Spain to India and Ceylon, as well as across the whole of North Africa and Arabia. Even more surprising is to find that Persia was the missionarizing centre for the East. We have these informations not only from Book XI but also from Book III. I am giving Mc Crindle's translation of this passage: "Even in Taprobane, an island in Further India, where the Indian sea is, there is a church of Christians, with clergy and a body of believers, but I know not whether there be any Christians in the parts beyond it. In the country called Male, where pepper grows, there is also a church, and at another place called Calliana, there is moreover a bishop, who is appointed from Persia. In the island, again, called the Island of Dioscorides, which is situated in the same Indian sea, and where the inhabitants speak Greek, having been originally colonists, sent thither by the Polemies who succeeded Alexander the Macedonian, there are clergy who receive their ordination in Persia, and are sent on to the island, and there is also a multitude of Christians. I sailed along the coast of this island, but did not land upon it. I met, however, with some of its Greek-speaking people who had come over into Ethiopia. And so likewise among the

Bactrians and Huns and Persians, and the rest of the Indians, Persarmenians, and Medes and Elamites, and throughout the whole land of Persia there is no limit to the number of churches with bishops and very large communities of Christian people, as well as many martyrs, and monks also living as hermits".

In the well written scholarly work "The Syrian Church in India", Milne Ray comes to the conclusion that there is no evidence of the Christian Church in Southern India, being established before the sixth century or less than half a century before Cosmas' "Christian Topography".

It is in the book XI of the Topography that Cosmas gives detailed descriptions of various animals and plants of South India. If he could not find the exact name in Greek (since the animal is unknown to the Greeks), he creates a compound or in the case of a small animal like the Kastour, gives the name in the Greek sound. He tries to be more helpful in adding some sketches at the end of his MS which are quite interesting.

In the second part of this chapter entitled "*on the island of Taprobane*" we come to a detailed account not only of Taprobane, which was the Sri Lanka of the Greeks, at least since Megasthenes, but also of an impressive number of names of cities, all of them ports on the Western Coast of the Indian subcontinent trading a variety of goods, with the then active and flourishing Western world, i.e. Sassanians and the prosperous Byzantine Empire who at that period under Justinian was reaching its first Golden Age.

He is, first, concerned with Taprobane and its people. He clearly states that its church is of "Persian Christians who have settled there, and a Presbyter who is appointed from Persia, and a deacon and a complete ecclesiastic ritual".

"But the natives and their kings are heathens". MacCrindle translates the Greek expression by the term heathens. Tennent calls it by different races. I belive that the suggestion of Montfauecon is correctly rendered, by the Latin *alieni cultus*, hence *different cults* and not races.

From the following sentences it is clear that Sri Lanka was playing in these ages the same role as now. He says "The island being as it is, in a central position, is much frequented by ships from all parts of India and from Persia and Ethiopia and it likewise sends out many of its own. And from the remotest countries I mean Tzinista and other trading places, it receives silk, aloes, sandalwood ....and other products and these again are passed on to marts on this side such as Male, where pepper grows, and to Calliana which exports *copper* and sesame-logs, and cloth for making dresses for it also is a great place of business. And to Sindhu also where musk and castare is produced and ..the spikenard and to Persia and the Homerite country and to Adule...Sindhu is on the frontiers of India, for the river Indus,

that is, the Phison, which discharges into the Persian Gulf, forms the boundary between Persia and India." He then enumerates that the most notable places of trade in India are the following: Sindhu, Orrbatha, Calliana, Sibor and then the fine marts of Male (which has been identified with surety with Malabar coast) which export pepper: Parti, Mangarouth Salopatana, Nalopatana, and Pondopatana.

Mangarouth has been identified with surety to be Mangalore. There is of course no problem for Calliana, it is too obvious. Taking some help from Pliny's list of the Indian races, from Ptolemy and the Periplus, MacCrindle believes that Orrbatha could be Surat or some place in the Western coast of the peninsula of Gujarat.

Sibor seems to be identified with surety by Yule with Chane or Chenwal a seaport 23 miles to the south of Bombay being the Simylla of Ptolemy.

The three ports having a name ending with *patana*—town, seem to have been situated between Mangalore and Calicut on the coast of Cottonarike, the pepper country.

Little further on he mentions Marallo "a mart exporting chankshells, not yet been identified and Caber which exports alabandenum.... Caber, says MacCrindle, is the emporium called by Ptolemy Chaveris which Dr. Burnell identified with Kaveripattam. Kavera is the Sanskrit word for saffron.

Further on, in the same chapter there is a paragraph mentioning a historical event, the presence of the White Huns in North India. Since according to various historians including Dr. J. Fergusson "India was freed from the Sakas and Hunas" between 524 and 544 A.D. Cosmas Indico pleustos, must have traded about 535 A.D.

It is a pity that no attempt has been made all along the Western Coast, to identify these parts and unearth valuable proofs of their antique trade as well as their culture. Nowadays under-water discoveries are common and a fairly good part of our antiquities, particularly the bronzes, have come to us only because they were preserved in the bottom of the sea; otherwise they would have been melted. I am sure that all the coasts of South India have revelations for the future.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE TAMILS

DR. K. K. PILLAY

It is no chauvinism to state that the ancestors of the Tamils were among the earliest people of the world. This view is based by certain oceanographers and ethnologists on the so-called Lemurian theory according to which the pre-human beings once lived in the vast region connecting South India, South East Asia and Australia on the one hand and Madagascar and South Africa on the other. Some Tamil works like the *Kalitogai*, *Silappadikaram* and *Iraiyanar Ahapporulurai* have referred to a part of Tamilaham having fallen a prey to the sea. The significant fact is that geologically the oldest part in India and in the world is South India according to the well-known archaeologist, H.D. Sankalia. It is relevant here to notice that in 1935 the fossil skeleton of a pigmy man was discovered in Vadnagar in the Deccan. Besides, the bones of a pithecanthropus were unearthed in Java and later, the bones of apemen were found in Africa. It is significant that gneiss rock tools of what are known as the Larsen type, have been discovered in Africa, while more or less similar discoveries have been found in Karnataka and Kerala. The Kadars of Parambikulam and of the Anamalai hills bear close resemblance to the negrito type. Leopold Sedar Sanghor, basing his view on pre-history and anthropology, thinks that the area stretching from East Africa to Southern India, was the cradle of mankind. But some Australian ethnologists were struck by the similarity between the Australian aborigines and the Dravidians of India. As far back as 1847, the noted Australian scholar, J.C. Pritchard, held that there is a kinship between the Australian language and the Tamil language. A monograph published in 1863 'On the History and Structure of the Australian Language' by N.M. Homer shows how the grammar and phonetics of the Dravidian and Australian languages coincide. It is also notable that the boomerang, the most distinctive attribute of Australian culture, was common among the South Indian Dravidians as well.

At an early time, long before the Aryans immigrated into India, even North and Central India had a large element of Dravidian population. The persistence of the Brahui language which is connected with Tamil, in Baluchistan, and the name of a town 'Tamilak' in the middle of Afghanistan are a few of the available pieces of evidence supporting this view. There was a time when the Himalayas and parts of North India were under water. However, alongside with the Dravidians there were people of the proto-Austroloid type and also a considerable element of proto-Mediterranean both in North and South India, as we shall notice presently.

Some hold that the roots of the Japanese language could be traced to Dravidian languages particularly Tamil. Prof. Ohno of Gakustian University relates Japanese to Dravidian languages. Ono also uses the knowledge of anthropology, ethnology, archeology etc. and finds similarity between the Japanese and Dravidians. Further, the studies of Mrs. Balambal, teaching Japanese language in the University of Delhi, have revealed the affinity in grammar between Tamil and Japanese.

In structural typology Japanese comes closest to the Dravidian languages according to H. G. Henderson's 'Handbook of Japanese Grammar'. He says : "It is seen that the identity of structural organisation with that obtaining in Tamil or any other Indian language is obvious".

Prof. Susumo Ohno's reported discovery of vocabulary correspondences between Japanese and Tamil, if based on scientific criteria, correlated with the prohistoric, anthropological, archaeological and other evidence would throw light on this cultural context. Prof. Susumo Ohno concludes thus : "I have no doubt Tamil Nadu and Japan had some relationship in ancient times. My surmise is it existed some 3000 years ago."

Prof. Ohno spent about a month in villages around Thanjavur, Tiruchi and Madurai, along with Prof. Takatoshi Matsubara, an authority of Japanese folklore. Ohno's earlier research had established correspondence between the Japanese and Tamil languages in respect of 500 words. During his stay in Tamil Nadu he put the Japanese equivalents to local persons and found that the meaning of 330 was understood, though nearly half of the Tamil words were not current now. About 100 of the words related to agricultural operations and weaving.

However, though the Lemurian theory provides an explanation of the origin of the Dravidians including the Tamils, it does not explain the whole truth. The presence of the Mediterranean element makes the question of Dravidian origin a mystery. One of the earliest people of India are said to have belonged to the proto-Austroloid stock. Some think that they came from the West and others hold that they too, came from the East. One fact seems plausible. The Proto-Austroloids, the Dravidians and the Kols and Mundas who were all of pre-Aryan origin, occupied different parts of India long before the Aryans immigrated into India. It is significant that Prof. Burrow had pointed out that Dravidian influences are traceable in the Vedic language. There are several people in North India whose languages are similar to the Dravidian languages. Certain linguists lay greater emphasis on the Mediterranean origin of the Dravidians themselves. The famous linguist Dr. S. K. Chatterjee stated that "the oldest form of the word Tamil or Dravida was probably Dramila. We find that the Lycians of Asia Minor, a pre-Indo-European Mediterranean people called themselves in their inscriptions 'Trimmli'. "He concludes that" the culture —world presented by the Dravidian (Tamil) linguistic palaeontology gives a fairly

high background of a civilization which can be compared with what has been unearthed at Mohenjo-daro and other places".[1] It is noteworthy that in Babylonia and Mesopatamia there are places ending with the adjunct Ur, like Ulutur, Yerutur and Nippur. Could the very early Tamils have gone and settled down there? Is it likely that in very ancient times the Lemurian continent itself was connected with the Mediterranean regions? The similarity between the Adichchanallur findings consisting of relics of Murugan worship and those in Palestine and Cyprus lend support to this view. However, the dates assigned to these discoveries only indicate the lower limit. Did the Mediterranean people connected with Lemuria, come to Tamil Nadu or did the Tamils from Lemuria proceed to the Mediterranean region? The more probable truth seems to be that some of the early Tamils had come from Lemuria and others had gone to the Mediterranean countries from South India because Tamil Nadu has been the traditional region of Muruga worship. In fact we want more Lahovarys dedicated to this task of identifying the Dravidians indubitably and of exploring the various regions which they occupied.

The discoveries of the Indus Valley civilisation as well as the Adichchanallur findings tend to support the view that there was a large inflow of the Mediterranean people, probably originally Tamils who had gone from South India. The Adichchanallur urn burials are believed by experts to belong to about 1000 B.C. (Certain archaeologists assign them to about 2000 B.C.). These Adichchanallur finds, as stated earlier, resemble certain funerary relics pertaining to Muruga worship in Palestine and Cyprus which have been assigned by experts to about 1200 B.C. These facts take us to the consideration of the genesis of the Indus Valley civilisation.

Though this continues to be still a controversial question, the probability is that the Indus Valley civilisation is associated with the Dravidians, particularly with the Tamils. The pottery of the Tamil country in the megalithic age, for instance, in Uraiyur and Korkai, is similar to that of Harappa. Again ring wells were used in both the old Indus Valley and Tamil country found buried in the river beds. The "Great Bath" in Mohenjo Daro bears a similarity to the pattern of the temple tanks and their layers of steps in the Tamil Nadu. Moreover, it has been pointed out by Dr. Sankalia that one of the terracotta dancing figures from Harappa bears resemblance to the South Indian Nataraja of the Chola period. Again, the Siva Pasupati cult, believed to have existed among the Indus people, was non-Aryan and probably Dravidian. Linga worship which was clearly non-Aryan was adopted by the people of the early Indo-culture. Moreover, unlike the Aryans the Indus people lived an organised urban life. Finally, there is the crucial question of the identification of the script in the Indus Valley inscriptions. While Russian and Finnish experts as well as I. Mahadevan find similarity between the Indus script

and Tamil, S. R. Rao thinks otherwise. Perhaps we have to wait for the final verdict on the subject until we discover an unmistakable bilingual inscription.

Regarding the date of the Indus civilisation the Carbon-14 measurements have provided slightly varying dates ranging from C. 2400 to 1700 B.C. and some very recent findings bring the lower level to about 400 B.C.

The Sangam Age

The earliest epoch in the history of Tamil culture is the one generally described as the Sangam Age. The mention of the loss of several early Tamil works like *Agattiyam, Mapuranam, Isai-nunukkam, Bhutapuranam, Kali, Kurugu* and *Vendali,* ascribed by tradition to the earlier Sangams, the reference to Kapatapuram, the seat of the second Sangam, in the Ramayana and Mahabharata suggest that there were some literary works prior to the third Sangam. Originally known as Kudal, Manram or Avaiyam, the name Sangam is a later adaptation of the Jain term. Those who scoff at the idea of a Tamil literary Sangam can notice the references in the Devaram by Appar, the Saiva saint of the Bhakti movement, and in the Larger Sinnamanur Plates.

According to tradition the Tolkappiyam belonged to the second Sangam,- while a large number of early works now extant belong to what has been called the third Sangam. These poems of the third Sangam seem to have been composed roughly during the first three centuries of the Christian era. Apart from the synchronism of Gajabahu I of Sri Lanka (2nd century A.D.) with the Chera king Senguttuvan, figuring in the Sangam classic Padirrupattu, the most reliable basis for the similarity between the evidence of the Sangam poems is found in the commercial relations of the Tamils with the Greeks and the Romans; there are ten references to the Yavanas in the Sangam literature. Besides, there is mention of this commerce by the classical writers like Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy. The large volume of trade with South India in the 1st century A.D. is further evidenced by the considerable number of Roman coins unearthed here. We find that the trade between India and Rome continued to thrive steadily during the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. After Septimus Severus (A.D. 211) the number of Roman coins in South India dwindled rapidly. Finally, the evidence of the vestiges of a Roman factory found recently at Arikamedu near Pondicherry confirm that the third Sangam flourished in the early centuries of the Christian era at the latest. Dr. Mortimer Wheeler, the famous archaeologist, holds that "the Arikamedu site was first occupied at the end of the 1st century B.C. or beginning of the 1st centry A.D. with an inclination twards the later date. This is a valuable datum but to determine the chronology of various productions of Tamil, an important need is the determination of the astronomical data available. One of the supreme needs of history is a scientific study of astronomy. Attention must be turned to this by competent scholars and specialised institutions.

It is surprising that some thought that the "pre-Aryan Tamils had a rather primitive and poorish culture". They based this distorted view on a perversion of the statement made by Caldwell. But really, Caldwell writing in 1856 quotes several words used by the early Tamils which showed that they were fairly civilised He gave the following sketch of the pre-Aryan civilisation of the Tamils from the evidence of the words in use among the early Tamillians. The Tamils had "kings" (ko, ventan, mannan), who dwelt in strong houses (kottai, aran) and ruled over small districts of country (nadu). They had "minstrels" (pulavan*j* who recited "songs" (cheyyul) at festivals (kontattam, tiruvila), and they seem to have had alphabetical characters (eluttu) written (varai) with a style (iraku) on palmyra leaves (olai) and a bundle of leaves was called a "book" (etu), they acknowledged the existence of God whom they styled ko or king – a realistic title known to orthodox Hinduism. They created in his honour a "temple" which they called "koil", God's house. They had "laws" and "customs" but no lawyers or judges. They were well acquainted with "agriculture", (er – plough), velanmai (agriculture), and delighted in war..." From these words quoted by Caldwell, Dr. S. K. Chatterjee states: "It has been generally admitted, particularly after a study of both the bases of Dravidian and Aryan cultures through languages as through institutions, that the Dravidians contributed a great many elements of paramount importance to the evolution of Hindu civilisation, which is after all (like all other great civilizations) a composite creation, and that in certain matters the Dravidian and Austric contributions are deeper and more extensive than that of the Aryans. The pre-Aryans of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa were certainly in possession of a higher material culture than what the semi-nomadic Aryans could show". These are the words of a well versed Bengali Brahmin scholar (Dr. Chatterjee). Dr. Chatterjee was a veteran indologist, linguist and Professor of Sanskrit and the Head of the Sahitya Academy.

A South Indian historian had stated that "We do not possess a single line of Tamil literature demonstrably ante-dating the contact between the pre-Aryan Tamil and Aryan Sanskrit cultures". The implication of this unwarranted statement is obvious. Really, if there was no Tamil before the advent of Sanskrit, we would have had only Sanskrit or Prakrit when the Sangam poems were composed. But that was by no means the truth. No one denies that the Aryans had penetrated in small numbers into parts of Tamil Nadu also and had influenced the Tamil vocabulary in the Sangam age. But to say that is not to mean that there was no other language in Tamil Nadu before the advent of the Aryans.

The Sangam age was really a glorious epoch in the history of Tamil culture, when the Sanskrit influence was felt only in a small measure. It has been rightly described as the Augustan age of the Tamil literature. Later anthologists of these poems have classified them into Ettuttogai and Pattuppattu. Broadly speaking, the Sangam works deal with Puram or external affairs like war and administration on the one hand and with Aham concentrating on the subjective experience of love.

The 18 ethical works and the epics "Silappadikaram" and "Manimekalai" are also broadly included as products of the Sangam age; but it is more accurate to consider them as the post-Sangam works.

The Sangam poems are famous at once for their literary charm, crispness and vigour. If brevity is the soul of wit, the compositions of the Sangam age provide the best examples of this adage. The most striking work illustrating this fact is provided by the celebrated *Tirukkural*. Its date is a subject of controversy. Since it is traditionally grouped under the *Kilkkanakku* works, some like Vaiyapuri Pillai assign it to the 7th century A.D. But *Kilkkanakku* refers to the metre; it denotes literary pieces which contain a less number of lines in each verse and are in shorter or invariably in venba metre. Another feature of the *Kilkkanakku* poems is that generally they are didactic in character. The Kural contains several ideas similar to those of the Sangam works which appear to be repetitions of the lines of Kural. verse 34 of the Purananuru refers apparently to the Tirukkural when it speaks of the *Aram padirre*, which denotes that the ethical work par excellence avers it. Tiruvalluvar seems to have been spoken of by the later Manimekalai as *poyyil pulavan*. These facts suggest that though included in the *Kilkkanakku* works, the Kural belonged to an earlier date, probably in the 1st century A.D.

In cryptic and pithy language the *Kural* propounds eternal maxims. All are equal by birth is the noble ideal contained in the line "பிறப்புஒக்கும் எல்லா உயிர்க்கும்". This abhors caste and other social distinctions. "It is the duty of every one to perform all that is good". "கடன் என்ப நல்லவை எல்லாம்". Further it is stressed that "greatness is all humility"; "littleness is all arrogance". பணியுமாம் என்றும் பெருமை; சிறுமை அணியுமாம் தன்னை வியத்து

Again emphasis is laid on universal humanism and rationalism by the pithy lines: '

"அளவறிந்தார் நெஞ்சத்து அறம்போல நிற்கும்
களவறிந்தார் நெஞ்சில் கரவு"

These are but a few examples of the lofty ideals of Tiruvalluvar. No wonder that the discerning critic, Dr. Albert Schweitzer said that "there hardly exists in the literature of the world a collection of maxims in which we find so much lofty wisdom." Profundity of thought is conveyed by the barest minimum number of words. Moreover, the virtues of charity, hospitality, honesty, chastity and similar noble qualities are stressed.

Besides the *Kural*, the other works also are noted for their distinctive characteristics. There is a remarkable measure of frankness, simplicity and forthrightness in these poems. For instance, kings and warriors are praised where they deserved it but were condemned unambiguously when they were at fault. The Tamil idea

from early times was that the king was the protector of the people. They considered the king with divine respect. The terms used with reference to the king as *ko*, *vendan* and *Irai* indicate the high regard that the king commanded, though the surnames *Devar* and *Varma* were not added to the names of kings prior to the 6th century A.D.

The ideals of early Tamil kings are learnt from such works as the *Purananuru*, *Padirruppattu*, *Silappadikaram* and *Manimekalai*. The king should relieve the suffering and misery of the people and establish righteousness collecting from their subjects only legitimate taxes. For instance, the poet Kurunkoliyur Kilar lays stress on the ideals to be pursued by his patron king, Mantaram Cheral. The people skilled in arts and in learning were adequately rewarded, and warriors were held in esteem and gifts were given to them.

The Maduraikkanchi, one of the *Pattuppattu* provides advice to the king Neduncheliyan and urges (1) securing sound advisers, (2) improving the wealth of the subjects, (3) making them properly equipped for earnest work and (4) expulsion of enemies from the country though they should not be treated cruelly. Talayalamkanattu Cheruvenra Neduncheliyan declared that if he did not defeat his enemies, poets like Mangudi Marudan should not speak in praise of them. Bhutap pandian said that if he failed to vanquish his enemies he would get separated from his beloved wife. Cholan Nalankilli proclaimed that if he failed to win victories over his foes he would not be associated with any public activity. Besides these qualities the *Padirruppattu* in one context strongly urges the kings to be hospitable to visitors.

A conspicuous feature of poets of the Sangam age is that they were not weak-kneed flatterers of their royal patrons. When kings erred in their duty poets boldly chastised them. For instance, when Pegan lived away from his wife, the poets like Kapilar and Paranar vehemently protested against the king's action (Purananuru: 143-7). When Cholan Nalankilli and Nedunkilli began to wage war with each other, the poet Kovur Kilar intervened effectively and stopped it. When a Chola king thought of attacking Ilantattan, mistaking him to be a spy, the court poet adroitly intervened offering sound advice. These are but a few illustrations indicating the lofty position and high respect commanded by poets. Thus the poets of the Sangam age were not sycophants; in fact, they were greatly respected by the kings. Once the poet Mosi Kiranar by chance slept in advertently on the cot intended for the war drum as a symbol of triumph in war. But Peruncheral Irumporai realizing the situation fanned the poet to sleep. (Purananuru, 50). How profoundly the king respected the great poet is revealed by this action.

Pari, the chief, was once besieged by the three mighty kings of Tamilaham. But even then his poet, Kapilar did not swerve an inch from his patron. Moreover,

after the death of Pari, the grateful poet tried to settle Pari's daughters in marriage to suitable bridegrooms. When Pari breathed his last. the faithful poet lost his life on account of the poignant grief. These do not appear to be exaggerations or imaginary tales. The genuine gratitude of the poets to their patrons are specified in several Sangam poems.

These instances mentioned above do not mean that there were no exceptions to the high ideals of conduct of the kings or poems. There might have been some who swerved from the noble path common in the age. For example, Ilankumanan a prince, tried to kill his elder brother; but the poet Peruntalai Sattanar prevented it by a timely interference. Again, Kopperuncholan tried to wage war with his sons but was prevented by Pottiyear and other poets. The known instances indicate the accepted standards in vogue in that age.

Generally the poets of the Sangam age had noble ideals. Even if reduced to poverty, they maintained their high character and a broad outlook and they rarely lost their self-respect. Gifts given to them in the proper spirit and genuine sincerity alone were accepted. If they were given without true affection and genuine appreciation or if they were sent through other poets, or later than at the due time, they were rejected.

A noble idea stressed by a Sangam poet as found in *Purananuru* 195 is that even if one is unable to render a piece of service, doing harm to others must be avoided by all means.

Another oft-quoted ideal stressed by a Sangam poet Punkunranar was that of universal brotherhood; *Yatum Ure Yavarum Kelir* i.e. "Every country is mine". What a lofty ideal even in that early age! To be sure it was not employed in the rather hypocritic sense of modern times. It cannot be too strongly stressed that the Tamil culture and particularly that of the Sangam age, was dominated by high-minded poets and not by generals and diplomats only.

Society in the Sangam age was not vitiated by clearly marked caste differences though there were classes based on the physiographic divisions. Thus there were five natural divisions according to their natural quality. There was the *Kurinchi*, or the hilly region; *Mullai*, the forest region, *Marudam*, the fertile land in the plains, the *Neydal*, the coastal land and *Palai*, the barren tract, the desert. Each of those regions was noted for its special features. Agriculture was the occupation of the people in the *Marudam*, and so it formed the wealthiest region. Some of the important towns too existed there. *Mullai* was next in importance only to *Marudam*, and there in the wooded tracts people tended cattle. Occasionally there was migration of people from Mullai to Marudam, and in respect of occupations too, there was interchangeability. Some cultivators tended cattle and vice versa. The Minavar were the fisherfolk of the coastal region catching fish and trading on it.

They used to collect conch-shells and pearls on which they traded. The inhabi. tants of the *Palai* or the desert and infertile region took to unproductive occupations and to highway robbery and cattle lifting. Society thus was based upon the class division dependent on the occupation. There was not much of rigidity though gradually the Minavar (the coastal region) and Kuravar (in the forest region) tended to pursue their occupation on a hereditary basis. They tended to become hereditary castes also. It is admitted that the roots of the caste system had appeared even in the Sangam age; it was clearly based upon the northern or Aryan system which had just found its way into the south. A verse in the Purananuru refers to the four-fold classification though the designations of each caste were not indicated. Apparently, if we are to depend on the reference in the Tolkappiyam the division was fourfold namely, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra. But whether these divisions assumed a rigid pattern in the Sangam age is doubtful. There were several anamolies between the caste system of that age and that of later period. For one thing, the Kshatriya was not clearly marked off as a distinct group, secondly, the Sudras constituted a composite group consisting of several sub-groups pursuing different occupations. It is not clear why the Sudras of the north were equated with Vellalar, as Tolkappiyar put it. The Vellalas denoted agriculturists i.e. those who control the water. That group then comprised practically all the groups other than the castes, Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas.

Again there were in the Sangam age some groups of people who performed certain lower types of occupations i.e. Tudiyar and Parayar who beat drums and made announcements. Panar were minstrels or songsters while the Kadambar represented a primitive martial community. Could these four have been pre-Dravidian sections? A verse in Purananuru (335) speaks of these four groups as *Tudiyan, Panan, Paraiyan, Kadamban Yenru Innanku Alladu Kudiyum Illai.* These four classes were together called Pulayar, held as a low caste. Thus the distinction of caste based on occupation had emerged in the Sangam age itself, because the Pulayar were, for instance, described as Ilicinan.

Brahmins had already come by the Sangam age though all of them could not have come from the north; some might have been Tamils themselves. But in the Sangam age they lived in separate villages, Parpanacheris, as they were called. The patronage of Brahmins by kings had commenced even in the Sangam age, because we find some monarchs performing *Yagas* or holy sacrifices with the help of Brahmins. The practice of bestowing gifts of villages to brahmins had commenced, as may be seen from the early Sangam poems. In certain villages there were streets where brahmins alone lived. *Kuruntogai* refers to the brahmin streets as *Asil Teruvu.* Some poets of the Sangam age were brahmins; thus they began to learn Tamil and assimilate themselves with the rest of the Tamils. In fact, as seen earlier, all the brahmins had not come from outside. Vadamar had come from

the north. Brihatcharanar were people in different villages of Tamil Nadu wandering from one to another. Usually the study and teaching of the Vedas formed their principal duties, though there were a few Velappappar, who took to other occupations.

Nor did the Tamils concentrate only on composing poems. They are unique in having developed the Muttamil—*Iyal*, *Isai* and *Natakam*, i.e. literature, music and drama (or dance). This three-fold development was continued by the Tamils through the ages. The *Meykkirti* of Raja Raja II, for example, shows that he was described as the crowning head of Muttamil. That shows his patronage of the typical Tamil culture. It is important to describe at some length the principal features of the Sangam age because they laid the deep foundations of the later Tamil culture.

Dance : Drama was the enactment of a story, mostly puranic, accompanied by dance and music. Dance itself was of several patterns and the villagers revelled in them to the accompaniment of simple but charming music.

By the latter part of the Sangam age the Tamils had developed eleven varieties of dance. They are said to have been adopted to please the gods in order to ensure the dancers success in their performance and hence they were called in the aggregate as 'Deiva Virutti'. Their individual names were (1) Alliyam (2) Kodukotti (3) Kudai (4) Kudam (5) Pandurangan (6) Mal (7) Tudi (8) Kadaiyam (9) Pedu (10) Marakkal and (11) Pavai. All the eleven patterns are found mentioned in the *Kadaladukadai* of *Silappadikaram*. Some of them had appeared even prior to the Sangam age. It is difficult to say which were the earlier ones. Of these the first six were dances in the standing pose, while the other five were dances in the lying posture. Except perhaps *Pandurangam*, *Mal* and *Pedu* the others had appeared by the Sangam age. It is also said that before the commencement of the above-mentioned dances, songs in praise of Vishnu, Siva and the Sun were sung.

Though the distinctive features of each of the eleven types of dances need not be described here, some of them call for special attention. The most notable among them was 'Kodukotti'. It is said that when Lord Siva set fire to Tripura he was elated with joy over his triumph and danced clapping His hands in glee. This is picturesquely described in the epic *Silappadikaram*. This dance is stated to have been enacted in the presence of Cheran Chenguttuvan, by the dancer Kutta Chehakkiyan and his wife. The delight of the Chera king is described by the inimitable Ilango in his Silappadikaram. Which is more admirable, the dance of Kuttach-chakkiyan and his wife or the exquisite description of their performance by Ilango ? Perhaps both ; but probably the dance which must have been performed very admirably deserves higher praise.[5]

In respect of the history of Tamil dance, there is a controversy. Was it purely Tamilian in origin or was there a combination of Tamil and Sanskrit patterns ? It is

positive that the folk dance of the Tamils in the Sangam age had an indigenous origin, though it came to be influenced by the Sanskritic or northern pattern in the post-sangam epoch. The reference to *Tamil Kuttu* as distinct from *Aryakkuttu* figuring even in Ahananuru shows that the distinction had appeared. Ahananuru (Verses 256 and 354) speak of Maduraittamil kuttanar. The Aryakkuttu in the first instance was a type of Vinodakkuttu or comic dance as is learnt from Adiyarkkunallar's commentary on the Silappadikaram. The fact that certain terms connected with dance as well as music which are found in the Sangam works are pure Tamil words show their origin. Such are *Kuttu, Tunangai* and *Talaikkol.* However, by the time of *Silappadikaram*, the Tamil and Sanskrit patterns had become fused, though their distinctive traits were maintained. Some writers of the old school deny the Sanskritic influence but their view is not acceptable. Bharata Natya of the north has recognized and utilised the Tamilian pattern of dance. Bharata Natya Sastra definitely refers to Dakshina Marga.

In certain cases the Tamil patterns seem to have been adopted by the Northern system and Sanskrit names were bestowed on them. For instance, the *Arangerrukadai* of *Silappadikaram* states that the ideal dance master must have a thorough knowledge of both the *Aryakkuttu* and *purakkuttu.* These two are identical respectively with the *Nritya* and *Nritta* aspects of Bharata Natya. The *Purakkuttu* or *Nritta* is pure dance which consists of movements of body and limbs which are adopted in order to create a decorative effect and not to convey any specific meaning or idea to the beholder. The 'Nritya' is performed through the use of suggestive facial expressions and systematised gestures of the hands.

Drama : The Drama was intimately associated with dance and music. Natakam originally seems to have signified play or amusement. In the Sangam age, both dancing and acting were expressed by the term 'Kuttu' ; the distinction between dance and drama was that in the latter, a story was attempted to be represented on the stage. That *Natakam* denoted drama is seen from *Tolkappiyam, Porul* 53 : 1, *Pattinappalai*, 113 and *Perumpanarrupadai* : 55. *Silappadikaram* speaks of *Nataka Madandai* while *Manimekalai* refers to '*Nataka magalir*' and *Natakakkanikai*, all referring to women actresses and dancers. Separate designations were not given to each of the categories apparently because many of them participated in both the types of entertainments.

Maduraikkanchi states that dramas were enacted at night during festive occasions. It is remarkable that a permanent stage was maintained in the palaces of those days for the enactment of drama. The stage was a raised platform, six-feet above the ground. It was 48 feet long and 48 feet wide, while the ceiling of the stage was 22 feet above the dais. Three kinds of curtains are said to have been used on the stage ; one was the common drop curtain ; another was the curtain drawn from one side to the other; and the third consisted of a pair of curtains drawn from the opposite

ends of the stage to meet at the centre. The curtain on the stage was known as "Yelini", while the three types of curtains mentioned above were known respectively as *Oru Muka Yelini*, *Perumuka Yelini* and *Karantuvaral Yelini*. In this connection it is to be noted that *Yelini* does not appear in the Sangam works. In passing it may be noticed that the Greek term *Yavanika* is likely to have been adopted from the Tamils; the fact that *la* is not found in Sanskrit supports that the origin of the Tamil is to be found only in Tamil. It could not have been derived from the indigenous Greek word Ionia, because the two terms are far-fetched.

Different varieties of drama were known, as may be inferred from Adiyarkkunallar's commentary on the Silappadikaram. Therefore, at the latest in the time of the Epics, if not earlier, 'Varikkuttu' meaning drama comprised the undermentioned eight kinds: (1) *Kankudu Vari* (2) *Kan Vari* (3) *Ul Vari* (4) *Pura Vari* (5) *Kilar Vari* (6) *Terchchi Vari* (7) *Katchi Vari* and (8) *Eduttukkol Vari*. Adiyarkkunallar thinks that the technique and the mode of acting of each one of these differed in accordance with the scenic effect which it was intended to produce.

However, except the reference in the Silappadikaram no drama of old is now available. But several treatises which laid down prescriptions on dramaturgy are said to have existed. For instance, Adiyarkkunallar refers to *Muruval*, *Sayantam*, *Kunanul* and *Seyirriyam* which were treatises containing prescriptions on dramatic compositions and dramatic acting.

Adiyarkkunallar also refers to a *Nadakanul* of Madivananar. The commentary of *Yapparunkala Virutti* mentions a treatise called *Cheyal Murai* which lays down rules for writing dramatic plays. Naturally dramatic compositions would have appeared before and alongside with the works containing prescriptions on dramaturgy.

The different poses to be adopted for producing the intended effect on the spectator are explained by Adiyarkkunallar on ('Iruvakaikkuttin Ilakkanam Arindu'. Twenty one poses are described. They are applicable to Drama as well as to Dance.

The emotions which particular poses and actions were intended to produce were (1) *Viram* (heroism) (2) *Achcham* (dread) (3) *Ilippu* or contempt (4) *Viyappu* or amazement (5) *Kamam* or lust (6) *Avalam* or sympathy (7) *Uruttiram* or anger (8) *Nahai* or amusement, sometimes evoking sneer and (9) *Nadunilai* or impartiality, also indicating at times self possession. These subtle distinctions show the great attention paid to acting.

Music : The Tamils have been great lovers of music. Music appears to have been developed even before the third Sangam. This may be inferred from the references to some of the early works on music which, as mentioned earlier, are no longer

available. Some of them are said to be *Isainunukkam, Perunarai, Perumguruhu, Panchaparadiyam, Padinarupadalam* and *Cheyyuttirukkovai.* These works are referred to by the commentators of the 13th and 14th centuries A.D. It is not likely that they are figments of the imagination of the commentators.

The fact that there were many songs in the early periods is confirmed by the commentary on the Kural by Parimelalakar. In *Paripadal,* one of the later works of the third Sangam, several songs had appeared. At present only twenty-four of the *Paripadal* songs age available. In the Sangam works like *Kuruntogai* ad Maduraikkanchi, not to speak of the Silappadikaram, music assumed an important position. Music was closely allied to Dance and Drama as well.

During the epoch of the third Sangam and probably earlier, the Panar and the Viraliyar were the popular singers and musicians. They were patronised by kings and chieftains. They occupied a respectable position during the time of the Nayanmar and Alvar, the saint singers of the bhakti movement, who occupied a high status as musicians. Tirunilakanta Yalppanar and Tiruppanalvar were conspicuous among the devoted singers of the bhakti movement. But after the 10th century the Panar community became practically extinct and their place was taken by Oduvar and by professional musicians attached to temples.

Among musical instruments, the Yal and kulal were remarkably popular. Tiruvalluvar said : "Yalinidu kulalinidu" in praise of yal and kulal. It is stated that the Vina or flute of later days was evolved from the yal of old. Some hold, and rightly too, that the yal was transformed into the vina about the 7th century A.D. Among the accompaniments of vocal and instrumental music are the Perigai, Padagam, Udukkai, Mattalam, Salligai, Karadigai and Timilai, which are some of the instruments of bygone days made of leather. Other names used in connection with the fine arts of the Tamils in the age of Silappadikaram like Tunangai, Isai, Pan, Kannul Vinai, Mulavu, Kulal, Kalam, Tinai, Elini, Kural, Tuttam, Kaikkilai, Ulai, Ilai, Vilari and Taram are few of the numerous Tamil words employed in the field of fine arts. Adiyarkkunallar gives a list of thirty leather musical instruments. They are all Tamil names and they prove that it is but later that Sanskrit names and influence entered the field.

Even from the standpoint of the evolution of music in the Tamil country the Silappadikaram would have to be dated of a period anterior to the 7th century A.D. S. Ramanathan, an expert in musicology, states in his 'Silappadikara Isai Nunukkam' that the musical system expounded in the Arengerrukadai of the Silappadikaram is older than the one we find adopted in the Devaram or in the Kudumiyamalai inscription. Therefore, an earlier date than the 7th century A.D. for the Silappadikaram seems plausible.

Architecture : In the early Sangam age the houses and even palaces must have been constructed of timber and brick. Structures of stone appeared only after the time of Mahendravarman I Pallava in the 7th century A.D. Tamil Nadu, like the rest of India, was pre-eminently a region of villages. The villages consisted of clusters of cottages, thatched houses and some houses built of brick and lime. The towns, and they were a few, consisted of fairly large buildings, some terraced houses with balconies. Towns like Madurai, Puhar, its harbour, and Maruvurpakkam in its neighbourhood are elaborately described in Maduraikkanchi and Silappadikaram. But the descriptions have to be taken with a reserve. The poets' skill and imagination also seem have had a part in the descriptions. In some parts o f the town, Pattinappakkam there were large streets with high storied buildings on either side. Mostly merchants resided in them. Temples of Muruga, Vishnu, Baladeva and Indra were found in different parts of the towns and villages, and it is interesting to learn that Buddhist stupas rising to great heights were also found. Jain shrines too, figured at places.

The harbour of Puhar and its light-house are described. Forts, tanks and lakes lay scattered, and added to the natural beauty of the town. References to Mayamatah are found in Nedunelvadai, obviously indicating the influence of Sanskrit works on architecture.

Painting : Among the fine arts it is surprising that painting had an early development in Tamil Nadu. In the early Sangam age itself painting or Oviyam, as it was called, was executed skilfully on the walls of palaces and of the houses of rich people. In the palace of the Pandyan and presumably of the other Tamil kings, too, there existed a 'Chittira Madam' or what may be considered a picture gallery. Nachchinarkiniyar describes chittira madam as the place where works of painting were executed. On the hill of Tirupparankunram, near Madurai there was a Chittira Madam. This is described vividly by the poet Nappannanar. Again, in the temple at Tiruverumbur there was one chitra kudam about which mention is made later in inscriptions. Though charming, these works of art of the Sangam age were considerably later than the celebrated paintings of Sanchi and Ajanta.

It is interesting to learn from Adiyarkkunallar that in the Sangam age itself there was a treatise on painting ; it was called *Oviya Nul.* There appears to have existed a community which specialised in the art of painting and were called Kannul Vinainar. They became skilled artists and the description of the royal palaces furnished by Maduraikkanchi show that the paintings were delicately executed and the paintings included a variety of Nature's beauties like plants, creepers, flowers, not to speak of men and women, gods, goddesses and saints. Nakkirar in his Nedunalvadai, speaks of the charming varieties of the colours of the paintings on the walls ; and the works of art which they displayed the Puranic scenes too, were depicted admirably.

In the bedroom of Kopperundevi, the queen of Neduncheliyan, there was an exquisite piece of painting of Rohini in the company of her lover (husband) Tingal. The Nedunalvadai very appropriately says that Kopperundevi was deeply moved by jealousy and sorrow that she too could not be like Rohini. Is the poet to be admired for his skilful verbal representation or the painter for the exquisite paintings ? Perhaps both, It is not meant that the painting could not be improved but it is undeniable that, even as it was, it was captivating.

In all probability during the later Sangam age girls learnt the art of painting along with dancing. Among the arts specialised by talented girls, painting was one, according to the Silappadikaram. Painting was executed on pieces of cloth too. As in dance and drama painting also depicted the poses of persons most appropriately.

Sculpture : The Sangam age witnessed sculptures not on stone but on bricks, stucco, arrack and wood. Some exquisitely executed sculptures are described in Manimekalai. Earlier works like Perumpanarruppadai and Nedunalvadai provide charming descriptions of such sculptures.

Sculptures of various deities like Siva, Tirumal, Muruga and Balaraman were found in the days of the Silappadikaram. In the Chakkaravalakkottam described in the Manimekalai there was a prototype of the world in the shape of a globe. This was also made of sand. Surrounding it there was the Meru mountain, several hills all around and then a large island adjoining which there appeared numerous small islands. The entire representation was a product of fancy as if created by Mayan.

The practice of erecting (Nadukal) hero stones for soldiers wounded or killed in battle and Pattinikkal (Mahasati) in honour of chaste women had commenced in the Sangam age itself. Reference to this is found in *Tolkappiyam, Poruladhikaram Purattinai-Iyal*, 60. In the Sangam age it was common to erect a structure known as *Virasalai* where the *Virakkal* was erected. Panar were made to sing the glories of the hero. It is notable that even after the Sangam age the practice of erecting Nadukal and Mahasati continued in the Tamil country. This is learnt from later works like the *Purapporul Venbamalai.*

The temples which flourished in the time of the Silappadikaram are described in the epic. Naturally they contained the images enshrined in the temples. Ilango's allegorical description is typical of his choice expression employing alliteration. He speaks of *Pirava Yakkai Periyon Koil* (Temple of Siva), *Arumukha-chevvel Arultigal Koil* (temple of Muruga), *Valaalaimeni Valiyon Koil* (Balaraman) and *Nilameni Nediyon Koil* (Tiruma). No elaborate description of the images, however, has been provided.

Sculptures portrayed plants, creepers, animals, sun, moon, stars. They were allthe products of artisans on wood, stone, and even of goldsmitths. It is worthwhile

remembering that references to these are found only in Silappadikaram but also in Perumpanarruppadai and Ahananuru. It is interesting to note that the Manimekalai says that those skilled workmen did not only hail from Tamil Nadu but from Magadha, Maharashtra, Avanti and the Yavana country. Is this an instance of poetic imagination or alliteration or actual reality ? But the Nedunalvadai states that in shaping the dolls the Yavanas were the most skilled. Perhaps the description is realistic.

Finally, it must be observed that *Silappadikaram*, and in particular its Arangerrukadai, contained in that inimitable epic provides a unique combination of the achievements of the Tamils in the fine arts of dance, drama, music and the allied arts. The Kadai seeks to describe Madhavi's maiden dance; it has provided an exquisite picture of the best fine arts of the age. However, the materials used and the patterns adopted were not radically different from those found in some of the earlier works. It was because *Silappadikaram* was not far removed in time from them.

NOTES

1. The History and Culture of the Indian People (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan) Vol. I, p. 161.
2. Vaiyapuri Pillai assigned the Tolkappiyam to the 5th century A.D., while Dr. B.G.L. Swami imagined fantastically that it belonged to the 10th century A.D.! The syntax and the contents of this grammatical work suggest that it appeared before the 1st century A.D. There are several writers who assign it appropriately to the 3rd or 2nd century B.C.
3. Ancient India, No. 2, pp. 24-5. The views of Dr. Chatterjee, Dr. Swami and Prof. Kunjan Pillai assigning a later date to the third Sangam are not acceptable. – See K. K. Pillay's Presidential Address to the 1st South Indian History Congress.
4. Caldwell: Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, Third edition, p. 113. It is obvious that Caldwell wrote before many of the Sangam works had seen the light of day.
5. The Manipuri dance and the Kathakali dance are some of the other varieties of high merit in India.But the Tamil dance perhaps ranked higher than all the others.

EARLY FREEDOM FIGHTERS OF TAMIL NADU

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Historians have formulated different views on India's freedom movement. One view is that it began in 1800 when the rebel powers of South India organised a confederation against the English and launched an attack on Coimbatore Fort to mark the beginning of the South Indian rebellion. This rebellion continued for more than one year and ultimately ended with the Vellore Mutiny. A second view is that the freedom movement began in 1857 when the sepoys of North India rose in rebellion against the alien rulers. This rising began as a mutiny at Meerut. spread far and wide and ended as rebellion with the common people rallying to its fold. A third view is that it began in 1885 when the nationalists gave shape to the Indian National Congress which in subsequent times led the movement for freedom.

Another issue in the history of the freedom movement relates to the centre of nationalist activity. Here too the controversy centres on the South, the North and the East. Certain Bengali writers are vehement in their assertion that their land gave the leadership to the nationalist movement.

A third issue relates to the methods employed by the patriots in their struggle for freedom. A view that is increasingly made popular is that it was a non-violent struggle.

In reality, however, what is significant is the continuity of the struggle. The early struggles were directed against the fall of India into alien control, while the later struggles for the liberation of the fallen country. In the Battle at Tiruchirapalli (1753-1755) the English won a resounding victory over the major powers of South India, the Carnatic, Mysore and Tanjore and their ally the French. This great victory laid the foundation for British power in India,while the subsequent victories won at Plassey and Buxar contributed to its consolidation. Chanda Sahib was killed and with the elevation of Muhammed Ali to power, the Carnatic and Tanjore were converted into allies. The influence of Mysore was badly shattered, while the power of the French was irretrievably crippled. This battle represented the beginning of British imperialism in India.

The struggle for freedom was not only prolonged but also continuous. It began when imperialism began and ended when imperialism ended.In the early period the princes fought against the British in defence of their territories and rights. Among

them the most determined were Chanda Sahib of the Carnatic, Tipu Sultan of Mysore and Mir Kasim of Bengal. When the princes were vanquished or made into allies of the English, the minor chieftains, particularly the poligars and the zamindars, assumed the leadership of the struggle. Rebellions of Puli Tevar in Tamilnadu (1755-1761), in Dhalbhum in Bangal (1769-1774), in Gorakpur in Uttar Pradesh (1778-1781), in Rengapur and Dinajpur in Bangal (1783), in Dindugal and Coimbatore in Tamil nadu (1779-1801), of the Rajahs of Vizianagaram, Gumsoor, Kimedy, Tuckally and Polavaram in Northern Circars between 1765 and 1800 and of Kattabomman in Tamil Nadu (1798-1800) represented the second phase of the struggle. These rebellions failed and imperialism made itself felt.

The year 1800 represented a turning point in the struggle for freedom, for this year witnessed the common people moving into the arena. This trend assumed strength in the rebellion of 1857 and in the movement after 1885. If the influential leaders of traditional chiefs gave the leadership to the struggle in 1800-1801 and 1857, the trend continued after 1885 too, but it was now under a party set-up of the Indian National Congress.

Different regions assumed prominence during the different periods of the struggle. South India was the centre of gravity during the first phase of the struggle, for the major powers who offered bitter opposition were the southern powers—the Carnatic, Mysore and the Marathas. It was in this region the French and the other European powers were the most active. The situation continued upto 1805, by which time the English vanquished the Peninsular Confederacy of the rebels and the Maratha Confederacy. After 1895 imperialism advanced to North India. The Maratha powers of the North were subdued and the Sikhs were defeated. The chieftains, sepoys and the people now joined together in waging the rebellion of 1857. With the collapse off this rebellion all the regions of India experienced imperialism equally forcibly. This prepared the ground for a nationalist struggle. In the absence of the traditional chieftains, political parties were found essential to give direction to the movement.

Because of common grievances against the alien oppressors, traditional loyalty to the headmen or political awakening either of regional or national dimension, led the common people to fight against the English during the different phases of the struggle. The regional struggle had a national objective—for, in the liberation of the regions that fell to the aliens the patriots found it possible to prevent the extension of alien sway. Among the leaders of the early struggles in Tamilmadu the most notable were Kattabomman, Oomaithurai, Gopala Nayak and Marudu Pandyan.

Vira Pandya Kattabomman

Vira Pandya Kattabomman, who represented Telugu feudal order in the Tamil country led the poligars against the British in the rebellion of 1799. While examining

the events that led to his conflict with the Company, it should be noted that during this period, the collection of tribute served as a constant and potential source of friction. The Nawab of Arcot exercised this right, but he granted it to the English under the provisions of the Carnatic Treaty of 1792. By the 31st of May 1798 the total arrears of tribute from Panjalamkurichi stood at 3310 *pagodas*. The country experienced a severe drought, in consequence of which, the Poligar found it difficult to collect taxes for payment of tribute.[1] Collector Jackson wanted to send an expedition to punish Vira Pandya but the Madras administration did not agree. The Company had already withdrawn its forces from Tirunelveli, to be employed in the war against Tipu Sultan of Mysore, and did not desire to risk a conflict in the far South at this juncture. It directed the Collector to summon the Poligar to his cutcherry at Ramnad.[2] Accordingly, on the 18th of August 1798 Jackson despatched an order directing Vira Pandyan to attend on him at Ramnad within two weeks. After sending the summons, the Collector started on a tour of Tirunelveli. On the 27th of August when he reached Tirukuttalam Kattabomman with his retinue waited for him, but the Collector refused an interview.[3] In the words of Kattabomman : "I prepared money, for the payment of the kist and when I intended to set out even against my health, Mr. Jackson came to Tirukuttalam, which place I reached with the money in full for payment of the Company's kist".[4] When Jackson halted at Chokkampatti, Sivagiri, Sattur and Srivilliputtur to receive tribute from the poligars, Vira Pandyan sought an interview but was told that he could meet the Collector only at Ramnad. Despite this humiliation, Kattabomman followed the Englishman for twentythree days in a journey of 400 miles through the latter's route and reached Ramnad on the 19th of September. An interview was granted the same day and the Collector remarked that the Poligar did well in obeying the orders, by which he probably saved himself from ruin. Upon a verification of accounts, Jackson was convinced that Kattabomman cleared most of the arrears by the 31st of August, leaving only 1080 *pagodas* as balance. Denied of seats, the Poligar and his minister Sivasubramonia Pillai had to stand before the arrogant Collector for three hours together. Now a few sepoys appeared, apparently to arrest the chief. Immediately the deaf and dumb brother of Vira Pandyan, Oomathurai, who was keeping a constant watch from an unnoticed corner, spread an alarm among the followers, waiting nearby. While the Poligar and his minister combining alarm with annoyance forced their way out, his followers rushed to the rescue of their chief.[6] At the gate of the fort there occurred a clash, in which some people including Lieutenant Clarke were killed. Sivasubramonia Pillai was taken prisoner but Kattabomman made his escape.[7]

After his return to Panjalamkuruchi, Kattabomman wrote letters to Madras Council attributing the scuffle at Ramnad to the rashness of the Collector and requesting the release of his minister.[8] Governor Edward Clive in the meantime issued a proclamation, inviting the Poligar to submit to the authority of the Company. In the event of surrender he assured a fair investigation into the Ramnad incident and

in case of refusal he threatened the chief with serious displeasure of the government.[9] To remove all causes of suspicion and dissidence on the part of Vira Pandiyan, he suspended Jackson from office and released Subramonia Pillai from confinement.[10] In response Kattabomman decided to submit. As a mark of it he paid a visit to the committee, with William Brown, William Oram and John Casmayor as members, appointed to enquire into the Ramnad incident, at Ramnad on the 15th of December 1798.[11] The committee instituted an enquiry and in its report acquitted the Poligar of the charges of rebellion and condemned the conduct of the Collector. It asserted that there was no unnecessary delay on the part of the Poligar in complying with the summons from the Collector, but the manner in which he was forced to follow Jackson for twentythree days through the territories of the inferior chieftains was in deed humiliating and that the rigour which attended the treatment meted out to him at Ramnad had so much alarmed him for his personal safety, that he made his escape. However, as one of his pike-men stabbed Clarke to death, the Poligar was required to make a provision equal to the salary and allowance of the victim for the support of his family.[12] S.R. Lushington was appointed Collector at Ramnad in the place of Jackson, who was eventually dismissed from service.

Thus the English removed the source of grievance to Kattabomman. The verdict of the Ramnad Committee seemed not unfair and the attitude of the Madras Government appeared not unconciliatory. Yet in the background of the humiliation that he suffered, the positive factors that led him to the path of defiance were the influence of Marudu Pandiyan and the opportunity presented by the Fourth Mysore War. Marudu Pandiyan of Sivaganga in close association with Gopala Nayak of Dindigul and Yadul Nayak of Anamalai was during this period engaged in the organisation of a South Indian confederacy of rebels against the British with the declared objective of liberating the country.[13] The rebel missions that he sent to the southern regions visited Panjalamkurichi. In view of the identity of interest this led to the establishment of close association between Kattabomman and Marudu Pandiyan. Since then, Vira Pandiyan held frequent consultations with Marudu. On the 1st of June 1799, attended by 500 men, he reached Palamaneri with the intention of proceeding to Sivaganga.[14] But Collector Lushington, considering it as a step taken in contempt of British authority, conveyed his serious apprehension.[15] Therefore the Poligar waited at Palamaneri for the arrival of the emissaries of Marudu. On the 5th a party reached the camp and the two groups held deliberations. Subsequently joined by 500 armed men of Sivaganga, Kattabomman returned to Panjalamkurichi. The details of the deliberations are not known, yet this meeting is indicative of the importance that the rebel leaders gave to mutual consultations.[16]

Tne employment of British forces against Mysore offered the needed opportunity to Kattabomman to strengthen his influence. No difficult task faced him in attaining this end. The poligars of Nagalapuram, Mannarkottai, Powali, Kolarpatti and Chennulgudi had already formed themselves into a combination due to

the efforts of Marudu of Sivaganga and Melappan of Ramnad and for asserting their right to collect taxes from certain villages in the Company's territory.[17] What Kattabomman proceeded to do was to join this league and to assume its leadership by virtue of the influence he commanded and resources that he possessed. Determined to strengthen this league he persuaded the chieftains of Sattoor, Yezhayirampannai, Kadalgudi and Kulattor to join it.[18] In August he sent Sevatiah, Vira Pandya Nayak and Virabhadra Pillai on a mission to Elavarasanur and won alliance of the Kallar.[19] He sent Pandia Pillai, brother of Siva Subramania Pillai, to Madras to gather and transmit intelligence about the British military movement[20] and placed guards at different places to watch the movement of the Europeans and their agents.[21]

The events now moved to a crisis. In August 1798 the son of the Poligar of Sivagiri and his adviser Mappila Vannian visited Panjalamkurichi and held consultations. Kattabomman decided to establish his influence in Sivagiri with the aid of the son of the Poligar as the ruling chief refused to join the alliance of rebels. Added to this, as Panjalamkurichi being situated in an open plain, appeared vulnerable to the hostile forces, the possession of an unassailable stronghold was considered an absolute necessity. The strategic location of the fort of Sivagiri at the foot of the Western Ghats and the formidable barriers around it rendered it eminently suited both for offensive and defensive operations in the event of any emergency. Major Gramme of the Company's army asserted that Kattabomman's "design in marching peons against Sivagiri is to get possession either by force or treachery that fort and a narrow Pass which leads to it, difficult of passage, where he hopes to stand his ground against the force which his fears naturally suggest to him to be sent to punish".[22] Thus in a bold attempt to strengthen his position an armed column consisting of the followers of Vira Pandiyan, the son of the Poligar of Sivagiri and other allied chiefs, led by Dalawai Kumaraswami Nayak, moved to the west. But as the Poligar of Sivagiri was a tributary to the Company, the Madras Council considered this move as a challenge to its own authority and ordered the march of the army.[23]

An assessment of this development indicates that Kattabomman committed no serious offence against British authority as to provoke any violent reprisal. Though the Poligar of Sivagiri paid tribute to the Company, as provided by the Carnatic Treaty of 1792, he was the subject of the Nawab and not of the English. As such the right of intervention in a conflict between two subjects fell within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Nawab. Besides, the son of the Poligar of Sivagiri as a member of the alliance, served as a party in this venture and no complaint was preferred by the father against his son. Inspite of these the English decided on military operations against Kattabomman in disregard of the sovereignty of the Nawab. This was because the Company decided to utilise this opportunity to carry into effect the orders of the court of Directors that "all subordinate military establishments should be annihilated within the limits now subject to our dominion". This

is confirmed by Governor General Lord Wellesley's instructions to Major Bannerman for military operations:- "the rebellious conduct of Catabomanaig (Kattabomma Nayak), Poligar of Pandalamcourchy (Panjalamkurichi) having rendered it necessary to equip a military force for the purpose of suppressing the commotions excited by him, the Right Honourable Governor General has resolved to avail himself of this opportunity, to carry into effect the orders of the Honourable Court of Directors for disarming the whole of the Southern Poligars and for reducing those irregular chieftains to the authority of the Civil Government".[25] Thus the British attitude towards Vira Pandyan represented a definite attempt to enforce an already formulated policy, aimed at the liquidation of the poligari system. The needed opportunity was presented by the termination of war with Mysore . The expedition against Mysore ended in complete victory early in May 1799 and the Company now found it possible to send the forces to the far South.

In May 1799 Lord Wellesley issued orders from Madras for the advance of forces from Tiruchirapalli, Thanjavur and Madurai to Tirunelveli. The troops of the Rajah of Travancore joined the enemy.[26] Major Bannerman, armed with extensive powers for effectively dealing with the poligars, assumed the command of the expedition. Advancing through Ramnad, the army encamped at Tirunelveli. On the 1st of September 1799 the Major served an ultimatum directing Kattabomman to attend on him at Palayamkottai on the 4th.[27] The Poligar replied: "As I am a person thinking to be every submissive to the Honourable Company and obey their orders, there is no hesitation to attend on you, and obey your commands, but there is no lucky day at present, when there is, I will attend and obey your orders".[28] Bannerman considered this reply as evasive and decided on military action. As surprise was essential for a quick victory the army by forced marches reached Panjalamkurichi on the 5th of September. Kattabomman's fort was an irregular parallelogram, 500 feet long and 300 feet broad. Constructed entirely of mud, it had square bastions and short curtains.[29]

Upon their arrival the forces cut off the communications of the fort. A large body of peons sallied from the villages for the defence of the threatened citadel, but were repulsed and driven back with heavy loss. Ramalingam Mudaliar, whom Bannerman deputed to the fort with a message asking for surrender,which Kattabomman rejected, gathered the secrets, about the vulnerable points in the defences. He reported to the enemy that there had existed a wide breach in the bastion east of the main gate of the fort, that no preparation had been made to barricade the inner part of the gate and that the fort itself was guarded by only 1200 to 1500 men. On the basis of this report which clearly suggested that Kattabomman anticipated no hostile move, Bannerman decided the strategy of operations.[30]

The plan of operation appeared well co-ordinated. The flank companies with a six pounder were ordered to blow up the south gate, field pieces to cover the storming party and a combined detachment of the Company, Ettayapuram and Travancore to attack the north face of the fort. The signal for assault being given, heavy cannonade broke open the gate. The storming party advanced with order and endeavoured to fight its way to the breach, but found itself unequal to the task. The troops of the Poligar, directed by the indomitable Oomathurai held their ground and threw back the hostile columns. Restored to order the assailants made determined attack but were defeated. So gallant was the resistance offered by the rebels that successive attacks were repeatedly repulsed.[31] The discomfiture of the enemy appeared unconvincing, for the peons of the Poligar appearing on any part of the wall were at once shot dead. But in the immediate defence of the breach, the rebels from their wonderfully concealed and sheltered enclaves wielded the sharp pikes and wrought havoc upon the enemy. Overwhelmed with melancholy recollections, Bannerman wrote to Madras Government: "The attempt was preserved in so long as there was a shadow of success and never was European energy more gallantly displayed than by the officers on this unfortunate occasion."[32] In a bid to retrieve the tarnished prestige, the enemy ordered for the arrival of more troops. On the 6th reinforcements arrived from Palayamkottai. As the broken walls appeared vulnerable, the garrison evacuated and the parties took their course towards Kadalgudi.[33] In a clash at Kalaipatti, the fugitives suffered heavy casualty and Sivasubramonia Pillai was taken prisoner. The British forces followed up their victory with reduction of Nagalapuram and other strongholds of the defiant chiefs to submission.[34]

Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman, Raja of Pudukkottai, captured Kattabomman from the jungles of Kalapore and handed him over to the enemy. He reported to Collector Lushington: "On every side in the mountains I had placed my people to find out ihe hiding place of Kattabomman. He, Oomathurai, his two brothers -in-law and three others were surrounded at Kalapore on the borders of Sivaganga and caught. When Kattabomman was seized, he wished to have slain himself, but my people having bound his hands kept him in confinement".[35]

Bannerman brought the prisoners to an assembly of the poligars and after a mockery of trial sentenced them to death. Soundara Pandyan of Nagalapuram was executed at Gopalapuram and Sivasubramonia Pillai at Nagalapuram on the 13th of September.[36]

On the 16th of October Vira Pandyan was tried before an assembly of poligars, summoned at Kayatar. In an assertive tone and with a contempt for death he admitted the charges levelled against him. He declared that he did send his armed men against Sivagiri and that he did engage the British troops in battle at Panjalamkurichi. Thereupon Bannerman announced death penalty for Vira

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Pandyan. On the 17th of October Kattabomman was hanged to death at a conspicuous spot near the old fort of Kayatar. About his last moments Bannerman wrote to Madras: "It may not be amiss here to observe that the manner and behaviour of the poligar during the whole time of his being before those who were assembled yesterday at the examination, which took place, were undaunted and supercilious. He frequently eyed the Etiapore (Ettayapuram) poligar who had been so active in attempting to secure his person, and the Poligar of Sivagiri, with an appearance of indignant scorn, and when he went out to be executed, he walked with a firm and daring air and cast looks of sullen contempt on the Poligars to his right and left, as he passed. It was reported to me that on his way to the place of execution he expressed some anxiety for his dumb brother (Oomathurai) alone; and said, when he reached the foot of the tree on which he was hanged, that he then regretted having left his fort, in the defence of which it would have been better for him to have died."[37]

Vira Pandyan faced the last moments of his life with the pride of a hero. However, the question that can be raised is whether he can be considered as a rebel. He paid tribute to the Company and followed the Collector for twentythree days, exposing himself thereby to humiliation. At the same time he identified himself with the anti-British league organised by Marudu Pandyan and Gopala Nayak, assumed the leadership of the rebel poligars of Tirunelveli, placed guards to watch the hostile moves made by the enemy and sought to strengthen his position by gaining possession of the strategic fort of Sivagiri. An analysis of the behaviour of the poligars of this period indicates that it was guided by the maxims, as laid down in the *Panchathantra*. It was their policy to pretend submission and procrastinate before the formidable enemy till they find a favourable opportunity for gaining victory. No wonder Vira Pandyan too resorted to procrastination. But before he could organise a widespread rebellion and gain the support of the rebel leagues he was defeated in a surprise attack and was executed.

Oomathurai

After the execution of Kattabomman his brother Oomathurai assumed the leadership of the movement in Tirunelveli. Otherwise called Kumaraswamy, he was a deaf and dumb man. The personal appearance of Oomathurai appeared deceptive, for he was a sickly man but possessed a masterful mind. James Welsh, who had an intimate knowledge of Oomathurai, had declared: "he was one of the most extraordinary mortals I ever knew. The Oomee was adored, his slight sign was an oracle, and every man flew to execute whatever he commanded. No Council assembled at which he did not preside, no daring adventure was undertaken which he did not lead. Whatever indisciplined valour could effect, was sure to be achieved wherever he appeared". His method of representing the English was extremely simple, for he collected a few little pieces of straw, arranged

them on the palm of his left hand to represent the English force; then with other. signs characteristic of a dumb man and a whizzing sound, drew the other hand, across and swept them off. This was the signal for attack."[38]

In 1799 upon the suppression of the rebels led by Kattabomman, the English threw into confinement at Palayamkottai seventeen leaders including Oomathurai. Two of them died while the rest were kept in irons. Marudu Pandyan of Sivaganga and Gopala Nayak of Virupakshi made an attempt to work out the rescue of the rebels but it failed. In January 1801 the insurgents, 200 in number, under the guise of pilgrims proceeding to Tiruchendur, moved to Palayamkottai. Clad in yellow robes they played *kavadi*, chanted *mantrams* and distributed the holy ash. On reaching Palayamkottai these 'pilgrims' turned into 'hawkers', selling fire-wood, plantain leaves and fruits. By this time the prisoners obtained permission to purchase these items for performing the ceremonies for the dead. Accordingly the 'hawkers' entered the fort and walked towards the enclosure of captivity evoking no suspicion. This was on 2nd February 1801, soon after sunset.[39]

On gaining the signal from the rebels, the 'hawkers' overpowered the sentinels, seized the firearms and carried off the prisoners. Supported by armed men waiting outside the fort, all made their escape to Walnad Hills and moved to Panjalamkurichi. The pillaging parties spread themselves in all directions, surprised the British posts, released the prisoners and seized the stores. Alwar Tirunagari, Srivaikuntam, Kadalgudi, Nagalapuram, Kolarpatti and Tutukudi fell to the storming parties.[40]

As the tide of insurrection spread over the country, the British assembled an army and sent it under the command of Colin Macaulay to Panjalamkurichi. The forces moved to the rebel stronghold but were compelled to retreat. On 31 March 1801 Macaulay assembled more forces and attacked the fort. But Oomathurai led his rebels in the defence of the fort and repulsed the attack.[41] Thereupon the enemy instituted a close blockade. With the arrival of reinforcements, Colonel Agnew assumed the command of the operations. The siege was resumed on 20 May 1801. The batteries opened a devastating fire and effected a breach. Powerful columns, covered by heavy fire, steadily moved in strength to the breach. The rebels, led by Oomathurai, engaged the assailants in a deadly conflict. In the dreadful carnage both the sides suffered grievously. As the fall of the fort appeared imminent, the rebel garrison, 3000 strong, formed into two solid columns and made a retreat. In this encounter the rebels lost 1050, while the British 600.[42]

The cavalry of the enemy in pursuit of the fleeing rebels engaged them in more battles. A group of insurgents fought a pitched battle but was routed. In the evening of the day of battle the women of the village, induced by the sullen quiet that followed the carnage, hurried to the blood-stained field. Eager to afford

succour, they made a close search for the persons in whom life was not extinct. Among the heaps of the killed they found the son of one of them still breathing. Struck by agony, they gently raised his head. To their dismay the afflicted young man rallied the energy that still remained at his command and whispered into the ears of his mother: 'Oh, mother, let me die, but try to save the life of Swamy who lies near me' – 'swamy' denoting Oomee. Rising to the melancholy occasion, the mother hurried to comply with the wishes of the dying son. Soon the women discovered Oomathurai weltering in his blood alive. With the same motherly tenderness they quickly lifted him and carried him off to their village. They dressed his wounds and attended on him with solicitude but were greatly scared at the sudden appearance of the enemy. At this critical moment an ingenious device dawned in their minds. They covered Oomathurai with a piece of cloth and set up a shriek of lamentation. On the approach of the enemy's troops, they told them that just then a young man died of small pox. The sepoys taken by panic, suddenly fled, without casting a glance behind.[43]

Oomathurai had been afflicted with six desperate wounds. Yet on the third day it seemed certain that he was out of danger. On the 28th of May with his wounds still unhealed he reached Kamudi. Marudu Pandyan accompanied by a large crowd of people reached Kamudi and affectionately welcomed into his camp the hero who returned from the fallen. Taking Oomathurai to his head-quarters at Siruvayal, he attended on him with the greatest care. The villagers even from the remote places visited their gallant leader and gave him presents. The women of the town collected sundry articles, distributed them among the poor and made offerings to the deities for the quick recovery of the afflicted rebel.[44]

After his recovery, Oomathurai led the rebels against the British in Sivaganga. He made a gallant attempt to capture Madurai but failed. Since then he made a descent upon the valley of Dindigul. Major Burrows led his cavalry against the rebels. There followed a running battle of fifty one miles, which culminated in a fierce encounter at Vettilagundu. The patriots, moving constantly with no rest, no food and no water for three days gave way. Many of them died in battle while Oomathurai with sixtyfive of his followers fell into the hands of the enemy.[45] On 16th November, 1801 Oomathurai and his brother Sevatiah were executed on a tower erected at Panjalamkurichi.[46] In fact they graced the gallows in reward of their most interested patriotism.

Gopala Nayak

The movement of 1800-1801 had in Gopala Nayak of Dindigul its greatest diplomat. Poligar of Virupakshi and hero of many a battle, he engaged the invading forces of the Company for long. In 1783 when Colonel Fullarton led the British troops to Dindigul, the South-eastern district of Mysore during this period,

Gopala Nayak threw himself into the fray and made a vigorous but futile resistance to aggression. In 1792 the Company established its administration in the district, as it was ceded by Mysore. Since then Gopala Nayak, as a clever strategist, observed the strictest regularity in the payment of his tribute but secretly entered into intrigues with the disaffected leaders,. The policy of harassments enforced by the British administration for the collection of tribute, presents and provisions, dispossession of estates from the chiefs and the influence of Tipu Sultan served as factors that helped in forging the ties of comradeship against the European power. In 1797 Gopala Nayak established a close alliance with Lakshmi Nayak of Manaparai and Yadul Nayak of Delhi. This formed the nucleus of the Dindigul League. These chieftains decided to fight the Company's authority and to assist each other in their struggle. As a result of their repeated and determined endeavours the chieftains of other regions too rallied to the common cause. Among them were Poojari Nayak of Deodanapatti, the chiefs of Dharapuram, Kangeyam, Columbum, Sankagiri and Karur, the Poligar of Kanniwadi in Dindigul and the headmen of Ratnagiri and Natham. The chieftains of Periapatti, Metranti, Mewadi, Tondamattur, Tengaivady, Ayotaripatti, Vedampatti, and Somandorai followed suit. In March 1799 Lakshmi Nayak visited Virupakshi and Kannivadi. This was followed by the posting of resident-*Vakeels* by the Poligars of Natham, Ramagiri and Kadawoor at Virupakshi. Subsequently Arumugam Sherogar at the instance of the allied chiefs, visited Kadawoor, Virupakshi and Ediankottai. The chieftains of these places visited each other and all together held a conference with Lakshmi Nayak. After this meeting was over, Lakshmi Nayak proceeded to Srirangapatnam, perhaps at the direction of the League, to request succour from Tipu. On the 4th of April 1799 four *hircarrahs* of the Sultan reached Dindigul with presents to the rebel chiefs.

The missions sent by Gopala Nayak which were well received had contributed to the formation and consolidation of a powerful alliance. The peasants joined the rebel standard. The British administration enlisted the service of the disbanded peons of Mysore to counteract the League's activity but with little success. The records pertaining to the formation of this League as in the case of other alliance systems do not furnish details of the machinations and conspiracies of the rebel elements; for obviously they were conducted in the thicknesses of the woods in complete secrecy. B. Hurdis, the Collector of Dindigul, in his report to the Board of Revenue has admitted that it was difficult to trace the mazes of rebel intrigues but it was certain that the chieftains cherished anti-British designs in common.

Kallarnadu, a rugged region of thorny shrubs, situated between Madurai and Tiruchirapalli, served as the meeting ground of the three parallel rebel organisations of Tirunelveli, Ramnad and Dindigul. The Kallar, the inhabitants of this hilly territory, were not only gallant fighters but inveterate enemies of the Company for

generations. Gopala Nayak more than the other leaders effectively prevailed upon them and gained their alliance. He sent Ellappa Mudali on missions to Kallarnadu. On the 25th of February Kaliani Tevar and Perumal Swami Pillai, the deputies of Kallarnadu, visited Dindigul and gave their consent to join the League. On meeting them at Virupakshi, Gopala Nayak exclaimed: "The happy time now is approaching for all chiefs under distress. Go both of You, Kaliani Tevar and Perumal Swami Pillai to Ghazi Khan, who came at the head of the Mysore camp now at Pallipatti in their bounds close to the Palni bounds and as both my deputy Tomachi Modali and Poojari Nayak's deputy Komi Reddi are there I will send people to accompany you to that place".

The Dindigul League looked upon Tipu as a possible source of support in the contemplated struggle. However, it had no intention to play second fiddle to the designs of the Sultan. Collector Hurdis, asserted positively that the leaders of Dindigul decided to use their alliance with Tipu 'as a blind to their attempts' and that they never wanted to be the instruments of the policy, followed by the Sultan. Nevertheless, the League established intimate relations with Mysore. Gopala Nayak deputed Tomachi Mudali and Poojari Nayak sent Komi Reddi as their *vakeels* to the court of Tipu. At their request the Sultan sent a detachment under the command of Ghazi Khan to the Southern border of Mysore to act in collaboration with the League. On the 26th of February Komi Reddi returned to Virupakshi and after further deliberations went back to the camp of Mysore. On reaching Pallipatti Ghazhi Khan received the two deputies, took them to his tent, exchanged presents with them and held a long discussion. After it was over, he presented them with a turban and a letter. The deputies returned to Dindigul and reported to the meeting of the rebels that Ghazi Khan had instructed them to receive guidance from Gopala Nayak and to make incursions to all places at the time of the insurrection.

In a bid to dissuade Gopala Nayak from his hostile activity Hurdis, the Collector of Dindigul, summoned him to explain his conduct,. The chief, on the other hand, confident of his growing influence, refused compliance. In November 1799 the Board of Revenue served a second summons directing him to attend on the Collector, failing which he was warned that he would be subjected to exemplary punishment and that he had the example of Kattabomman. Yet the defiant chief rejected the order.[47]

As the preparations for the struggle had been carried into effect, the rebels had to decide the venue and date for its commencement. Towards the end of April 1800 the deputies of Dhoondaji Waug, who represented the Kannada wing of the Confederacy reached the place on the 28th and left on their return journey on 30th, with the conclusion of the deliberations. Gopala Nayak presided over the Council.

The Rebel Council adopted important resolutions. It decided to launch a general offensive against the British with the storming of Coimbatore. To attain this objective the Dindigul League was directed to send rebel columns against this stronghold of the enemy. Khan-i-Jah Khan at the command of 4000 horses agreed to reach by the pass of Gujelgetty in support of the insurgent column of Dindigul. Dhoondaji Waug undertook to send an expedition to Coimbatore to reinforce the Confederates of the South. Marudu Pandyan and his associates consented to wait for the appearance of "horse", which in the view of the English, had reference only to the cavalry of Dhoondaji Waug, in Coimbatore. The rebels of the southern districts were to take it as a signal and to rise in arms immediately. Thus the patriots worked out in detail an elaborate plan for launching a full scale rebellion. The attack on Coimbatore was to usher in a general insurrection throughout the country and expulsion of the imperial rulers from the land.

The Rebel Council in Dindigul decided to attack Coimbatore on the 3rd of June 1800 and to destroy the Fifth Regiment that garrisoned the fort. The rank and file of the Fifth Regiment of British Cavalry consisted mostly of Mohammadan sepoys, officered by the English. The Conspirators planned to call forth their armed columns from the villages and move them to the hills situated near Coimbatore and directed Shaik Hussain to take over the command of the storming parties. They decided on the 3rd of June 1800 as the appointed day for assault as it was the last day of the Muharram Feast when the elder Muslim Sepoys would be away and the younger sepoys would be busy with the celebration of the feast and incapable of any sustained action, being overcome with fatigue in consequence of their busy engagements for all the previous nine days and nights. As Lieutenant Colonel Macalister, commander of the garrison, himself asserted subsequently it was "... the most favourable moment for carrying such a diabolical scheme into effect." The local residents volunteered to serve as guides and offered to extend every possible assistance.[48]

On 31st April 1800 five rebel columns moved from the jungles of Dindigul for the capture of Coimbatore. Early in May the rebels made their appearance in the vicinity of Coimbatore. But to the consternation of the rebels the information about their movements reached the British. As a result the endeavour was thwarted and many of the rebels were seized. Shummus Khan, one of the captured rebels, declared at the trial that the conspiracy aimed at occupying Coimbatore was held at Virupakshi and that Gopala Nayak presided over it and served as the guiding genius. The captured rebels were tried by a court martial and executed.[49]

As the rebellion broke out in the southern region, Gopala Nayak sent his armed men in support of Oomathurai. But after the suppression of the rebellion in Malabar Colonel Innes took the field against the rebels of Dindigul. The operations in Virupakshi continued from March to April 1800. The rebels suffered

reverses and their stronghold at Pachalur fell. Gopala Nayak and his armed men escaped to the Anamalai Hills, and then took shelter with Poni Tevar of Kallapatti.[50] The peasants of the area rallied to Gopala Nayak but were dispersed. The troops led by Nattar Khan attacked Kallapatti and seized Gopala Nayak.[51] In November 1801 the rebel leader who was seventytwo years old, was hanged to death.[52] This marked the end of a rebel strategist.

Marudu Pandyan

Marudu Pandyan, the hero of the South Indian Rebellion of 1800-1801, was a man of dark complexion, handsome personality and affable manners. Born in obscurity, he started his career as betel bearer in the service of Raja Udaya Tevar of Sivaganga. In 1772 the ruler was killed and the state was occupied by combined forces of the English Company and the Carnatic Nawab. The genius of young Marudu first manifested itself in 1780, when he organised a popular movement, expelled the intruders and proclaimed as the ruler of Sivaganga Vellachi, the daughter of the fallen prince. Appointed as minister in the new regime, he grew in popularity in the service of his people. So affectionately adored, he commanded vast influence over the masses. He resided in an open, yet unguarded house at Siruvayal and whoever wanted to see him had a free access to his presence.[53]

Astute, Marudu analysed the developments, wrought by European machinations, and their impact upon the society. He declared in categorical terms that the English established their political authority over the country and enslaved its people. This calamity overtook the land because of the folly of the princes, indifference of the inhabitants and duplicity of the Europeans. The local rulers unwisely entered into unequal alliance with alien powrs and accepted subordinate status. The inhabitants, ignorant of the subtiliety of European tactics, not only refused to rise against the common foe but made a collusion with it. The English, on the other hand, violated faith and established their authority. This deprived the states of their freedom, threatened the independence of the rest of the country and reduced the sons of the soil to poverty. The only remedy lay in the destruction of their political power and enforcement of their dependent status. To attain this grand objective there were two requisites: unity and warfare. As the British forces were better equipped than the inhabitants, guerilla tactics were to be adopted. Success in these ventures would liberate the occupied territory, forestall the fall of the rest of India to alien domination and enable the inhabitants to live in peace and prosperity. Thereupon the rulers should be restored to their former exalted status but their authority must be balanced by the poligari system and established custom.[54]

Inspired by this exalted nationalist ideal, Marudu proceeded to translate it into action, Ramram Singh, Asad-ul-Zaman and the Rajahs of Birbhum and Burdwan in Bengal and Rajahs of Vijayanagaram and Polaveram in the Circars

contented themselves with local resistence. Marudu on the other hand organised a rebellion of formidable proportions. "foment insurrections throughout the country" and "by the support of the jungle harass the enemy and set it at defiance", he declared.[55] Upon the fall of his ally Tipu Sultan in 1799, he saw the imperative necessity of promoting a union of patriotic interests of South India in defence of freedom. His alliance with Gopala Nayak of Dindigul served as the nucleus. The rebels of Tamilnadu and Mysore frequented the thick woods of Dindigul and Sivaganga and held deliberations.[56] Three misions were sent to the north and the support of the rebel chiefs, particularly Dhoondaji Waug of Shimoga, was won. The sphere of rebel activity extended from Nanguneri to Sholapur. The English now found themselves confronted with a challenge of a revolutionary faith.[57]

The strategy of the rebel confederates placed Marudu at the command of their operations in the Madurai Country. Genius in the organisation of revolt, he prepared for a determined struggle. Powder, balls, rockets and other firearms were manufactured, old arms were repaired and fresh supplies were obtained through the Bay of Tondi by employing large donkeys. All were stored in the jungle of Kalayarkoil.[58] Spies were sent to British camps to collect secrets about hostile movements. On hearing their reports Marudu confidently asserted "though twelve battalions should march against Sivaganga, they could venture to engage the enemy and set it at defiance with the help of the jungles".[59] With grim determination the inhabitants evacuated the villages and trusted themselves entirely on the mountain recesses. They made the Temple of Kalayarkoil, their rallying centre, obviously because they considered their impending struggle as a crusade.

In April 1800 when the preparations for the rebellion were in progress, the confederates held a conspiracy at Virupakshi in Dindigual. It was attended by the delegates of Marudu Pandyan, Gopala Nayak, Dhoondaji Waug and other rebel leaders of the South. Marudu Pandyan sent rebel parties in support of the insurgents of Dindigul and Coimbatore for the capture of the fort. But the attempt failed. However, Dhoondaji Waug and Kerala Varma rose in rebellion in the north. Marudu waited for the appearance of Dhoondaji Waug's cavalry, but it did not come. Thereupon he sent his men to the south and engineered schemes to work out the escape of the relatives of Kattabomman, imprisoned at Palayamkottai. This was effected on the 2nd of February, 1801.[60] Immediately afterwards Marudu Pandyan sent 30,000 men to Tirunelveli to join Sevatiah and Oomathurai, the leaders of the rebellion in this region. The insurrection spread and the British garrisons were attacked and subdued. In the meantime Gopala Nayak and his associates led the rebellion in Dindigul.[61]

On the 16th of June 1801 the British administration received report of a proclamation, issued by Marudu Pandyan. A copy of it was found posted upon one of the walls of the large open gateway leading to the Nawab's palace in the fort

of Tiruchirapalli. It was addressed to the people of South India, mentioned in it as the peninsula of Jambu Dweepa. Another proclamation with identical contents mostly, was found on the wall of the great Temple of Srirangam. It was addressed to all the inhabitants of India, referred in it as the Island of Jambu.[62] The selection of Tiruchirapalli and Srirangam as the venue of the proclamation was of significance. Tiruchirapalli was a centre of political activity, for it was the control of this strategic fort that enabled the English to turn the tide of their long struggle against the French in their favour and to consolidate their power in the South. Srirangam, being a Hindu spiritual centre, appeared as a suitable place for the issue of an appeal to all the people of the entire subcontinent.

Unique in the annals of India's freedom struggle, Marudu Pandyan's Proclamation constitutes a remarkable document. It enshrines in itself a combination of ideals and data as presented by a great patriot, hailing from the masses. An all-India concept inspired the proclamation, for it not only made a direct appeal to the entire country but expressed an anxiety that if the political malady was allowed to persist, the whole of India would fall under alien rule. It exhorted all religious and communal sections whether they were peasants, sepoys or civil servants, to rally to the patriotic cause. However, the details are more of South Indian interest, as the rebels had no definite knowledge of the political developments in the East and the English had not yet established their sway in the north. It indicated the folly of Nawab Mohammad Ali of the Carnatic, the indifference of the inhabitants, tactics of the foreign powers and consequences of British imperialism. The advocacy of the hereditary rights of the princes and national customs, made in the proclamation, would appear ill-conceived in the light of modern concepts of liberalism but it could not be denied that it seemed a necessity for securing popular support during a period when tradition swayed the imagination of the inhabitants. The English version of the two proclamations which are almost identical in their contents proceeds thus:

"Whoever sees this Paper, Read it with Attention.

To the Castes/nations/Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vysyas, Sudras and Mussalmen that are in the Island of Jamboo/in the peninsula of Jambu Dweepa/this notice is given.

"His Highness the Nawab Mohammad Ali having foolishly given the Europeans place amongst you is become like a widow. The Europeans violating their Faith have deceitfully made the Kingdom their own and considering the inhabitants as dogs, accordingly exercise authority over them. There existing no unity and friendship amongst you the above castes, who not aware of the duplicity of these Europeans – have not only inconsiderably calumniated each other, but have absolutely surrendered the Kingdom to them. In these countries now governed by these Low Wretches, the inhabitants have become poor and the rice

became 'vellum' (water).[63] And although they manifestly suffer, they are still without understanding to discern it. It is, certain that the Man must die although he may live a thousand years; And it is as certain that his fame will survive him as long as the Sun and Moon (shine). Therefore it is devised and determined that in future each shall enjoy his hereditary Rights, namely to His Highness the Nawab Arcot Subah, Vijaya Ramanah Tirumala Nayak the Carnatic, Tanjore the first place and to others their respective kingdom.[64] — all to be given to their rightful sovereigns, without any violation of faith and national customs. (The Europeans must) confine themselves to a dependent service on the Nawab from which they may expect to derive a real and uninterrupted happiness. As the authority of the Europeans will be destroyed, we shall enjoy as in the service of the Nawab constant happiness without tears.

"It is therefore recommended that every man in his place and palayam fly to arms and unite together in order to make even the name of the Low Wretches cease. Then all the poor and the needy will get subsistence. But should there be any who like dogs, desirous of an easy life obey the commands of these Low Wretches such should be karoo or cut off. As all know with what subtility these Low Wretches, always in unity with each other have subdued the country, therefore, you Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vysyas, Sudras and Mussalmen, all who wear whiskers whether civil or military, serving in the field or elsewhere and your subedars, jamedars, havildars, nayaks and sepoys in the service of the Low Wretches and all capable of bearing arms, let them in the first place display their bravery as follows:

"Wherever you find any of the low wretches destroy them and continue to do so until they are extirpated. Whoever serves the low wretches will never enjoy eternal bliss after death, I know this. Consider and deliberate on it. And he who does not subscribe to this may his whiskers be like the hair of my secret parts and his food be tasteless and without nourishment and may his wife and children belong to another and be considered as the offspring of the low wretches to whom he had prostituted her. Therefore all but whose blood is not contaminated by Europeans will begin to unite. Whoever reads this or hears of its contents let him make it as public as possible by writing it to his friends who in like manner must publish it to theirs. Everyone who shall not write it and circulate it as before mentioned, let him he held as guilty of the enormous crime of having killed a black cow on the banks of the Ganga and suffer all the various punishments of hell. The Musalmen who do not conform to this, let him be considered as having drunk the blood of a pig.

"Whoever takes this off the wall where it is pasted let him be held as guilty of the five greatest sins.[65] Let everyone read and take a copy of this address. Thus Marudu Pandyan, the servant of the great rajahs, but the implacable Enemy of the European low wretches.

"To all living at Srirangam, the priests and great people, Marudu Pandyan prostrates himself at their feet. The sovereigns made and kept forts, the mud bastions, churches and chapels. The above great Rajahs and people by the injustice of the low wretches are now reduced to poverty. So great a people as you are reduced to this state. Grant me your Blessing".[66]

In May, 1801 the rebels under the direct command of Marudu Pandyan encountered the British. They defeated the forces of the Company, stationed at Tirupatore and Natham. Pillaging parties liberated Tiruvelur, Melur and Verapur. Rebellion spread to Ramnad. The patriots stormed Palamaneri and Tiruchuzi and forced the English to flee to the shelter of the Fort of Ramnad. The possession of the coastal region of Ramnad greatly contributed to the strength of the rebels. More of inhabitants rallied to the patriotic cause and supply routes were freed from threat of disruption. In July 1801 a body of rebels under Shevata Tambi, son of Marudu Pandyan, advanced to Thanjavur and on its appearance the inhabitants rose in arms voluntarily.[67] The rebels expelled the British troops from Pattukottai and occupied Mangudi. Advancing along the sea shore to Nagore,[68] they moved to Shiali, Kumbakonam and Wodayarpalayam.[69] In the liberated areas monigars were posted to look after the administration. As the result of these gains most of Madurai, Ramnad, Kallarnadu and Thanjavur fell under the control of Marudu Pandyan.

Threatened with the destruction of their authority, the English assembled their forces, rushed from different stations and directed Lt. Col. Agnew to take the command of the operations. Advancing from the south, the forces occupied Palamaneri, Tiruppuvanam, Tirupachetti and Manamadurai. Colonel Innes attacked Piranmalai but was defeated. Thereupon he marched towards Saturusamharakottai situated near Tirupatore. The rebels finding their advantage attacked the enemy, using rockets and forced Innes to retreat.[70] In the meantime the Company supported by the rulers of Tanjore and Pudukottai, assembled an army for an eastern campaign. Commanded by Blackburn, it occupied the rebel posts in Tanjore and advanced to Arandangy.[71] Macaulay defeated the rebels of Tirunelveli and reached Ramnad.[72] On 27 July 1801 the combined forces of Agnew and Innes began their march from Okkur to Siruvayal. The rebels set fire to Siruvayal and withdrew to the woods,. In the clashes the insurgents suffered heavily, yet the resistance continued. The British forces succeeded in beating the crowds every hour but the moment they felt relieved, they found themselves surrounded on all sides. As a result the enemy abandoned Siruvayal and decided to attack Kalayarkoil from the side of Okkur. On 30th of September British detachments moved to Kalayarkoil. After a sharp fire the rebel stronghold fell.[73]

On the 19th of October 1801 Marudu Pandyan was engaged in an action at Cholapuram, wounded and captured.[74] The troops which were employed in the

jungles, seized the other rebels of note too. Many of the patriots exscaped to the inhospitable woods of Anamalai, where they died of fever.[75] On the 24th of October 1801 Marudu Pandyan, together with his brother Vella Marudu and a horde of other patriots, was executed on the ruins of the Fort of Tirupatore in Ramnad district.[76] James Welsh, an officer in the British army, has given a brief note on the last days of this hero. He had observed: after Chinna Marudu was defeated in the battle of Kalayarkoil, he was chased like a wild beast, was badly wounded and captured. He was seen lingering with a fractured thigh in prison and was lastly beheld with his gallant brother Vella Marudu and no less gallant son, Shevata Tambi, surrounded by other insurgents, in chains upon a common gibbet.[77] The followers of Marudu carried his body to Kalayarkoil, buried it near the Tank of the Great Temple and erected a small tomb in his memory.

Marudu Pandyan, like many other patriots before him and after, failed in attaining his objective. He sacrificed his life as the price of his failure. The causes of his failure were not because of factors which were in his control. The Indian powers particularly the Marathas and the Nizam and the princes like those of the Carnatic, Travancore, Thanjavur and Mysore rallied to the cause of the enemy. The English had a disciplined and well equipped army and the control of the sea. Added to these, they divided the rebel ranks and created dissensions among them.

However it cannot be denied that Marudu Pandyan was an enlightened patriot who set the ideal of one India before his people and saw the necessity of the destruction of British power in South India to forestall the fall of the rest of the subcontinent to alien sway. Despite his peasant background he not only did correctly analyse the causes of the political malady but did evolve right remedy. His military strategy required political unity, confederation of rebel forces, guerilla warfare and simultaneous insurrection throughout the country. The exalted nationalism that he cherished and the daring venture that he made and the martyrdom that he met with in pursuit of his vision make him the greatest of the patriots of India of the British period before the Nationalist Movement.

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South Indian Rebellion, p. 115. 58. Board of Revenue, 29 May 1800, Proceedings, Vol. 252, pp. 4044-4045. 59. Amildar of Oroor, 18 March 1801, Report, Collectorate Records, Vol. 3579, p. 76. 60. Madras Council, 10 February 1801, Military Consultations, Vol. 279. 61. Sevatiah, letter to Rajah of Thanjavur, Military Consultations, 9 June 1801, Vol. 84, p. 4295. 62. Revenue Sundries, 10 July 1801 Vol. 26, pp. 445-446. 63. The proclamation indicates the great change that came in consequence of the British exploitation of the resources of the land. In the past the inhabitants could eat rice but after the establishment of British power they had to be content with mere rice-water. 64. The confederates had decided to restore the kingdoms to their princes. In the South Arcot Subah, situated between the rivers Gundalakamma in the north and Vellar in the south, was to be returned to the direct rule of the Nawab, Tanjore to prince Serfoji who was deprived of it in 1799 and Madurai to Vijaya Ramnah Tirumala Nayak, a descendant of Queen Minakshi, the last ruler of the kingdom. 65. The five greatest sins are the killing of a Brahmin, adultery with the wife of the master, drinking of liquor, theft of gold and finally connivance at doing any of these offences. While expiation can be had during the present life for ordinary sins, it cannot be had for the five greatest sins, for their effect will continue even after rebirth, according to the Hindu belief. 66. Revenue Sundries, 10 July 1801, Vo. 26, pp. 447-445. 67. Military Consultations, 4 August 1801, Vol 286, p. 5332. 68. Ibid., 11 August 1801, Vol. 286, p. 5643. 69. Board of Revenue, July 1801, Proceedings, Vol. 291, p. 8269. 70. Madras Council, 4 August 1801, Military Consultations, Vol. 286, pp. 5348-5370. 71. Madras Council, 20 October 1801, Military Consultations, Vol. 288, pp. 6943-6951. 71. Revenue Sundries, 7 September 1801, Vol. 26, pp. 673-675. 72. Revenue Sundries, 7 September 1801, Vol. 26pp. 673–675 73. Madras Council, 20 October 1801, Military Consultations, Vol. 288, p. 6867. 74. Madras Council, 1 December 1801, Military Consultations, Vol. 289, p. 7671. 75. T. B. Hurdis, 22 October, 1801, letter to Board of Revenue, Proceedings, Vol. 301, p. p. 13004. 76. Military Despatches to England, 20 October 1802, Vol. 33, p. 668. 77. J. Welsh, *Military Reminiscences*, Vol. 1, p. 130.

EVOLUTION OF CASTE SYSTEM IN TAMIL NADU

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The institution of Caste is perhaps the most characteristic feature of the Hindu Society. In all the other societies of the world we have a sort of class system in which the status of a person is determined by his wealth, education and influence. But in the Indian society, a man's rank in society is decided by mere birth in a particular group. Once a man is born in a low caste he cannot move himself into the higher ranks of society by any amount of hard work or intelligence. This rigidity is the most important feature of the Hindu caste system. Besides this, there are also a few other salient features of the caste system. They are as follows:–

(1) Endogamy - marriage within one's own caste and prohibition of marriage outside one's caste.

(2) Prohibition of inter-dining with other castes.

(3) Hereditary occupation - real or imaginary.

(4) Belief in common ancestry - human or divine.

(5) Hierarchy in which the Brahmin occupies the apex while the Sudras occupy the bottom of the society.

(6) Ostracism from the caste, if one violates his caste rules.

(7) Observance of certain rules of ritual purity or *aachara*-segregation of certain groups of people as untouchables, on the basis of ritual impurity.

Caste System in North India

These features of the Caste system were evolved first of all among the Aryans in the Madhyadesa or the country between Ganges and Jamuna, during the period of the Dharma Shastras, (600-300 B.C.) in which elaborate rules and regulations had been framed for the preservation of the purity of the *varnas* or classes, especially the first three higher varnas, the Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaisya. They were not allowed to marry outside their own varnas. In exceptional cases *Anuloma* marriages namely marriage of the male of the higher *varna* with the female of the lower *varna* was permitted. But the *Pratiloma* marriage or marriage of the male of a low varna with woman of a higher varna was abhorred. The offspring of a Sudra male and a Brahmana female was called a Chandala fit to be segregated from the society. Only for the three higher varnas *Upanayana* or initiation into vedic studies was allowed. At the time of Upanayana he was adorned with the sacred thread and

was called *Dvija* or twice-born, one the natural and the other at the time of initiation. The *sudra* was denied the 'privilege' of wearing sacred thread and a study of the Vedas. Only the defeated *Dasyus* who were willing to serve the other castes were admitted into the fourth *sudra varna*. Originally there were only four varnas or classes wherein there was a lot of flexibility. Later on they solidified into four rigid castes. Varna became the jati, those who were outside the Aryan fold were dubbed as *Avarnas* and *Antyajas* and were segregated from the regular villages or towns. The Tamil equivalent of jati is *kulam* and *kudi*. Kulam denoted the caste while *kudi* denoted the family ancestry for individuals and dynasty for kings. Thus a hierarchy of castes was built up on the basis of ritual purity and impurity, during the later vedic period.

In this system the *Brahmins* were the greatest beneficiaries as they were regarded as the purest. They were the priests of ordinary men and *Rajagurus* of kings. They enjoyed a lot of privileges. Next came the *Kshatriyas* who were the kings and warriors. The third group, the *Vaisyas* looked after agriculture and trade. Those who did the menial services were called the *Sudras*. Though prohibition of intermarriage and interdining were prescribed only for the three higher castes, the Sudras and Chandalas also began to imitate their masters and developed caste characteristics. It was perhaps due to the psychology of the dominated to imitate the dominators.

Caste system in the Cangam Age (200-400 A.D.) - Tamil Nadu

An examination of Cangam classics, such as *Pattuppaddu* and *Edduttogai* reveals a simple society divided horizontally into professional and regional groups.[1] They represented the early phases of Tamil civilisation. There were people who were still in the food gathering state. They were the fisherfolk of the *neital* or coastal region known as *nulhaiar* and *parathavar*, and the hunters of the *kurinji* or hilly region called *kuTavar* and *veedar*. People of the pastoral stage were found in the *mullai* or forest region and were known as *aayar*, *idayar* and *koovalar*. People of the food producing stage were found only in the *marutam* or field regions. They were called as *kalhamar* and *uLavar* meaning cultivators. The *maTavar*, *mallhar* and *maLavar* were the warriors who inhabited the arid tracts known as *paalai*. This physiographic classification of people is something unique of the Tamil society. It was not found in the early Aryan society.

Further there was no water tight compartments as between the different regional groups. There was no occupational rigidity. The tending of the cattle was not confined to the *mullai* region.[2] The sound of churning buttermilk was heard from the houses of *paalai* region also.[3] The *kuTavan* of *kuTinji* region could go into the *mullai* and could become *idaya*. We hear of *paratavas* of *neital* region going into the *marutam* region and exchanging salt for paddy.[4] So also *idayas* of *mullai* region are said to have gone into the *marutam* and sold milk in exchange of grain.[5] Thus the barter system of economy helped physical mobility.

The early Cangam society was not only characterised by physical but also social mobility. Inter-marriage between different social groups was not uncommon. In fact the *akam* literature is full of poems describing love at first sight, secret or clandestine courtship and subsequent marriage. What we call lovemarriage in modern parlance seems to have been widely prevalent in the early Tamil society. In such lovemarriages caste becomes irrelevant. Thus we hear of total strangers falling in love with each other. In *KuTuntogai*, an *akam* literature, we hear of a lover telling his love as follows.[5](a) "I don't know what is the relationship between my mother and your mother. Nor do I know the kinship between my father and your father. Even yourself and myself have not known each other till the time of our meeting now. Yet our hearts have been united in love, in the same way as the rain water falling on the red soil becomes one with its colour." This passage is typical of the various other instances in which young men and women fell in love with each other, irrespective of the regional or professional group to which they belonged. Such descriptions cannot be mere poetic convention as some people would presume. Literature is nothing but the mirror of life. If lovemarriages had not been accepted as a way of life, hundreds of poems need not have been composed on that subject.

The secret courtship between the lovers is described as *Kalhavu* which means clandestine love. When the secret meetings of the lover and the love become public and the gossip of the village it is called *alar*.[6] When the parents come to know of it, they usually arrange for the consummation of the marriage between the lovers. If they do not agree for the marriage, the lovers resort to elopement.[7] *Akam* literature abounds with instances of elopement aided and abetted by the friends or *tooLis* of the girl in love. The married life, which followed the romantic love-life, is called as *kaTpu*.

It appears that the institution of love-marriage came to be misused and there were frequent cheating of the lady love by the lover and consequent desertion. Therefore Tolkappiyar says that arranged marriages were introduced by the great men, only after dishonesty and moral lapses entered into the society,[8] The word "after" is of special significance because it proves the existence of lovemarriages before the introduction of ceremonial marriages. *Tolkappiyam* naturally defines *KaTpu* as the life that follows ceremonial marriage arranged by the proper persons (evidently parents) between the couple.[9]

Inter-dining was also not prohibited. We hear of *Paanhas* (later day untouchables) sharing the dinner and drinking bouts with Kings[10] and Brahmins.[11] We hear of Kapilar, a brahmin poet, sharing the meal with a non-brahmin friend and consuming non-vegetarian food.[12] Taboos against liquor and meat-eating seem to be conspicuous by their absence in the early Cangam society.

The phenomenon of hereditary occupation, one of the major features of the caste system, does not seem to have taken roots in the early Tamil Society. There was no separate fighting class. Though normally the *MaTavar*[13] took to the battle-field, others like *MaLavar*,[14] and *Mallhar*[15] also indulged in fighting. *Mallhar* are also said to have been good cultivators. Their women folk called *Kadaisiyar*[16] were especially skilful in paddy planting. Trading was not confined to one class. People of all the five regions practised trade which was largely in the form of barter. The *Paanhas* who were skilful in playing upon lyres were also indulging in fishing.[17] Some of the Brahmins were working as goldsmiths and messengers. Nakkiirar, a Brahmin poet, enjoyed making bangles out of conch-shells. Such Brahmins were called as *Veelaapparppaar*.[18] The *Pulaiyar* did drum-beating and at the same time performed obsequies during funerals[19] and plaited cots.[20] Of course it is probable that owing to lack of communication facilities some people were forced to practise a profession for quite a long time and hand it down to his children. But it was not a universal practice.

Further literacy was not confined to the Brahmins only as in the North Indian *caturvarna* system. The authors of Cangam poetry hail from all sorts of people such as KuTavar, Kuyavar (potters), Kollar (Ironsmith) etc. Unlike the Aryan practice,* education was extended to the womenfolk also. Thus we hear of famous poetesses like Avvaiyaar, Kaakkai Padiniaar, Naccellayar etc.

The idea of pollution, and the segregation of a group of people from regular habitations, also is not hinted at in the early cangam poetry. In fact some of the groups who later on became untouchables occupied respectable positions during this period. *PaTaiahs* and *Paanhas* are spoken of as respectable clans of the *Mullai* region. It is said that besides *PaTaiahs*, *Paanhas*, *Tudiyas* and *Kadambas* there were no other clans at all.[21] Though there may be some poetic exaggeration in the couplet, it may safely be presumed that they were not untouchables. The *Pulaiyas* who are described as untouchables during the Pallava period are said to be performers of funeral ceremonies, as noted already. One who performed priestly functions could not have been an untouchable. It is said that the *pulaithi* (pulaiya lady) was possessed by God Muruka Himself and her jumping in trance is compared to the jumping of a bull.[22] When God Himself chooses to possess the body of a *pulaithi*, she could not have belonged to an untouchable caste. The *Tudiyas* are spoken of as '*ILicinan*' meaning degraded person, *ILipiTappaalhan*[24] (low-born person) and *Pulaiya* (impure person). But there is no evidence to show that they were segregated and treated as untouchables. Some *Pulaiyas* practised the job of plaiting the straps of cots[25] as already noted. The *Paanhas* who in modern times were regarded as untouchables, are described as respectable people who rode in chariots drawn by four horses, along with their wives who wore garlands made of golden lotuses.[26] As already noted they were served with delicious food in the

* We hear of eminent and learned women in the upanishadic period in the Aryan society — Editor.

houses of *Antanhas*[27] and kings.[28] They were not wandering bards as is commonly believed. They had permanent abodes at every sea-port situated in salubrious surroundings of parks full of flowers.[29] The *Mallhas* who became the untouchable pallas of later times are described as great soldiers.[30] and cavalry men.[31] The concept of pollution finds a solitary mention in PuTanaanooTu, where in the menstruating ladies are described as *Kalhantoda Makalhir*, or women who did not touch the vessels.[32]

Thus we find that many of the characteristics of caste system as developed in North India were absent in the early cankam society especially the rural society. With regard to the urban Tamil society as described in early cankam literature the picture is some what different. But even then it cannot be asserted that there existed the chaturvarna system.

The urban phase of Tamil culture is described in works like *Maduraikkaanji*, *Paddinhappaalai* and *PerumpaanhaTTuppadai*. Brahmins chanting vedas and performing vedic sacrifices at Madurai and Pukaar are referred to in *Maduraikkaanji* and *Paddinappaalai* respectively.[34] Pandiyan kings performed *Yaakgas* or sacrifices and one of the Pandiyas called himself as Palyaga *caalai Mutukudumi Peruvaluti* meaning one who performed many yaagas. In *PerumpaanhaTTuppadai*, the Brahmins are said to have resided in separate streets at Kanjipuram. Their quarters were close by the palace of the king who lived in the heart of the town. They were noted for their cleanliness and dogs and crows did not enter their streets. Next to them were the streets of *ULavar* or agriculturists. They were flanked by the streets of traders and fishermen. The *Mallhas* and *Idaiyas* lived at the end of the city. Beyond them were the *ceeris* of *Eyinas* (hunters) .

From the above description it is inferred by some that the Vedic type of caste system existed in the cities. The importance of the Brahmin is of course hinted at. His ritual purity is also referred to. The segregation of some groups at the end of the town is also described. All these seem to indicate the prevalance of the caturvarna system in the cities of Tamil Nadu. But it is too early to make such assertions. The primacy of the Brahmin in the Society is not yet explicity stated anywhere. The warriors and traders are not described as having special privileges. The existence of separate streets for different professionals does not overrule the possibility of social mobility. The term *Ceeri* only meant a place where people of the same avocation were gathered together. Even Antana ceeris[37] meaning Brahmin ceeris are spoken of in later literature. The ceeris spoken of, cannot be equated with modern slums where the untouchable castes live.

The Brahmins were of course a respected lot. They are referred to as "twice born"[38] "pure in body and soul."[40] They recited vedas and performed sacrifices.[41] They were men of character, who never spoke anything ill.[42] Therefore the kings

respected them. They bowed to none but the Brahmins.[43] In spite of all this description, we are not yet sure whether Brahmins came to be recognized as the foremost in the society.

In this connection the remarks of *Aariya Padaikadanta Nedunchezian* are significant. He declares "Of the four differing divisions (of society) if one among the lower division is learned, even the upper classes should bow before him."[44] The division of society into four castes is clearly referred to here. But it must be noted that the king does not approve of superiority being adduced to mere birth. He affirms that learning is the criterian of superiority, not mere birth in a particular caste. Therefore it may be inferred that though the Brahmins enjoyed respect in the society they have not yet succeeded in driving home the concept of superiority by birth, the corner stone of Varna dharma, into the minds of the people of Tamil nadu.

The other groups who are referred to in the literature of the period are as follows; *veelans*[45] who acted as priests of god Muruka, *viTaliar*[46] or dancing girls, *Parattaiyar*[47] or public women, *koottiyar*[48] or dramatists, kuTumbar[49] a kind of wild tribe, veelhir[50] or landlords related to kings, *porunar* or bards.

Thus we may conclude that the catur varna caste system of North Indian type did not influence in any way the rural Tamil society of this age though in the cities where life was more sophisticated, the impact was felt a little but not much.

Later or post cangam age (400-600 A.D.)

During the post cangam age, we are able to witness the influence of North Indian ideas of four-fold caste system on the Tamil society. In Tolkappiam we find definite mention of the four classes *Antanhar* (Brahmins) *Aracar* (Kshatriyas) *Vaicikar* (traders or vaisyas) and *Velhanhmaantar*[51] (cultivators). The order in which it is stated shows that Tolkappiar was aware of the North Indian system and was trying to foist it on the Tamil Society. The duties prescribed for the Brahmins and others definitely reveal the vedic influence. Then he says that there can be some interchangeability of functions among the upper castes. Thus *Antanas*, *Vellalas* and *Vanhikas* could perform the functions of kings.[52] But he warns that this could not be imitated by the degraded people like *Adiyavar* (servants) and *Vinaivalar*[53] (artisans). He says that such low class peole cannot be sung as heroes or heroines in high class poetry called *Akattinhai* wherein only higher forms of pleasure are to be described.[54] The commentators point out that such low classes are fit only for low kinds of pleasures such as *Kaikkilhai* (one sided love) and *Peruntinhai* (perverted love). Tolkappiyar also talks of *uyarntoor*[55] (higher ups) and *kiiloor* (lower classes). He thus hints at the existence of some people at the base of the social structure. But he does not talk of segregation or untouchability of any group. He accepts the traditional fivefold groupings according to regions but

at the same time attempts at foisting the vertical *varna* system on the existing horizontal grouping. But he was not quite successful in his attempt. The *velhlhalhas* could not be fitted into the status of the *sudras*. They are in fact described in *TirukkuTal* as the very pivot on which the whole world revolved.[56] Tolkaappiyar also does not prescribe sacred thread to the aracar, and vanhikas. Like the Dharmasastras he prefers marriage between equals i.e. in the same group but he would not object to the marriage of a high grade male with a low grade girl.[57] Thus he approves of intermarriage among different groups. He uses the word *Jaati* only to mean different species of fishes and not men.[58] The word *Adimai*[59] is also used by Tolkappiar once. The depiction of a rather sophisticated society by Tolkappiyar, makes us suspect whether Tolkappiyam, is the earliest Tamil literature as is commonly believed. At least the Porulatikaram part of it appears to belong to the post cangam age.

The other post cangam works also betray the influence of the varna system on the Tamil society. *Manhimekalai* uses the term *Naalvarunha*[60] or four varna. *Naaladiyar* an ethical work of this period describes the boatman as *Kadai Varunhattan*[61] namely *Sudra*. The oil pressers are spoken of as low classes.[62] The influence of Dharmasastras is found in *Naaladiyar* because they only assign a low status to *Kaivartas* or[63] boatman and oil pressers. In *Silappatikaaram* it is stated that in *Pukaar*, the CoLa capital, the people of the four-fold varna or caste had assembled at the beach for sport in connection with the festival of *Indira*.[64] Even *Bootams* hobgoblins) that guarded the city of Madurai are said to have belonged to all the four castes.[65] Even the grammatical writers and commentators have attributed caste characterstics to the verses and regions. Thus *Venhba*, *Aasiriappa Kalippa*, and *Vanjippa* are considered to belong to *Antanhar*, *Aracar*, *Vanhigar*, and *Velhlhalhar* castes. Similarly the *tinhais* of *Mullai*, *KuTinji*, *Marutam* and *Neital* were invested with caste status in that order.[66] *Maamuular* is said to have attributed caste status to *Raasis*, week days etc.[67] Thus the concept of catur varna system seem to have soaked deep into the Tamil mind by this period.

The idea of pollution also seems to have sprouted in the minds of men during this period. In Manhimekalai, the offspring of a Brahmin lady and a Sudra male is denoted as a Pulaimakan unfit to be touched by others.[68] In *Aacara koovai* it is said that water touched by a pulaiya is unfit for drinking and one should not even look at the Pulaiya without sprinkling water on the head.[69] People are asked not to touch the cow, the Brahmin and low born people.[70] According to some modern authors the idea of pollution can be traced back even to *Silappatikaram* wherein the Kammala or goldsmith followed Koovalan a Vaisya at a distance.[71] But this is of doubtful value since the goldsmith, out of reverence, could have walked at a distance from a rich merchant. However it cannot be denied that germs of untouchability had already arisen in Tamil nadu during this period.

However the Tamil intellectuals were not quite reconciled with the idea of superiority and inferiority based on birth. In *TirukkuTal* it is categorically stated that all are born equal.[72] It is also said that even if an educated man is lowborn he becomes superior to a rich man who is an illiterate.[73] In *Naaladiyar* it is said that it is meaningless to name a *Kula* or caste as good or bad. Only austerity, education and perseverance will determine the worth of a caste.[74] It further states "By mere possession of wealth a low born person cannot become high. He will be betrayed by his low profession".[75] Buddhist and Jain ideals which were prevailing during this period were perhaps responsible for such egalitarian pronouncements.

Besides the four higher castes a number of other lower castes are also mentioned in the post-cangam works. *Valhlhuvaas* who later on became untouchables, are described in *Perunkatai* as dignified royal heralds who announced important royal decrees by riding a royal elephant and beating a royal drum.[76] The *Paanhas* are described as musicians and also middlemen in love affairs.[77] They have not yet become untouchables. The Kammiar (goldsmiths) and carpenters are highly praised. They are called Maacil Kammiar meaning faultless persons.[78] Sage Agastiar is said to have introduced into Tamil nadu the following eighteen professional groups.[79] Kaikoolar (weavers), Taccar (carpenters), Kollar (ironsmiths) Taddaar (goldsmith), Kannhaar (brass-smith), Cekkaar (oil pressers), Maruttuvar (physicians), Kuyavar (potters), Vanhnhaar (washermen), Tanner (leather workers) Ooviar (painters), Paanhar (bards), Koottar (dramatists), Naavitar (barbers), Canga-Tuppaar (conchshell cutters), Paakar (mahouts), PaTaiyas (drum-beaters) and Kammaalhar (artisans). The list gives us an idea of the professional groups in Tamil nadu at that time. Manhimeekalai,[80] gives the list of following castes or professional groups: fishermen, salt vendors, vendors of eatables like *piddu* and *appam*, traders in goats and sheep, potters, copper smiths, bronzesmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters, sculptors, painters, leather-workers, tailors, bards, conch-shell cutters, dramatists, garland makers and astrologers. Thus Tamil society was becoming more and more complex during this period. Society came to be divided horizontally into a number of occupational groups which were assuming caste characteristics. The vertical division of society, as described by Dharmasastras was applied to the already stratified society. But it was only in theory, not in practice. However the Aryan four-fold caste system was recognized by the intellectuals and germs of untouchability had already sprouted, though scholars condemned such notions vehemently.

During the period of the Pallavas

The Pallavas who called themselves as Brahmana Kshatriyas belonging to Bharadwaja Gotra, naturally patronised Vedic Hinduism and the Caturvarna system. Brahmins were granted tax-free lands called *Brahmadeyam* and *Caturvedimangalam*. The supremacy of the Brahmins was recognised everywhere. We cannot say the

same thing with regard to the fighting castes and traders. Though they were not allowed the dvija status they enjoyed a status superior to the artisans, manual labourers etc. The hierarchy of four castes came to be accepted as a truism though there arose a number of subcastes owing to the religious and regional differences.

This period witnessed the growth of two etheist religious movements called Vaishnavism and Saivism. Vaishnavite ALwars and Saivite Naayanmaar vied with one another in condemning caste system thereby wooing the low castes into their sects.

Thirumoolar a saivite saint of the 6th century A.D. declares that there is only one caste and one God.[81] He denounces the Brahmins in very strong terms. He calls them greedy gluttons who have not given up attachment, who have no truth, special wisdom, bhakti or knowledge of God.[82] Sivavaakkiyar who was a saivite in his younger days thundered against caste.[83] Appar, Sambandar and Manickavaasagar denounced caste and preached equality before God.

Appar of the 7th century A.D., who converted Mahendra Varman Pallava from Jainism to Saivism, declares that he would worship the devotees of Siva even if they were leprous Pulaiyas gloating in skinning the cows and eating their flesh.[83] In another poem he asks "you wicked people who talk of Shastras, what are you going to do with Kula (caste) and Gotra (sub-caste)? If only you worship Siva, you will obtain His grace in an instant."[85] He rules out the necessity of sacred thread to a Brahmin, if only he possessed devotion to Siva and points out the efficacy of the Holy Name of Siva which would instantly raise a low born person to the highest caste.[86]

Sambandar, though a Brahmin, kept by his side always a musician of the *Paanha* caste (a low caste) by name[87] Tiruneela kanta Yaalppanar. The latter, an untouchable, is said to have been admitted into the temple of Mathurai at the behest of Lord Cokkanatha Himself.[88] Nandanar, an untouchable, was also admitted into Chidambaram temple as per the wishes of Lord Nataraja Himself.[89] Many of the Nayanmar belonged to low castes such as hunters, toddy tappers, fishermen etc.

The Vaishnavite Alvar were not a whit behind in demouncing caste system. *Nammaalvaar* declares that "if a person is a devotee of Vishnu, even though he may be the lowest in the social ladder of four varnas, a Chandala among Chandalas without an iota of virtue in him, he was entitled for his adoration".[90]

In spite of all this condemnation caste system entrenched itself strongly in the Hindu society. Inter-marriages and inter-dining were rare. Caste rules were enforced harshly and those who married outside the caste were banished out of the village. Brahmins enjoyed their privileges in separate Agrahaarams in the towns and villages. The high caste Non-Brahmins enjoyed privileges that flowed from

their wealth and influence. The Kshatriyas, as a separate class, disappeared, as all sorts of people entered the military service. So also members of all communities took to trade and there was no separate vaisya class. Agriculture was carried on by velhlhalas and their allies in various regions. The labouring classes occupied the lowest position in society. Agricultural labourers called *Palhlhas*, PaTaias and Pulaiyas, toddy tappers, leather workers etc. were dubbed as ceremonially impure and therefore untouchables. Still, on the whole, a sort of peaceful co-existence prevailed among the castes thanks to the doctrine of Karma which made everyone to feel that his lot in this birth was due to his Karma or action performed in the previous birth. As Percival Spear puts it, "The Brahmins achieved the wonderful fact of convincing those below them that they ought to be inferior because of their own sins in previous lives."[91]

During the Imperial Chola period the status quo continued as the Cholas upheld the Varnashrama system. Whole villages called Brahmadeyam or Caturvedimangalams were given to the Brahmins as gifts. They were ruled by their own assemblies called Sabha as described by the Uttaramerur inscriptions. Kings like Rajendra are said to have brought hundreds of Brahmin families from the North and settled them here.[92] Naturally the ideals of Varnashrama Dharma were upheld and established by such Brahmins wherever they settled. Brahmanical superiority and the lowliness of other castes became a fact. Untouchability, a corollary of caste system, prevailed widely. Chola Inscriptions talk of *Teendaa cheris.*[93] or untouchable cheris. There were separate burial grounds for the untouchables. Though there was no separate kshatriya class, ruling Chola families called themselves as Surya kula Kshatriyas and Pandyas as Chandrakula Kshatriyas. Soldiers like Vanhnhiars called themselves as Vanhnhiakula Kshatriyas. Trading Chettiars called *Ticaiyaayirattu AinnooTuvar Valhanjayar* etc. called themselves as Vaisyas and donned sacred threads.[94] The *Kammalhar* who were indispensable for building temples and making idols were allowed by king Kulottunga III the privilege of wearing sacred thread and calling themselves as Viswakarmas and Radhakaras.[95] The Velhlhalhas, the cultivators, called themselves as Sat-Sudras while the PaTaiahs and Palhlhas who worked in the lands were dubbed as Asat-Sudras and untouchables. *

Another novel phenomena witnessed in social organisation of the period of Cholas and Vijayanagar kings was the formation of two caste leagues called Valangai (Right hand) and Idangai (left hand.) they were supposed to be comprised of 98 castes each. They often fought with one another over petty issues such as violation of privileges. Generally the agricultural castes such as Velhlhalas, PaTaiyas etc. aligned themselves with the Valanjkai group while the Kammalhas (artisans), Palhlhis (agriculturists) and Caklis (leather workers) aligned themselves with the left hand group. Often the Kammalhas led the left hand group while Velhlhalas led the Right hand ones. Usually only the low castes in them actually fought with

* All these terminologies are only in the modern day —Editor

each other. For example the Paraiahs and Pallis fought over petty privileges. Of course the former was supported by Velhlhalhas while the latter was aided by the Kammalhas. Sometimes both of them joined together against common oppressors like government officials (Jiivatakaarar), The PaTaiahs and Kammalas often clashed with one another. The Brahmanas and Velhlhalas befriended the PaTaiahs to suppress the Kammalhas who claimed equality with them and even superiority over them. The feud continued even to the days of East India Company. J. A. Dubois, a French Catholic missionary of the 19th century refers to such factional. feuds and wonders at the ferocity with which the traditionally mild Hindu fought. Often the rulers had to interfere and settle the disputes.[96]

A curious phenomena in this grouping is that castes which pursued the same occupation were sometimes found in opposite camps. For example *Caalien* and *Ceenhian* weavers belonged to the Right hand group while the Devanga and *Kaikoola* weavers belonged to the left hand group. Among cultivators *PaTaihas* belonged to the Right hand group while Palhlhas and Caklis belonged to the Left hand group.[97] Among chaklis the ladies belonged to the Right Hand while the males belonged to the left hand group.[98]

During the Chola and Vijayanagar periods Tamil Country became the home of many outsiders. The Reddis who were the Andhra agriculturists and Naidus the Andhra soldiers came and settled in many parts of the country. The *Paddunool karars* (Sourashtrians) came from Vijayanagar Kingdom and settled at Madurai and other places.[99] The Sourashtras tried to pose themselves as Brahmins by donning sacred thread. Queen Mangammal herself approved of their pretentions by a palm leaf charter.[100] After that they began to assume Brahmanical titles such as Aiyar and Ayyankaar. They outstripped the native weavers by their skill in weaving. The caklis from Andhra and Canarese countries came and displaced the local leather workers such as cemmaans.[101] The *okkiligas* of Coimbatore, the Rajus of Rajapalayam were all immigrants into Tamil Nadu during this period The Kamundas or Kaundas of the Kongu Country came from Canarese land and settled in Tamil Nadu during the Chola period. The Tulhuva Velhlhalas from Tulu Country were patronised by the Cholas and were awarded the title Mutaliar for converting the forests of Tondaimandalam into a cultivable land.[102] The Naadar who went and settled in Ceylon during the Chola period, returned to Tamil Nadu during the Vijayanagar period and were forced to occupy the arid tracts of Tirunelvelly and Ramanathapuram districts.[103] The *Koomuddis* of Andhra Pradesh came into Tamil Nadu and became thriving traders in grains especially. Telugu Brahmins, uppilians (salt manufacturers), Telugu spinners and dyers, *ceenhians* (Telugu weavers) barbers, washermen, Oddans, Dombans (acrobats), Toddians etc. were the other immigrants from Andhra to Tamil country during the Vijayanagar period.[104]

Another feature of the Medieval period was the intrusion of Muslims in Tamil Nadu. Malik Kafur's invasion of South India, carried upto Madurai, and the subsequent establishment of Madurai sultanate, frightened the Hindus who, for fear of conversion, shrank themselves into their shell of caste, and made the caste rules more stringent than ever. However there were some Muslim conversions in Madurai and elsewhere. Muslim pockets arose in Coromandal coast (Marakaayars) in such places as Cuddalore, Nagapattinam, Portonovo, Vaniambadi, etc. But the Hindu society at large was litted affected. Even the Muslim converts did not forget their original castes as is betrayed by names like Miiraan Pillai.

Another important feature that influenced the social structure of the medieval period was the growth of Catholic Vaishnavism under Ramanuja. Under his aegis even untouchables were allowed into temples, as in the temple of Melkotta.[105] He admitted a number of non-Brahmins and even untouchables into the Vaishnavite fold and named them as *Tirukkulattaar*[106]. He allotted some important services. in the Sri Ranganatha Temple at Srirangam, to the Dasas, a low class people. Among Brahmins, those that embraced Ramanuja's Vaishnavism were called Aiyangars. Among them there arose differences and those who glorified Sanskritic traditions were called *Vadakalai* and those who glorified Tamil and Tamil traditions were called *Tenkalai* Aiyangars. Inspite of the Catholicism of Ramanuja, Varnashrama ideals came to be practised by his followers with a vengeance.

A group of ascetics called cittas condemned all ceremonies and formal religion. They also vehemently condemned caste system and untouchability. Kapilar declared "There is only one *kula* (caste) and one *kudi* (community); Birth and death are one for all.... Birth cannot confer merit. It is based on meritorious deeds and character only".[106] Sivavakkiar another citta exposes in pungent terms the fallacy behind the ritual purity of the Brahmins.

Thus we find that during the medieval age, the caste system had come to stay in Tamil Nadu in spite of its denunciation by saints and thinkers. The innumerable castes which grew out of functional differences were artificially grouped under the four varnas, though only the Brahmin enjoyed the privileges prescribed by Dharmasastras. Caste rigidity and untouchability became real facts based on religious sanction. The system continued without substantial change until recent times.

The modern period of social history, need not detain us long because there was practically no change in the social structure till we attained independence. Owing to the spread of Western education and the Christian Missionary activity (such as Madura Mission, London Mission, American Mission etc.) the Hindu society received a jolt for the first time. A large number of people belonging to the depressed castes such as Paratavas of Tuticorin, Naadars of Tirunevelly, *PaTaiaas, Palhlhas* etc. became converts to Christianity. Caste still lingered among such

converted christians as seen in the caste titles attached to their names such as Santhosh Naadar, John David Pillai etc. Clergy men like Popley assumed the title of Aiyar, wore ochre cloth and applied sandal paste to their foreheads. Sporadic resistance to caste system was inspired by the spread of Western ideas. Depressed castes went to the courts to assert their rights but in vain. The Kamuti temple entry case was fought for the right of the *Naadaars* to enter Hindu Temples, but the verdict was unfavourable to the Naadaars.[109] Hindu kings like the Sethupathis of Ramnad resisted the missionary effort to disturb the caste-ridden society. The children born of the English officials and their Indian mistresses became a separate caste called Anglo-Indian.

The interest taken by Western scholars in Indian literature and their translation of many Sanskrit texts, helped the pricking of the bubble of caste system at least in theory. It was revealed how the whole texts were fabricated to enhance the status of Brahmins and suppress the Sudras and others. A sort of renaissance and reformist movement arose in Tamil Nadu. The Justice Party leaders questioned the supremacy of the Brahmins and fought for the equality of Non-Brahmins with Brahmins in the social and political fields at least in the matter of recruitment to government services. They succeeded to a certain extent in their ideals by passing the communal G.O. (1935). But strangely enough the party did pretty little for the depressed castes among Non-Brahmins. Calling it as a richman's party E. V. Ramasamy Naicker himself came out of the Justice party and started the Self-respect Movement. By the tireless efforts of E. V. Ramasamy Naicker and his followers the rigour of caste system and untouchability were reduced much. The main cause of the exit of Periar from the National Congress party, was his opposition to the practice of segregating non-Brahmins from Brahmins in the Gurukulam run by V.V.S. Iyer. His participation in Vykam satyagraha was to gain for the Harijans the right of walking in the temple streets. By his rationalist propaganda the habit of Non-Brahmins addressing the Brahmins as Caami (God) was discontinued. The practice of allotting separate places for the dining of Brahmins in hotels was ended. Marriages without Brahmin priests (Suyamariyaatai Kalyanham) became common. The myth of Brahmin supremacy in the society was exploded. The fallacy behind Hindu puranas was exposed.

The Harijan uplift movement started by Gandhiji helped a lot in the education and upliftment of scheduled castes in Tamil nadu. Harijan leaders like M.C. Rajah, Raddamalai Srinivasan, and Sahajananda swami did a lot to the progress of the Harijans. When the congress ministry was formed in Madras in 1937, a number of activities were undertaken by Rajaji. Temples were thrown open to Harijans. The Temple Entry Legislation was already passed by the Travancore legislature by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer. The caste disabilities Removal Act and the Civil Disabilities Act of 1938, have helped much the lessening of caste rigour.

The movement against caste system and untouchability gathered momentum during the post-independence period. The D. K., D. M. K. and A.A.D.M.K. parties are wedded to the ideal of casteless society and are leaving no stone unturned in removing the evils of caste system. Inter-marriages between castes especially among caste Hindus and Harijan girls are being rewarded. Educational concession and opportunities in government services have been considerably enlarged. Untouchability is on its last legs especially in cities. In villages backward and scheduled castes have come up well and they get entry into Panchayats. Inter-dining is quite common especially in restaurants and hostels. By and large the Brahmins have adjusted themselves to the changing circumstances and no longer demand special treatment. But the other high caste Non-Brahmins are hesitant in giving equality to the Harijans. The Muthukalhattoor riots and the recent Villupuram riots only reveal the naked truth that "the snake of Casteism is scotched but not dead". The battle between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins is almost over. The battle between high caste Non-Brahmins and Harijans has just begun. The untouchability removal Act of 1954, and various other ameliorative measures passed by the government seemed to have touched only the fringe of the problem.

The educational and other concessions offered by the government to backward and scheduled castes have created a caste consciousness which is difficult to eradicate from the minds of men. More and more castes are coming forward to be included in the list of backward castes. A sort of vested interest has grown among the newly created backward but privileged classes. As infant industries receiving government support refuse to become adults, the backward and scheduled castes, never want to call themselves forward even when they are really so. Caste organisations like *Nadar Mahajana Sangam* have increased in number. Colleges, banks, and what not, are labelled with caste names. In the distribution of government appointments and privileges like licences, caste consideration plays a dominant role. In the elections franchise is often exercised on caste basis. Slogans like 'vanniar vote is not for *anniyar*' meaning outsider betrays the present illness of society. In the social field also marriages are contracted only within caste groups. Even inter-marriage between subcastes is not visible. Everyone condemns the system from outside but practises it privately. At this rate there seems to be no prospects of a casteless society being realized in the near future. For a long time to come it will remain only the pious dream of social reformers.

(Note by the Editor :- The caste fends given here are very much exaggerated. Varnasrama did not erist in Tamil nadu in practice, it had the Brahmin varna but not the other three Varnas. There were of course a large number of castes, on the horizontal plane, as the learned author has remarked.)

FOOTNOTES

1. Maduraikhanji, 238-326; Tolkaapiam Porul 5.11. 2. K. K. Pillai, Social History of the Tamils p. 235. 3. Ibid. 4. Akam 390: 8-9. 5. KuTuntokai, 221,

யாயும் ஞாயும் யாராகியரோ ?
எந்தையும் நுந்தையும் எம்முறைக் கேளிர்
யானும் நீயும் எவ்வழி அறிதும் ?
செம்புலப் பெயனீர் போல
அன்புடை நெஞ்சம் தாங்கலந்தனவே.

5(a). KuTuntokai - 40 Nattinhai, 45 & 207. 6. Ibid, 393: 1-2 & 6. 7. NaTTinahai 48: 8-9. 8. Tolkaappiam, porulhathikaram, KaTpiyal: 143.

"பொய்யும் வழுவும் புகுந்த பின்னர்
ஐயர் யாத்தனர் கரணமென்ப."

9. Tolkaappiam, Karpiyal - 1.

கற்பெனப் படுவது கரணமொடு புணரக்
கொளற்குரி மரபின் கிழவன் கிழத்தியைக்
கொடைக்குரி மரபினோர் கொடுப்பக் கொள்வதுவே

10. PuTam 34: 8-15; 1-14, 325, 1-13. 11. PerumpaanhaTTupadai 22, 301-10. 12. PUTAM - 113. 13. PatiTTupaattu 22 : 20 28: 3-4. 14. Ibid, 21 24, 55: 8. 15. Ibid 38:10, 70:44, 66:13-14. 16. PuTam 61:1. 17. AinguTunuuTu 48:1, 111; 1-3, KuTumtokai, 169:4. 18. Akam 337: 7-8. 19. PuTam, 360: 15-20. 20. Ibid 82: 3-4. 21. PuTam 335: 7-8. 22. Kalittokai 117-7, 72:13-14. 23. PuTam 287:12. 24. Ibid 170: 2, 5, 6. 25. PuTam 82: 3-4. 26. PerumpaanhaTTuppatai, 481-90; PuTam 141: 1-3. 27. Ibid 22, 301-10. 28.PuTam 34: 8-15, 1-14. 29. Maturai-kaanji, 335-343. 30. PatiTTuppattu 66: 13-14. 9.-90-44; Akam, 185. 31. Akam 1, 2. 32. PuTam V. 299. 33. Quoted in A. V. Subramania Iyer, Kapilarahaval p. 50. 35. PuTam: 6:20. 36. PerumpaanhaTTuppadai 299: 301. 37. Perungatai 35: 912, 175. 38. PuTam 367: 12-3. 39. Ibid. 40. Ibid. 126: 11. 41. PathiTTu-pattu 64:4-5. 42. AinguTunooTu - 387: 1-2. 43. Pattupaddu 63:1. 44. PuTam, 183. 45. NaTTinhai 322: 10-12. AinguTunuuTu, 243: 11-22. 46. Pattupaddu 11:11; 43:22, 47 PuTam 355:8, Colophon of KuTinji: 364. 48. PuTam: 368: 15-16 Akam 117: 1 352: 4-5. 47. PuTam 97: 1-4. 50. PatiTTuppattu 49:7. 51. Tolkaappiam, Porul: 625, 626, 632 and 635. 52. Ibid, 621-626. 53. Ibid, 639. 54. Ibid. Akinhaiyiyal: 23. 55. Ibid, 29. 56. Tirukkural-104 : 1, 57. Tolkaappiam, Kalhaviyal, 2. 58. Ibid, Marabial, 597. 59. Ibid, Collatikaaram, 56. 60. Manhi-meekalai 6: 56: 27: 50. 561. Naaladiar, 136. 62. Ibid. 63. Manu 85. 64. Cilap-patikaaram 6-64. 65. Cilappatikaaram, Alalpadu Kaatai 37-108. 66. Quotations in Yaapparungala Virutti. 67. Quoted in Kapilarakaval by A. V. Subramania Iyer, p. 54. 68.Manieekalai 13:91. 69. Aacaarakoovai 6, 13. 70. Ibid, 5. 71. Dr. N. Subramanian "Hindu Tripod and other essays" p. 210: Silapadikaram XVI. 107. K. K. Pillai, "A Social History of the Tamils", p. 238. pp. 282-3. 72. TirukkuTal 98:2. 73. Ibid 41: 9. 74. Naladiaar, 195. 75. Ibid 345, 347. 76. Perun-gatai 2.11. 30-40. 77. M. Raghava Iyengar, Some Aspects of Kerala in Tamil Literature, p. 52. 78. PuTam 353:1. 79. MaTaimalai Adikal, Caati veeTTumaiyyum pooli caivarum 31. 80. Manhimeekalai, 28: 1-31. 81. Tirumantiram 2104, - "ஒன்றே குலமும் ஒருவனே தேவனும்" 8. 20 Ibid, 231. 83. Patinenh Cittar Paa-

dalgal, Sivavaakkiar Paadal No. 4. 84. Teevaaram 7182. 85. Ibid, 5832. 86. Ibid. 87. CeekkiLar, Periapuraanham Ed. by V. Kalyanasundara Muthuliar, p. 1094. 88. Ibid Verse 6. p. 1093. 89. Ibid verse 16-37. 90. Tivyaprabantam 9271. 91. P. Spear: India, Pakistan and the West. 92. Sastri, K.A.N. – *Development of religion, in South India*, p. 40. 93. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II No. 5. 94. Sastri K.A.N. Ibid, Coolaas Vol. II, p. 595. 95. S.I.I. Vol. V. No. 238.0.087 and A.R.E. 189 of 1925. 96. For a detailed discussion of the Right and left Hand Castes see the book "Untouchability – a historical Study, by Dr. K. R. Hanumanthan pp. 174-199. 97. A. V. Subramania Iyer, Kapilarahaval, 0p. 65. 98. M. Srinivasa Iyengar, Tamil Studies pp. 92-112. 99. T. V. Mahalingam, Administration and social life under Vijayanagar – Part II – p. 29. 100. Ibid. 101. p. op. cit. p. 28. 102. Nelson, Madura Manual Part II Chapter I, p. 58. 103. Chidambaram Pillai, Right of Temple entry p. 24. 104. T. V. Mahalingam, op. cit. p. 30. 105. Swami Ramakrishnananda, Life of Ramanuja pp. 218-19. 106. Ibid. 107. K. V. Subramania Iyer, Kapila-rakaval, p. 107. 108. Sivavaakkiar, Patinhen Cittar Paadalgal, p. 131. 109. Raja Bhaskara Sethupathi Vs. Irulappa Naadar Case in the Subordinate Court of Mathurai East 20th July 1899 – original suit No. 33 of 1899.

CHHATRAPATI SHIVAJI IN TAMIL LITERATURE

DR. RAVINDRA RAMDAS

The Tamil literature is vast and deep. It is interesting to note that during the last century and half it has also produced literature which has referred to the life and achievements of chhatrapati Shivaji. An attempt has been made in this paper to survey in brief that literature.

The Karnataka Rajakkal Savistara Charitam of Narayana Kone included in the Mackenzie Manuscripts, was compiled after consultation of numerous sources, Hindu and Muhammadan, at the special request of Colonel William Macleod, Commissioner of Arcot, during the Governorship of Lord William Bentick. It is a general history of the Peninsular India down to the Kaliyuga year 4908 i.e A.D. 1807-08; of its eight *kandas*, the seventh treats of the Marathas.

The following translated extract from the chronicle throws some light upon Shivaji's expedition to the south. The Musalmans had ruined the country of Karnataka Payanghat, transforming temples into mosques and in order to restore national honour King Shivaji descended by the valley of Ambur in 1080 Fasli with 100000 men, horsemen and gunners with Ram Raja, Ekoji Raja, Tukoji Bhosle etc.

"The King of Srirangapatanam and other kings paid tribute to Shivaji through Vakils. In addition, the chief palayapattu (palayam) of Chitoor, the rulers of Bommurajapalayam and of Kalahasti, Bangaru Yachama Nayaka, the Mansabdar of the Badshah went in person to Shivaji and presented to him all the chiefs beginning with those of Wandavasi. Shivaji gained the allegiance of all the Musalmans from Satgarh, Vellore etc. and arranged for the security of all the country. He gave Arni and Vellore to Ranoji Raji Serfoji Bhosle and advanced on Gingee. It is thus that the Marathas took possession of all the country that had already been brought under the Subah of Hyderabad.

In Gingee Killedar Nazar Khan and Faujdar Sidi Ambar Khan strengthened themselves and gave battle to the enemy. But the army of the Marathas proved itself to be stronger. The struggle was violent and Sennegadh fort was taken. Both parties suffered considerable losses. Then Shivaji took by assault the fortress whose hills and bastions he strengthened.

Round the entire fortress of Gingee there were then four encircling walls built by the Kovalur rulers and the Nayaks. Shivaji preserved the inner fortress which was at the foot of Rajagiri hill and had the three outer walls called Adayavalanjan (lit. encircling) demolished. He raised walls in the form of a triangle which

ran straight between Chennagadh and Krishnagiri from Krishnagiri to Rajagiri and from Rajagiri to Chennagadh and the fort of Muthialu Nayak. King Shivaji reigned enforcing respect for justice".

Sivabharata Charitam is a rendering in popular and often colloquial prose of the Sanskrit original, *Shivabharatam* is by Kavindra Paramanands. The Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjavur, has in its collection four manuscripts of the original *Shivabharatam* in Sanskrit. The Bharat Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandal has published the Sanskrit manuscript in 1927. The Saraswati Mahal Library has also in its possession the Tamil manuscript of *Shivabharatam*. It is understood that the Tamil translation of *Sivabharatam* was written during the reign of king Serfoji I. (A.D. 1712-181). The Tamil Manuscript is published by the Saraswati Mahal Library in 1972. Regarding the linguistic point of view the Tamil narrative is given as it is found in the manuscript. It will be useful for scholars of Linguistics also.

The incident narrating the events leading to the birth of Chhatrapati Shivaji is cited below-:

"Unable to bear the harassment caused by the *Asuras* born in the form of *Tulukkas*, Bhumidevi (the goddess Earth) approached Lord Brahma for deliverence. She lamented the Religion of the Mlecchas is flourishing." Lord Brahma assured that God would take birth in the womb of Jijabai. Jijabai dreamt of Lord Vishnu seated in her lap. During the pregnancy Jijabai's longings included climbing of mountains, voyages to islands, riding of elephants seating on a golden throne, standing under white *chhatra*, being fanned by *chamaras*, wielding bow and arrows and distributing alms and endowments. In a richy decorated mansion, waited upon by noble ladies Jijabai gave birth to a boy carrying all the signs of a would be emperor of Phalgun Vadya Fritiya Shalivahana Shaka 1551."

The inscriptions in the Big Temple of Tanjavur speak the history of the Maratha Kings of Tanjavur and their ancestors from the remote mythical beginnings down to the thrilling times of the great Shivaji. The inscriptions which are in Marathi were completed during the reign of Raja Serfoji on 13th Dec. 1803. The Tamil translation of this inscription was published along with the Marathi original in 1950 by the Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjavur in 1951. A second Edition has been recently brought out under Tanjavur Saraswati Mahal series No. 46 in March 1980. In point of length, details, historical accuracy and interesting anecdotes, the inscriptions are without parallel. They cover 110 pages in Marathi print. The Tamil translation covers 136 pages.

The Inscription narrates a unique story of Shivaji's visit to Tanjavur. While returning from a pilgrimage, to Rameshvaram, Shivaji entered Tanjavur. After inspecting the fort he went home and wrote to his brother as follows:–

'I saw the whole place acquired by you. Your fort has the appearance of the *Garuda* (Eagle). On all the four sides are four small fortresses to keep guard. But I am afraid the front portion of the Fort is strategically vulnerable. The small fortress south of it touches water. You may keep this and destroy the rest. When I had been there, I pledged my head gear in a shop and bought some articles. Please return the same' "Ekaji redeemed it and sent to Shivaji".

The life and achievements of Chhatrapati Shivaji will enable the countrymen to rise to the occasion and free the Motherland from the bonds of slavery. With this view in mind, Subramania Bharati, has composed an inspiring poem. The theme of the poem is an exhortation to his generals by Chhatrapati Shivaji.

The poem begins with the following lines:

"Victory to Bhavani, Victory to Bharath!
Victory to the Motherland, Victory to Durga!
Vande Bharatham / Vande Mataram!
Oh! generals, great Ministers and brave Warriors
Be blessed by the Goddess Bhagawati!"

This poem is a very important landmark in the literature extant in various Indian languages on Shivaji. It reminds us of another poem 'Jayatu Shivaji' in Bengali by Ravindranath Tagore. Bharati's poem is a source of perpetual inspiration to the Indians. An extract of the poem is cited below:-

"To day our Motherland is facing destruction at the hands of the ignorant and the arrogant people. The temples are desecrated; Vedas are derided. The women folk are molested and impediments are deliberately created in the noble work. Friends, all these enemies harass the Indians. Our self-respect is trampled. Brave Indians are being enslaved, and the brave sons of India, thus enslaved have become impotent. Is there any son who would feel the life worth living without any self-respect? Is there any son who would bear his mother being a slave of others?"

Bharati's poem concludes with the following lines:

"We would perform a Mahayajna by annihilating the enemies and thus wipe out injustice. This is our ideal, this is our penance. Be prepared to annihilate the Mlechchas who are attacking us! Jai Bhavani! Jai Bharata Mata!"

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KINGSHIP UNDER THE COLAS : THE DIVINE MONARCH AND HEROIC KINGSHIP

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Under the Imperial Colas the ideas and ideals relating to Kingship appeared in the most developed form in the Tamil country. They were the only Tamil dynasty to have brought the whole Tamil country under their overlordship. Under Aditya (871-907) and his successors, especially Rajaraja I (985-1014) they had conquered the Kingdoms of Pallava, Pandiya, Cera, Gangapadi, Nulambapadi and a major part of Lanka and until 1070 all the conquered kingdoms were, at least from the standpoint of the Cola court, integral parts of their empire which had as its nucleus the Kaveri plain, the most productive and populous part of the Tamil country. It was the effective mobilization of the material and manpower resources of this plain by the Colas which enabled them to secure a supreme position in the southernmost part of India for a long period of time.

A notable achievement during the period of Cola supremacy was the development of a homogeneous religious and cultural tradition resulting from a synthesis of Sanskrit and Brahmanical elements with those of the popular Tamil Saivite and Vaishnavite movements which had become ascendant under the leadership and inspiration provided by the *nayanmar* and *alvar* in an earlier period. The emergence of the temple as the dominant cultural institution all over the Tamil plains – a characteristic feature of the period of Cola supremacy – was symptomatic of the profound changes in the sphere of religion and culture that were effected in the Tamil country. The Cola rulers were not only involved in this process of transformation but also claimed to be the custodians of this synthetic and homogeneous cultural tradition and the institutions which typified it. This claim was to provide them with a basis of legitimation for their overlordship over a number of chieftains and the economically and culturally dominant status groups in Tamil society.

The ideas and ideals which inspired the Cola court and served to legitimize their claim to authority over their empire may be explained in the context of the political, social and cultural developments that took place in South India under the Cola rule. They seem to have drawn inspiration from the wide range of Hindu literary tradition and adopted some of the concepts and practices of contemporary dynasties with which they had contacts. Evidence from inscriptions and contemporary literature suggest that the Cola ideology of state-power consisted essentially of three elements, namely, divinity of kingship, the heroic ideal and the concept of

cakravartti (emperor). What is of significance is that these conceptions which were familiar to Indian thought and political tradition were expressed most effectively and emphatically in the preambles of inscriptions during the period of the Cola rule. The ideals expounded in early Tamil gnomic and didactic poetry had little appeal to the Cola rulers of the line of Vijayalaya nor did they have much relevance to the Tamil society of the priod of the Imperial Colas. In a society dominated by Brahmins, landlords and traders who cherished the values and ideals of a synthetic culture the political ideals expounded in the *smrtis*, epics and *puranas* had a wide emotional appeal.

Divinity of Kingship

A specific contribution of the court poets of the Cola period to the corpus of ideas relating to kingship in the Tamil country was to have formulated in an uninhibited manner and in the most emphatic terms the concept of the divinity of kingship and in this respect the influence of Saivite and Vishnavite thought was not inconsiderable. In a society where thought and learning were dominated by the traditions of those two great Hindu religious belief systems the exaltation of the monarch to divine status was to be the most effective means of securing deference to authority. The notion of the divinity of kingship was not something novel to Tamil society under the Cola. What was novel about it ws the reformulation of the concept in the light of contemporary Hindu religious thought and the requirements of the Cola court.

In ancient Tamil society the king was considered to be the immanent centre of sacred powers that had to be present and under control for the proper functioning of society.[1] Besides, early Tamil poetry contains references to the functional similarity between the gods and the king. The staff, the drum (*muracu*) and the parasol symbolised the association with the supernatural.[2] In the Cola inscriptions and contemporary Tamil poetry the underlying notions behind this conception have been reformulated and expressed emphatically in an unprecedented manner. The idea that the king was an *avatar* or incarnation of God is expressed clearly in them. Rajaraja I and Kulottunga I are specifically described as incarnations of Vishnu. While referring to Rajaraja I the Tiruvalangudu plates assert:

> 'His son Arumolivarma was born (like another) Murari (Visnu). Supporting on his two arms, long like the prasa (weapon), the glorious (goddess) Sri Lakshmi who closely embraced the whole of (his) body, and bearing on the palms (of his hands), the *sankha* and *chakra* in the form of auspicious marks.
>
> Having ascertained by the marks (on his body) that Arumoli was the lotus (Vishnu) himself, the able protector of the three worlds that had incarnated (on earth) Madhurantaka installed in the office of heir apparent and (himself) bore the burden of (ruling) the earth".[3]

The same idea is conveyed vividly by the author of the *Kalingathuparani* when he describes his hero Kulottunga I in the following manner:

> 'Know ye that as your lineage, descended from 'the lotus-born (Brah ma)', has produced monarchs who have ruled the earth in succession it is declared in the faultless veda that Vishnu will appear on this wide earth as Abhaya.'[4]

> 'The one who (as Rama) had fought and once destroyed Lanka and later (as Krishna) concluded the Bharata war has been born as Vijayadhara endowed with the victorious and resplendent wheel of command'.[5]

> 'That Vishnu who had (once) sprung on the leaf of the banyan tree has re-incarnated himself as the offspring of the queen of the ruler of the dynasty sprung from the moon which dispels all darkness and who was the daughter of Rajaraja of the resplendant lineage of the sun'.[6]

The notion that the monarch was an incarnation of God was not advanced by the early *smrtis*. The concept of *avatar* had been developed in early Vaisnative literature, especially the epics and puranas and the incorporation of the conception that the king was an *avatar* of Vishnu into the court ideology of the Colas was unmistakably inspired by the epic and puranic traditions and it was during the Cola period that such literature was widely studied in the Cola country. In Indian tradition the primary function of the King was protection and therefore it is natural that the king who was considered to be divine was sometimes represented as an incarnation of Vishnu of the Hindu triad whose specific function was the protection and sustenance of the universe. The underlying notion behind this conception was that the king was a saviour.

It would appear that the conception of a saviour king came to be stressed with greater emphasis in Cola court poetry since the reign of Virarajendra. His assumption of the epithets *Sakalabhuvanasraya* and *Paramesvara*, presumably in imitation of a Calukya practice has to be accorded some significance.[7] The epithet *Sakalabhuvanasraya* meaning 'the refuge of the whole world'suggests that the motive behind its assumption by the Cola ruler was to impress on the minds of the people that the King had in his possession superhuman, mystic and miraculous power. Such an explanation gains support from the fact that Virarajendra had assumed the epithet *Paramesvara* which was an epithet of Siva, the supreme God in Saivite religious tradition. The belief in the conception of a saviour king is also borne out by Kulottunga's epithet *Ulakuyya vantan*, 'He who had come to rescue the world.'[8] Another epithet of this ruler was *Rajanarayana*, 'The king who was Vishnu'.[9]

The assumption of the epithet *Tribhuvana cakravarttin by* Kulottunga I and all his successors may be considered as marking a decisive and advanced stage in the development of the concept of the divine king, in the Cola kingdom. It became established as the commonest of royal titles and in this respect the Cola practice was adopted by the Pandiyas and some of the feudatory princely families after they became independent of Cola control. The practice of assuming this epithet was discontinued in South India after the Vijayanagara conquest of the Tamil country but *Tribhuvana cakravartti* occurs as a royal epithet in a few Sri Lankan inscriptions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

It may be of some relevance here to consider the expression *tiribhuvana mulududaiyal* (Tribhuvanamahadevi) occurring as an epithet of the chief queen in the Tamil *prasasti* from the reign of Kulottunga I onwards. The chief queen and other consorts of the monarch are mentioned in the preambles of the stone inscriptions issued since the reign of Virarajendra. In such inscriptions of Kulottunga I and all his successors the chief queen and her qualities are extolled poetically in considerable detail. Such emphasis on the chief queen may, perhaps, suggest that there was a need to emphasize the claims to the throne on the basis of matrilineal descent. There is also some evidence in the preamble of the Cola inscriptions to suggest that the chief queens were associated formerly with the ruler in the administration of the kingdom, under some of the successors of Kulottunga I. When the king came to be referred to as *Tribhuvana cakravarttin* it was only natural that the chief queen who was consecrated and seated along with him on the throne was conferred the epithet *tiribhuvanam mulududaiyal.*

A paternal conception of the monarchy was intrinsic to the notion that the king was an incarnation of God. Significantly such ideas are echoed in Cola court poetry since the reign of Virarajendra. The king had to be represented as one who was compassionate displaying a solicitude for the welfare of his subjects. The *prasasti* of Virarajendra claims that he 'protected the living beings of the circle of the earth (more tenderly) than the mother that bore them.'[10] Vikrama Cola, foɪ instance, is said to have extended his kindness to all living beings like a sweet mother and taken care of each of them.[11] Rajaraja II is said to have become 'a father unto those who had lost their fathers, a mother unto those who had lost their mothers and a child unto those who had no children' and to have been the very 'source of life for all living beings'.[12]

The impression gained from literary and epigraphic sources about the concept of the divinity of kings is to some extent confirmed by the evidence from architectural and iconographic remains. There was a strong tendency to apotheosize kings as suggested by the construction of sepulchral monuments. At this juncture it may be appropriate to recall the remarks of Nilakanta Sastri who says:

> 'Several temples, of this period, and often also the chief icons in them, were called after the ruling kings who established them. The worship

accorded to idol called sometimes after living monarchs seems to have been connected with the apotheosis of royal personages after their demise... More closely allied to Saivism than to any other form of Hinduism, the prevalence in the Cola country of the notions that gave rise to the cult of Deva-raja is attested by inscriptions which mentioned the construction of sepulchral temples over the remains of kings and princes. The Adityesvara of Tondamanad erected as *pallipadai* to his father by Parantaka I, the Arinjigai-Isvara at Melpadi built by Rajaraja I likewise to commemorate Arinjaya who died at *Arrur*, and the Pancavanmadevisvara in Ramanathan koyil apparently erected by Rajendra I are among the most conspicuous examples of this practice'.

'An image of Sundra Cola Parantaka II is said to have been set up in the Temple at Tanjore and arrangements made for its worship by his daughter Kundavai who also endowed another image of herself and her mother in the same place. There were also images of Rajaraja and his queen Lokamahadevi. The temple in the village of Sembiyanmahadevi so called after the pious queen of Gandaraditya, contained an image of the queen, likewise regularly worshipped. Inscribed images of a more or less authentic character supposed to represent Rajendra and Colamahadevi are found today on the temples of Tanjore and Kalahasti. These examples are enough to establish the divine honours accorded to royal personages after death, and sometimes in their lifetime.[13]

The conception of the divine monarch expressed figuratively in the different forms of Cola court poetry was not by any means intended to invest the monarch with omnipotent divinity nor did it seek to endow him with supremacy over *dharma* the precepts of which he was obliged to uphold and follow in his capacity as an individual and a ruler. He derived his special supernatural and superhuman attributes through his role as the custodian of *dharma* and the chain of values that linked society and the divine and cosmic powers. In a society where thought and learning were almost entirely dominated by the religieux, the conception of the divine monarch served as a means of securing deference to authority. As will be seen later it was closely connected with the Cakravarttin ideal as illustrated in Cola court poetry.

The heroic ideal

The heroic ideal under the imperial Colas, was an instrument for the legitimation of authority. In the entire range of Indian tradition it is in Cola court poetry that the heroic ideal of Kingship appears in its most developed form. Chivalry and martial prowess have always been regarded as the virtues of the *Kshatriyas* – the ruling classes of India. The heroic ideal had inspired the ruling

lacsess since Vedic times and in the earliest stratum of Indian political thought as revealed in literature the King was first and foremost a warrior. The heroic ideal was stressed by Indian dynasties with varying degrees of emphasis.

In Vedic literature and the poems of ancient Tamil military glory and honour were the goals of this ideal,[14] but in the *Arthasastra* of Kautalya it had become an instrument for strengthening the State and enriching its resources. Under the Colas, the principal objectives of the heroic ideal were territorial conquest, consolidation of authority, acquisition of wealth, and fame and military glory. Besides, heroism was to be the supreme quality of charismatic leadership and a source of support for claims to authority over the hierarchical forms of social and political organization. It was to serve as a major link in the chain of values that helped to sustain Cola overlordship over the Kingdoms and principalities brought under their sphere of control. Cola Kingship may appropriately be described as heroic kingship and Cola norms and processes of legitimation had certain distinctive features which show that it was so considered by their court circles. In the light of the heroic ideal kingship appears basically as a secular institution influenced intrinsically by material considerations.

A firm commitment to the heroic ideal on the part of the Colas is suggested by some of their names, epithets and the development of poetic forms which had as their principal themes conquests, military prowess and the heroic feats of their rulers. Vijayalaya, Parantaka, Arinjaya, Virarajendra and Virkrama Cola are some of the personal names of rulers which emphasize the heroic quality. Vira Chola, Sangrama Raghava,[15] Rajendrasimha, Colendrasimha, Colamarttanda, Rajamarttanda,[16] Arimardana, Virudharaja bhayankara,[17] Keerthiparakrama,[18] Tribhuvanavira, [19] Bhuvanekavira are among the epithets of Cola rulers which stress military prowess and heroism of individual kings.

There were also a number of epithets which suggested victories won in battles and conquests achieved through military prowess. The most notable among such names and epithets are *Tondainatu paravina Colan*,[21] *Maduraikonta parakesari*,[22] Maduraiyum *ilamum konta parakesari*.[23] *Jayadhara*, *vijayadhara*,[24] *Jayankontacolan*, mutikonta colan,[25] *Katarankontan*, *Kankaikonta Colan* and *Mummuticcolan*.

Among the epithets which extolled the feats of Cola rulers and signified the humiliation of rival dynasties ruling over neighbouring kingdoms were Keralantaka, Pandiyakulantaka, Sinhalantaka, Telungakulakalan, Ahavamallakulakalan and Iratta kulakalan.[26] The most forceful expression of the heroic ideal which inspired the Colas is to be met in the preambles of the copper-plate charters and the stone inscriptions – the Sanskrit *prasasti* and the *Meykkirtti* of which the latter owed its origin and early development to the fertile imagination of the most celebrated Cola ruler, Rajaraja I. The poetic form *Meykkirtti* which was introduced in the reign

of Rajaraja as a preamble to some of the Tamil inscriptions may, in some ways, be considered as heroic poetry. The heroic feats and military exploits of the ruler which constituted the main basis of his glory and fame constitute an important theme of the preambles. Other qualities and achievements such as liberality, protection of temples and Brahmins, construction and enlargement of temples, patronage of poets and the arts also extolled in them.

> 'May that pond in which the royal swan of heroism sports, the sun which delights the lotuses (of) the learned...the Cola family...'
>
> 'Vijayalaya, who had powerful arms and who was the abode of victory in battle'.
>
> 'From this Indra among kings was also born King Vira Chola for the prosperity of the World....'
>
> 'In him valour had its own goal... courage had a steady hold...'
>
> 'Arindama (the destroyer of enemies) bearing indeed a name which was full of meaning.'
>
> 'This king – a pile of matchless prosperity, majesty, learning, strength of arm, powers, heroism and courage'.
>
> 'The fierce-sun; viz. the prowess of Madhurantaka stood pervading the whole space (comprised) within the circuit of the quarters...'
>
> 'This famous (and) heroic lord of men intent on doing meritorious deeds with large quantities of money acquired by the strength of his own arm, turned his attention to the conquest of the quarters (digvijaya) backed by a powerful army. Accordingly, he the unequalled King Uttama Cola... well versed in polity and attended by all his numerous virtues such as courage, prowess and victory got back to his own capital........'[27]

These are some of the expressions in Cola court poetry which extol the heroic qualities of the rulers of the Cola dynasty.

The poetic descriptions of Cola military conquests as recorded in inscriptions presuppose that heroism and military prowess constituted the primary sources for successes that attended to Cola efforts in organizational and acquisitive activities. For a proper appraisal of the heroic element in the *meykkirtti* of the Cola rulers it is necessary to quote here at some length portions from such texts that bring out in clear terms the heroic feats which brought glory and fame to the monarch. The preamble of Rajaraja's Tamil inscriptions for instance runs:

> Sri Rajarajadeva, who, in his life of growing strength and in the belief that the goddess of fortune and the goddess of the wide earth had become

his (queens) (by his own merit), was pleased to destroy the ships at Kandalursalai and conquered by his army, which was victorious in great battles, Vengai-nadu, Kollam, Kalingam, Ilamantalam, (which was the country) of the Singalas who possessed rough strength, the seven and a half lakshas of Irattapadi, and twelve thousand islands of the sea, deprived the Seliyas of (their) splendour at the very moment when (they were) resplendant (to such a degree) that (they were) worthy to be worshipped.[28]

As all countries mentioned in the above passage except Kalingam were brought under some form of Cola overlordship it may not be incorrect to state that Cola *meykkirtti* in its initial stage of development, had as its main theme the brief description, in poetic form, of the principal conquests of the reign achieved through military prowess. In course of time the *meykkirtti* underwent a process of development and details of military campaigns undertaken for the consolidation of authority over conquered kingdoms, and the assertion of Cola supremacy and the humiliation or rival dynastics were incorporated and thereby the goals of the heroic ideal were set forth in a poetic manner. Such a practice was in fact to become a poetic convention. The characteristic features of the *meykirtti* in its more developed form are to be found in the following passage incorporated in some inscriptions of Rajadhiraja:

'...Among the three allied kings of the South (i.e. Pandiyas) – he cut-off on a battlefield the beautiful head of Manabharanan, (which was adorned with) large jewels (and) which was inseparable from the golden crown, seized in a battle Virakeralan whose ankle rings were wide, and was pleased to get him trampled down by his furious elephants Attivarana; and drove away ancient Mullaiyur Sundara Pandiyan of endless great fame, who lost in a hot battle the royal white parasol, the bunches (of hairs) of the white yak, and the throne, and who ran away his crown dropping down, (his hair) being dishevelled, and (his) feet together tired. (He) sent the undaunted King of Venadu to the country of heaven and destroyed in anger the three (princes) of the famous Iramagudam. While the strong Villavan (i.e. Chera) was attacked by pains in the bowels, fled from his country and hid himself in the jungle, (the Chola King) destroyed (his) ships (at) Kandalursalai on the never decreasing ocean as (easily as he) would have put on a beautiful fresh flower on the Vanchi (tree).

When even Ahavamallan became afraid, when Gandappayan and Gangadharan, (who belonged to his army) fell along with their elephants (whose temples) swarmed with bees, (in a battle) with the irresistible army of Kevudan (and) when the (two) warriors of great courage – Vikki and Vijayadityan, Sangamayan of great strength, and others retreated, like cowards – (the Chola King) seized (them) along with gold of great splendour and with

horses, elephants and steeds, achieved victory in his garment, and caused the centre of Kollipakai, a city of the enemies to be consumed by fire.

'With a single unequalled army (he) took the crown of Vikramabahu, the King of the people of Lanka on the tempestuous ocean, the crown of large jewels, (belonging to) the lord of Lanka, Vikrama Pandiyan, who having lost the whole of the southern Tamil country which had previously belonged to him had entered Ilam (surrounded by) the seven oceans, the beautiful golden crown of the King of Simhala, Virasalamegan, who believing that Ilam (surrounded by) the ocean was superior to the beautiful Kanna- kuchchi (Kanyakubja) which belonged to him, had entered (the island) with his relatives and (those of) his countrymen who were willing to go with him) and had put on the brilliant crown, who having been defeated on the battle-field, and having lost his black elephants, had fled ignominously and who, when (the Chola king) seized his elder sister along with his daughter and cut off the nose of (his) mother, had returned in order to remove the disgrace (caused thereby); and, having fought hard with the sword, had perished in a hot battle, and the extremely brilliant crown of large jewels, (belonging) to the King of Ilam (Sri Vallavan) madanarajan, who had come to Kannaran (Krishna) and taken up (his) abode (with him)... the lord Sri Rajadhirajadeva, who was seated on the royal (throne and who had obtained) very great fame (under the name) Jayankonda Colan.[29]

The extensive conquests of Rajaraja and his warlike son Rajendra I and the attempts to consolidate Cola authority over the conquered Kingdoms led to prolonged conflicts with neighbouring dynasties and those that were partially dislodged from power over a wide area in South India and the Deccan. The sensational victories won by the Cola armies over their rivals, the acquisition of riches gathered by expeditionary forces and military glory and fame acquired by successes in war became some of the main themes on the Cola *meykkirtti* under Rajendra I and his sons. Consequently the poetic form called *Meykkirtti* underwent a remarkable transformation in form and content. It became larger in size and details regarding military campaigns came to be incorporated in this form of court poetry.

The hegemonic position achieved by the Colas under Rajaraja and Rajendra could be maintained only by mobilizing sufficient military power and circumstances demanded unique qualities of leadership in war and the mobilization of resources for the warefforts. Besides, the Cola rulers had to convince the various kings, chieftains and status-groups over whom they had attained a position of overlordship of their military prowess and superiority in order to keep them in a position of subordinate alliance. They had to project an image of their invincibility and the heroic ideal along with that of the divine monarch was, perhaps, intended to project an image of Cola invincibility. The Cola kings and princes had to live up to the

image of their dynasty that was projected by their court poets and officials. They had to possess the qualities of charismatic leadership and this meant that they had to demonstrate their heroic quality. The successful expeditions of Rajendra Cola to such distant places as the Gangetic plain in the North, Rohana in Southern Sri Lanka and the Kingdom of Sri Vijaya in South East Asia bear testimony to the outstanding qualities of leadership in war and the efficiency displayed in resource mobilization. The successful conclusion of military expeditions in such distant places also presupposes the loyalty and close co-operation of a number of feudatory princes and chieftains subject to their overlordship.

Victory in war brought not only fame and glory but was also materially rewarding in some ways. Large quantities of wealth in many forms were gathered by the Cola expeditionary forces. It consisted mostly of valuables, commodities and animals abandoned by vanquished armies, and property captured from the enemy territory. An atmosphere of close co-operation between the Cola rulers and their feudatories was generated by a charismatic leadership that was intrinsically developed under the inspiration provided by the heroic ideal.

The introductory portion in the preambles of the inscriptions of Rajaraja and all his successors suggest that the attainment of the kingdom *fortune*, *fame* and *victory* were the supreme goals of the Cola monarchy. They are said to have been in the secure possession of Cola kings. They are personified and figuratively described as female deities wedded to the monarch and residing with him in a sort of permanent union. The inscriptions of Rajendra for instance assert:

> 'The lord Sri Rajendra soladeva, who,–in his life of high prosperity –... the goddess of the great earth, the goddess of victory in battle and the matchless goddess of fame had become his great queens – conquered with his great and warlike army......'[30]

> 'The great goddess of fortune and the great goddess of the earth became his queens'.[31]

As the acquisition of territory fortune and fame depended on victory in battle it may be asserted that heroism was central to the Cola conception of Kingship.

The heroic ideal which served as an instrument for the legitimation of authority and was the main source for the development of the charismatic quality of kingship was associated by the Colas with the norms and processes of legitimation and the symbols of authority. The claim made in the case of Vira Rajendra that he had 'acquired the throne by the right of warlike deeds' may suggest that the heroic quality was one of the important considerations on which a prince's claim to the throne could be based.[32] The *Vijayabhisheka* (the anointment of victors) and *Virabhasheka* (the anointment of heroes) are two ceremonies undergone by the Cola

rulers since the reign of Rajendra II.[33] They are of special significance as their celebration amounted to a consecration of the ruler in recognition of his qualities of heroism and success in wars. Normally the installation of the prince to kingship was marked by the ceremony of consecration or *Abhisheka* which legitimized his claim to authority. The two ceremonies called 'anointment of victors' and the 'anointment of heroes' were undoubtedly intended to institute what may be called heroic kingship. Rajendra II, Kulutunga I, Vikrama Cola and Kulottunga III are said to have undergone the ceremony of 'the anointment of victors' while the last of these rulers had undergone also the ceremony of 'the anointment of heroes'.[34]

The two main symbols of monarchial authority, the crown and the throne, were also symbolically associated by the Colas with the heroic cult. As the monarch was a victorious and heroic king the golden throne which he occupied was designed *Vijayasimhasana*, 'the throne of victors' or *Virasimhasana*, 'the throne of heroes'. Virarajenra is said to have ascended 'the throne of heroes, and worn the crown of victors', *Vijayamamuti*, after defeating the Calukyas at Kudalsangamam.[35] The circumstances under which this special coronation ceremony was conducted suggest that it was intended to celebrate the heroic feats of the Cola monarch. The triumph of Virarajendra on this occasion was a most sensational one as the enormous booty gathered by tne Chola armies included some of the ladies of the Calukya court, paraphernalia of the Calukya royalty and large numbers of camels, elephants and horses abandoned in the field by the Calukya armies.[36] In the short version of his *meykirtti* Virarajendra is said to have occupied 'the throne of victors'.

The terms *Vira* and *Vijaya* which connote respectively heroism and victory, were sometimes prefixed as qualifying expressions to the Tamil word for Crown. As mentioned earlier Virarajendra had worn a special crown, 'the unique crown of victors' after the battle of Kudal sangamam.[37] Kulottunga III, the last Cola ruler to have displayed the heroic quality in considerable measure, solemnized his triumph over the ruler of the Kongu country by celebrating at Karuvur a new coronation ceremony. On that occasion he wore a special crown, called *Vijayamamuti*, 'the unique crown of victors' and assumed the epithet Colakeralan.[38] Kulottunga re-enacted this performance later, at Madurai, after he had inflicted a most humiliating defeat on the Pandiyas. At the capital of the southern kingdom he celebrated his victory by conducting another coronation ceremony on which occasion he wore another special type of Crown called *Viramamuti*, 'the crown of heroes', and assumed the epithets *Colapandiyan* and *Tribhuvanavira*.[39]

Another point that may be considered here in relation to the heroic ideal of the Colas is the reference to the *Virakkodi*, 'the banner of heroism' and the '*tiyakakkodi*, 'the banner of dedication' in some of the Cola epigraphic records. The expressions 'while the matchless banner of heroism, along with banner of dedication, was raised aloft. . . .' is recorded in the inscriptional preambles of Virarajendra.[40]

The same idea is conveyed in almost identical terms in some of the inscriptions of Kulottunga III. 'The banner of heroism' and 'the banner of dedication' were, presumably, considered to be among the special symbols of heroic kingship.

Evidence suggests that the heroic ideal cherished by the Colas almost since their restoration to authority in the Cola kingdom during the ninth century attained its highest stage of development since the accession of Rajendra II, the monarch who was crowned in the battle field when his warlike elder brother Rajadhiraja was struck down by his foes when he led the Cola armies against the Calukyas in the Deccan. When Rajadhiraja fell the Cola armies began to retreat in confusion. Regardless, Rajendra who was in the rear, pressed forward, re-assembled the demoralised Cola armies and led them with such skill and courage that the Calukya ranks broke up and retreated in disorderly confusion. The elephants, horses and camels, the victorious banner of the boar and other insignia of royalty, together with the peerless Sattiyavvai and all other queens, a crowd of women and many other things abandoned by Ahavamalla on the field, became the booty of the Cola king.[41] Such a victory endowed Rajendra with a special claim to greatness. Hence the consecration ceremony he underwent after his triumph over the Calukyas was one that was special and unque – 'the anointment of victors'.

The fact that Rajendra II is known to have undergone the unique ceremony of *Vijayabhisheka* has to be accorded considerable significance in relation to the development of heroic kingship in South India. There seems to be an unmistakable connexion between the circumstances and the manner of his consecration. The performance of such a special type of consecration presumably, amounted to a recognition of a prince's special claims to kingship on account of his exceptional qualities of heroism and leadership. It may also be recalled that Virarajendra is said, in his Tamil *prasasti,* to have secured his throne by his right of warlike deeds.[42] Since the reign of Rajendra II some attributes of heroic kingship were almost regularly applied to the Cola monarchy in epigraphic records.

The Cakravarttin ideal

As the Cola kingdom ceased to be a small state and grew to imperial dimensions under Rajaraja, the Cola monarchy underwent a corresponding transformation and thereafter the king could be described with justification as a *cakravartti* although the title was used for the first time in epigraphic records only since the reign of Virarajendra.[43] The addition of the prefix *Tribhuvana* to this title applied to the Cola monarch regularly in inscriptions issued since the reign of Kulottunga I introduced a new dimension to the Cakravarttin ideal. Divinity of kingship and the cakravarttin ideal meet in a kind of shady union in the conception of 'the emperor of the three worlds'. This led to much confusion as the details of historical events came to be overlaid with exaggeration and poetic imagination in the Cola

inscriptional preambles after the adoption of the title *Tribhuvana cakravarttin* by the Cola monarchs since the reign of the Kulottunga I. Thereafter, the literary quality of the *meykkirtti* as a poetical composition was raised to a level of excellence while its quality as a historical document suffered a sharp decline.[43A])

Two entirely different conceptions of the cakravartti monarch converged in the Cola ideology of monarchical power and authority. One of them concerns the actual or historically recognizable political status of the Cola monauh as an emperor, an overlord or king of kings while the other is that of the universal monarch, the ideal king of legendary fame whose authority extended to all quarters and regions of the world and who possessed mystic and miraculous power. The Cola inscriptions project two different visions of the *Cakravartti,* the historical emperor, and of the empire. In one of these the Cola King is represented as emperor on account of his being the supreme ruler of an enlarged State comprising as its consituent units of mny conquered kingdoms. According to another view he was an overlord or king of kings and the empire of which he was the suzerain was conceived as a kind of union, which may be described as one that was subject to a tributary overlordship,. Sometimes, these two conceptions are presented in the epigraphic records of the same reign and it need not be assumed that they always had any direct relevance to contemporary situations and historical circumstances. They, however have some relevance to the conditions that prevailed in South India in the period that intervened between the accession of Rajaraja I and that of Kulottunga I.

The vision of the Cola empire as suggested by the inscriptions of Rajaraja and a portion of the inscriptional preambles of Rajadhiraja is that of an enlarged Cola State consisting of the territories of many kingdoms, most of which previously had an independent existence. Such an extended state which had as its nucleus the Cola Kingdom was to be controlled and directed by the Cola dynasty. It was intended to exist essentially as a dynastic state. All the kingdoms said to have been conquered by Rajaraja, with the exception of Vengi and Kalingam which came to be considered as integral parts of the Cola empire and each was renamed after one of the numerous epithets and titles of the Cola King and designed mandalam–a province. In the hey day of its power the Cola empire consisted of eight such units:

> Colamandalam, Jayankonta Cola mantalam (Tontai natu), Rajarajappanti mantalam (Pandiya), Malaimantalam (Cera), Adhirajarajamantalam (Kongu), Mutikonta Cola mantalam (Gangapadi), Nikarilic Colamantalam (Nulambapadi) and Mummuticcolamantalam (Lanka).

The Cola King who was the supreme ruler of such a large kingdom could be referred to, with justification, as *cakravartti* or emperor and it is in that sense that

this title is used in the inscriptions of Virarajendra. An experiment initiated by Rajendra I and one which had no precedent in South India and was of utmost importance in relation to the development of Kingship in the Tamil country was the effort to institute the Cola monarchy in some of the conquered kingdoms in the south where the indigenous monarchy was intended to be abolished. The Tiru valangadu plates assert that Rajendra conquered the Pandiya country, ousted its ruler from the kingdom and then placed his own son, Sri Cola Pandiya for its prtoection.[45] A stone inscription of Rajendra's tenth year which confirms these claims records that the Cola king established his own son in Madurai as his Viceroy with the title Cola-Pandya and also states that Rajendra built a palace for him in Madurai.[46] This Cola prince who was soon after placed in charge of the Kerala country as well was Jatavarman Sundara Cola-Pandya. The largest number of Cola-Pandya inscriptions belong to his reign and are dated up to his 23rd regnal year corresponding to about A.D. 1040. The Cola prince was invested with the paraphernalia and insignia of royalty. He is said to have been consecrated in Madurai as king and it was on that occasion that he assumed the title Cola-Pandya. He assumed also the name Jatavarman which was one of the two alternate consecration names assumed by the Pandiyas on their accession to the throne, inscriptions were issued in his name and dated in his regnal years.

The investiture of Sundara Cola as king of the Pandiya realm suggests a definite attempt made by the Colas to bring the Southern conquered Kingdom under their dynastic control. The ttile Cola-Pandiya and Jatavarman conferred on the Cola prince are clear indications that the Colas adopted the traditions of the Pandiya court while attempting to naturalize the Cola monarchy in the Pandiya kingdom. The consecration of a Cola prince in Madurai as the ruler of the Southern Tamil Kingdom represents a decisive attempt on the part of the Colas to consolidate Cola authority in that kingdom and such a step suggests that the Colas sought to govern it as a part of their empire. The view advanced recently by Spencer that the kingdoms of Pandiya and Lanka in the South were peripheral regions serving as targets for loot and not meant to be administered is wrong and unacceptable; such a view arises from a serious misconception.[48] The practice initiated by Rajendra I in the Pandiya kingdom was introduced into Sri Lanka as well. Two Cola inscriptions brought to light recently from the Trincomalee district in the island testify to the presence of a Cola prince styled Cola-Lankesvara in the island during the reign of Rajendra I.[49] The dating of inscriptions in his regnal years testifies that Cola-Lankesvara was a consecrated ruler who administered that part of the island which had been brought under Cola control. *Cankavarmar* and Cola-Lankesvara were, on the analogy of Jatavarman and Cola-Pandya bestowed on Sundara Cola, royal titles conferred on the Cola prince consecrated as ruler of Lanka. Lankesvara was a title regularly assumed by the Sinhalese monarchs while Cankavarmar could be

an abbreviated form of *Sanghabodhivarman*, of one of the two alternate consecration names of those monarchs. Thus, the Cola prince consecrated as ruler of Lanka had, like Sundara Cola, adopted the traditions of the indigenous monarchy in respect of royal titles.

The system initiated by Rajendra I of consecrating Cola princes as rulers of conquered Kingdoms was continued by his son and successor Rajadhiraja I. The portions of his inscriptional preamble relating to this matter runs:

> 'He bestowed crowns of brilliant jewels, adorned with gold, on his father's younger brother, (his) gorious elder brother, his distinguished younger brothers, and his royal sons who knew the (right) path, (along with the titles) 'Vanavan of great beauty', 'Vallavan', 'Minavan', 'Gangan', 'the king of the people of Lanka', 'Pallavan (who wears) golden ankle rings', (and), 'the protector of the people of Kannakuchchi' and granted to these princes the (respective) dominions of those kings'.[50]

Such claims, recorded in a modified form also in some of the inscriptions of Rajendra II and Virarajendra, and which are in some ways confirmed by historical evidence, suggest that the Cola Kings thought of themselves as Emperors or overlords of an enlarged kingdom some of the constituent units of which were to be administered by Cola princes invested with the insignia and paraphernalia of royalty and supported by Cola officials and armies to maintain their authority. They were to function as representatives of the Cola emperor at Tanjore and assist him in furthering the interests of the Cola dynasty. This system initiated by Rajendra and continued by his successors until the accession of Kulottunga I sought to provide for the assertion of Cola authority while preserving the territorial integrity of the conquered kingdom and the traditions of the displaced indigenous monarchy. During the period when this experiment was on trial the Cola State could be described in a very limited sense as a dynastic state. Such a system could be sustained only as long as the military power of the Colas was decisively supreme in South India. When that power began to decline the experiment initiated by Rajendra had to be given up and thereafter the Cola state was in reality and even in conception one which could be described as that of tributary overlordship.

In Hindu political thought as expounded in the Dharma Sastras which the Colas claimed to uphold the conception of empire has always been that of tributary overlordship. In such treatises the imposition of a centralized system of administration has been viewed with disfavour, such a method of empire building being condemned as *asura vijaya*. The favoured ideal was *dharma vijaya* having as its goal the assertion of a vague form of supremacy and the collection of tribute. The military operations undertaken in pursuit of such an ideal were generally termed *dig vijaya* and the Gangetic expedition as well as the campaigns against Sri Vijaya

undertaken by Rajendra I may be construed in that light. It would thus appear that Rajendra I and his three successors had two distinct objectives, namely, the assertion of dynastic control after displacing local dynasties and the assertion of a vague overlordship. The first of these objectives was sought to be achieved in the kingdoms of South India and Sri Lanka while in relation to the kingdoms elsewhere they aimed at the attainment of a vague suzerainty. Whether they even succeeded in establishing a claim to tributary overlordship in countries to the north of Vengai is at present only a matter of conjecture. Yet, the conception of the Cola State as also one of tributary overlordship was sustained by the Cola court as evident from inscriptions. The inscriptional preambles of Rajadhiraja's reign for instance records:

> 'The tribute paid without remissions by the Villavar (Chera), Minavar (Pandiya), Velkular, Calukkiyar (Chalukyas), Vallavar, Kausalar (Kosala), Vanganar, Konganar (Konhana), Sindurar, Aiyanar, Singalar, Panhalar Andirar and other kings, and the riches collected (as) the sixth share (of the produce) of the earth (he) had measured, and gladly gave away, to those (versed in) the four Vedas (i.e., to the Brahmanas). In order to be famed in the whole world, (he) followed the path of Manu and performed the horse sacrifice.[51]

The claim that the Cola king levied tribute from all dynasties mentioned the foregoing passage is a violent exaggeration. Most of the dynasties referred to therein were powerful and ruling independently while the dominions of some of them were beyond the reach of Cola armies. It was not intended to record undiluted historical information; the main purpose was the glorification of the Cola monarch who had to be represented as a Cakravartti – emperor or king of kings in justification of his performance of the *Asvamedha*. The performance of the horse-sacrifice was significant. It was symbolic of the Cola claims to imperial status and dignity and presumably the sphere of Cola influence and authority was larger than that of any contemporary Indian State. The claim to imperial power in the wider context of contemporary Indian political conditions was a hollow one. It was the sensational military triumphs of the Cola armies over the Chalukyas and many other dynasties that provided the justification for the celebration of the *Asvameda* by Rajadhiraja.

Another set of values which were assimilated into the corpus of ideas that shaped the Cola ideology of monarchical power concern the cakravarti or universal monarch depicted in some varieties of ancient Indian literature. The cakravarttin ideal was re-interpreted in the light of the conception of the Divine monarch and this led to the concept of *Tribhuvanacarkravarttin* whose supra- human powers were represented by his sceptre (cenkol) and the wheel. While the sceptre has been an

emblem of the Tamil monarchies from ancient times symbolishing his links with the cosmic powers, the wheel was a mystic entity always associated with the Cakravartti monarch of legendary fame. The sceptre and the wheel are frequently referred in Cola court poetry as symbolizing the divine and miraculous nowers of the monarchy:

> 'His wheel of righteous authority swayed over the circle of the earth'.
>
> 'He wielded a scepture which ruled (as far as) the limits of the mountain surrounded by snow (Himalaya) and Setu'.
>
> 'His sceptre along with the wheel (of his authority) swayed over all moon, overspreading the whole earth'.
>
> 'While the (king's) wheel and sceptre went and ruled every region'.[52]

The above are some of the allegorical descriptions of the qualities of the Cola king in his capacity as a 'universal monarch'. They imply in no uncertain terms that the king was an immanent centre of sacred power.

By having recourse to such descriptions the court poets were not deliberately stating what was false but were glorifying the ruler in the light of the cakravarttin ideal.

Any study on Cola kingship will not be complete without a consideration of the duties and functions of the monarchy as set out in Cola inscriptions and contemporary texts. The numerous references to the Laws of Manu in these sources suggest that the *Manu Smrti* was carefully studied by Cola court circles and that it was highly esteemed by them as a work on kingship and customary law. Among the special claims made by the Colas to greatness was to have administered the Laws of Manu. 'In order to be famed in the whole world', Rajadhiraja I is said 'to have followed the path of Manu.'[53] The inscriptions of Virarajendra claim that he illust rated the Laws of Manu which are hard to follow.[54] In the reign of Kulottunga I, it is claimed that 'the river of rules of ancient Manu swelled'.[55] The same claim is made in the inscriptions of almost all Cola rulers who succeeded him'.[56]

One of the principal functions of the Cola monarchy is said to have been the establishment of dharma. 'Sustained dharma by administering the laws of manu', 'established fame and dharma everywhere in the world', 'Underwent the consecration in order to make *dharma,* austerities, gifts , the Vedas and truth flourish as in the first age' are some of the characteristic expressions occurring in the inscriptional preambles of the Cola rulers.[75] The conception of *dharma* as understood by the Cola court circles was one that was in conformity with the teachings of the *dharma sastra* school.

The King as the custodian of the moral order and by virtue of his position as the supreme ruler was obliged to protect and support the Brahmins and maintain Vedic rituals and institutions. He had to promote learning and the arts, both Sanskrit and Tamil studies and support Tamil poets. The upholding of the rules and regulations concerning the *Varnas* and *asramas* was a special duty enjoined on the kings. The conceptions of royal duties is set forth clearly in the following passage recorded in the inscriptions of Rajaraja III:

> 'He wore the golden crown in order to make the Vedas flourish, to support Tamil poets and to uphold the laws of Manu; he protected his subjects, punished the wicked, secured the people from internal and foreign enemies ...ruled with impartiality (and) under his government Sanskrit and Tamil learning progressed, the varnas and asramas were sustained and the six systems of philosophy flourished as in the first age'.[58]

The King had also to protect his people from the capricious forces of nature. He had to provide them with relief against famine, disease and want and was expected to promote peace and stimulate the processes of production. The regularity of monsoonal rains and agricultural production, it was believed, depended on a good and just government. In sources that seek to extol authority and seek to promote adherence to authority one could hardly expect any views on such matters as limits of royal authority and the rights of subjects. Indeed, such matters had generally not been the concern of the authors of Indian treatises on polity. As long as the king's government conformed to *dharma* and secured the people from internal and external enemies it could be tolerated.

The ideals of kingship and the conception of royal duties as set forth allegorically in the poetic form *meykkirtti* could naturally be expected to have a wide emotional appeal to the dominant status groups in society, Brahmins, landlords, traders and professional bodies of fighting men all of whom shared the values of the synthetic Hindu culture as typified by the Hindu temple of this period. These ideals sought to realize the aspirations of the influential and prosperous sections of Tamil society.

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24. epithets of Kulottunga I, *A History of the Later Cholas*, pt. II, p. 50. 25. two of the many epithets of Rajaraja I. 26. Keralantaka, Simkalantaka and Telinga kula kalan were epithets of Rajaraja I while the other three epithets belonged to Virarajendra, *A History of the Later Cholas*, pp. 118, 238. 27. The Tiruvalangadu plates *SII*, Vol. III 28. *SII*, Vol. II, pt. I. 29. *SII*, Vol. III, pt. i, No. 28. 30. *SII*. 31. *SII*, Vol. III, pt. I, No. 28. 32. *SII*, Vol. III, pt. I, No.28. 32.m*SII*, Vol. III, pt. I, No. 20, p. 36. 33. Commenting on *Vijayabhisheka* and Virabhisheka, T. V. Mahalingam observes: 'It appears that the suucessful completion of wars was celebrated by special Coronations either in the capital of the defeated enemy or in some important city within the conqueror's territory. Kulottunga III for instance, afer his conquest of Karur and Madurai wore the c rowns of success and heroism and celebrated his *Vijayabhisheka* and Virabhisheka. T. V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, University of Madras, 1955, p. 46. 34. The expressons *Vijayabhishe kam Ceytu* occur in the *meykkirttis* of all those rulers. See *A History of the Late Cholas*, pt. I, p. 263; pt. II, pp. 222, 227, 239. 35. *SII*, Vol. III, pt. I, No. 20, *A History of the Later Cholas*, pt, I, p. 265. 36. *SII*, Vol. III, pt. I, No. 20. 37. '*Vira cinkatanam paartola eri... Vicaiyamani makuta meyntu*, *A History of the Later Cholas*, p. 265. 38. *History of the Later Cholas*, pt. II, p. 237. 39. ibid. 40. *SII*, Vol. III, pt. I, No. 20. 41. The Colas, pt. 257; *SII*, Vol. III, pt. I, No. 29, p. 63. 42. SII, Vol. III, pt. I, No. 20, p. 38. 43. The Colas, p. 448. 43a. A. Veluppillai, *Cacanamum Tamilum*, Kandy, 1971, pp. 235-258. 44. T. V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, p. 304. 45. *SII*, Vol. II, p. 420, vv. 91-93. 46. The Colas, p. 202. 47. Ibid., p. 203.

48. Spencer's main premise is that "Chola kings utilized long-range plundering raids as the principal tactic in a dual srategy of (1) sustaining and enlarging the supply of 'free-flowing' resources to the royal court, and (2) providing an occasion for royal coordination and direction of a common enterprise among the diverse elements of a markedly decentralized socio-political system', i.e. an integrative activity'. The views advanced by Spencer and particularly Burton Stein highlight

the need for a thorough revision of the raditional notions about the Chola state. But that could be done only when an indepth study of some major aspects of medieval Tamil society have been undertaken. Spencer ignores or is unacquainted with much of the evidence that weigh against his conclusions. Cola presence in Sri Lanka during the eleventh century will be reconsidered in considerable-detail in the sequel. George Spencer, 'The Politics of Plunderer: The Cholas in the eleventh century Ceylon', *Journals of Asian Studies* May, 1976, pp. 405-419.

49. One of these inscriptions is from Kantalay while the other of which only a fragment has survived is from the village of Manankeni. The epigraph from Kantalay refers to a Committee, *perunkuriperumakkal* of a Brahmin settlement, a *caturvedimangalam*, named after Rajaraja. See *Trincomalee Inscriptions Series* – No. I; *Two Inscriptions of Çola Ilankesvara Deva*, ed. S. Gunasingham, Peradeniya, 1974.

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TIRUVARUR V. KALYANASUNDARANAR AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1917—1940

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The autobiography of Tiruvarur V. Kalyanasundaranar (T. V. K.) is the main source from which we can interpret his political life between 1917 and 1926. A study of this work reveals the political milieu of his time, the prime factors which drew him into the fold of the Indian National Congress, the contribution he made to it in the Presidency of Madras and the causes that forced him to resign from it. From the autobiography as well as from his other works, especially *Tamil Tenral, Intiyavum Vitutalaiyum, Tamilc-Colai allatu Katturait-Tirattu parts I and II* and *Manita Valkkaiyum Kantiyatikalum*, we are able to gather that his political thought was shaped by the militant Maharashtrian leader Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920), tempered by the Theosophist Annie Besant (1847-1933) and sublimated by Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948). Further we find that even after coming under the powerful influence of Gandhi T. V. K. did not repeat merely what Gandhi said but interpreted his concepts as he himself understood them. That was why T. V. K. synthesized Gandhi with Marxism to evolve a political philosophy of his own, which was known as the *canmarkka* political philosophy. Therefore the growth of his political thought in conjunction with his active work in the Tamil Nadu branch of the Indian National Congress deserves close study to enable us to evaluate the contribution he made to the Congress movement in Tamil Nadu.

The Background

When T. V. K. was working in the catalogue department of the Spencer and Company in Madras between 1906 and 1908 many eventful changes were taking place in the country as well as in the Indian National Congress (INC). In the beginning the Congress adopted the method of constitutional agitation in order to draw the attention of the government regarding the grievances of Indians. But its failure to achieve any conspicuous success through constitutional methods frustrated a large section of the Congress members. Under the leadership of B. G. Tilak, a section of the Congress members demanded that the moderate leaders give up sending humble petitions to the government year after year and urged the adoption of a policy of 'militancy, not mendicancy' in their dealings with the British government.[1] At a time when the militant policy advocated by Tilak and his followers was viewed with great concern by the moderates, Lord Curzon (1859–1925) the

Viceroy of India between 1899-1905, made an arbitrary decision to partition the province of Bengal. The partition was effected on 16 October 1905.[2] Though the partition was a blow to the growing feeling of nationalism in Bengal, it was a blessing in disguise for the radicals because they were able to forge an emotional unity among the people of India and to spread their basic political creed throughout the Indian sub-continent through their itinerant demagogue Bipin Chandra Pal of Bengal (1855-1932). His inflammatory speeches delivered on the shore of the Marina beach in Madras between 2 and 9 May 1907 expounding the political creed of the radicals[3] exercised a magic spell on and awakened the political consciousness of T. V. K., who compared those speeches to the 'torrential flow of the Mississippi and Missouri'.[4]

The political resurgence of the people at the time of partitioning of Bengal was channelled and given shape by Tilak, who was then regarded as the 'real symbol of the new age'. He proclaimed that 'swaraj was the birth right of every Indian' and demanded from the British nothing less than complete freedom for India.[5] His views were fully shared by the radicals, among whom Aurobindo Ghosh (1872 – 1950) of Bengal and Subramania Bharati as well as V. O. Chidambaram Pillai of Tamil Nadu were important. Ghosh and Bharati propagated Tilak's political ideology through their newspapers *Bande Mataram* and *India* respectively in order to prepare the people for the struggle for freedom.[6] The vigorous pronouncements of these two newspapers on various questions of the day, their interpretation of the revolutionary doctrine of Tilak and their immense popularity among the youths of the day were viewed with displeasure by the English rulers. T. V. K. brought *Bande Mataram* inside the premises of the Spencer and Company where he read the news to his colleagues and sowed in them the seeds of patriotism. This infuriated the Managing Director of the company. He gave a severe warning, which resulted in T. V. K.'s ultimate resignation from the company in 1908.[7] In the absence of details regarding the nature of the warning, we could only assume that it deeply hurt his nationalist feelings and forced him to resign forthwith.[8]

A Decade of Silent Study of Political Events

After the resignation, T. V. K. devoted a decade from 1908 to 1917 in scholarly pursuits. Despite this, he was closely following the political trends in the country, especially the deportation of Tilak in 1908 for writing seditious articles in his journal *Kesari*, the introduction of the Minto-Morley Reforms in 1909, the attitude of the radicals towards the reform and the re-emergence of the radicals within the Congress soon after the death of G. K. Gokhale and Pherozshah Mehta in 1915.[9]

Though we are unable to gauge how far these events affected the political consciousness of T. V. K. we may not be far wrong if we conclude that the aforesaid events contributed much to his political understanding. Another

important event of these ten years, which had a bearing on the political life of T. V. K. was the entry of Mrs. Annie Besant into Indian politics.[10]

Soon after the inauguration of Tilak's Home Rule Movement in Maharashtra, Mrs. Besant started the All India Home Rule Movement in Madras in 1917.[11] Her Movement advocated that India should secure self-government within the British Empire through constitutional means. Tilak also shared her political aims and gave her full support. In the earlier stages, the Movement gained great popularity among the people. A large number of women participated in its activities, mainly due to its religious overtone. Mrs. Besant herself mentioned this while addressing the Calcutta Session of the Congress in 1917. She said that the 'Home Rule' has become so interwined with religion by the prayers offered up in the great southern temples....that it (Home Rule) has become in the minds of the women and of the ever-religious masses, inextricably intertwined with religion. That is, in this country, the surest way of winning....the women of the higher classes. ....Home Rule has become a Mantram'.[12] On realizing the intensity of the Home Rule agitation, the Government of Madras took stern measures against Tilak and Mrs. Besant. On 15 June 1917 Lord Pentland, the Governor of Madras issued orders of internment against Mrs. Besant and her two co-workers G. S. Arundale and B. P. Wadia. As a result of their incarceration a storm of indignation swept the entire Indian sub-continent.

The Home Rule Movement and T. V. K.

Only during this period T. V. K. came to address one of the protest meetings which was convened at the Gokhale Hall in Madras to censure the repressive measures of the Government of Madras. In this meeting T. V. K. gave a graphic analysis of the political situation obtaining in the country as well as the political objectives of the Home Rule Movement. This was perhaps T. V. K.'s first political speech. The text of his speech is not available in full now. However, from Suddhananda Bharathi's article entitled 'Gandhiyattin Pracarakar', we know that T. V. K.'s speech showed his political maturity. The speech also earned the approbation of Sir S. Subramania Iyer, an eminent lawyer and retired High Court Judge in Tamil Nadu.[13] That speech, in a way was responsible for laying the foundation for the beginning of the Madras Presidency Association under the presidentship of Dewan Bahdur Kesava Pillai, one of the founder members of the Indian National Congress.[14] T. V. K.'s maiden speech was soon followed by his resignation from the Wesley College in September 1917.[15]

> The Governor of Madras, Lord Pentland, issued orders of internment against Mrs. Annie Besant, Wadia and others with the intention of curbing the Home Rule Movement. The effect was just the opposite of what was intended, for it gained a true momentum only after their internment. For

my part I resigned from the Wesley College, to dedicate my life to the service of the nation.[16]

T. V. Ks. Reaction to the Montford Reforms and the Rowlatt Act

After his resignation from the college, T. V. K. chose to become the editor of a newly started Tamil daily, *Desabhaktan* on 7 December 1917 and continued to be associated with it till 22 July 1920.[17] This provided him with abundant opportunities to participate in the political life of the country. At this juncture the British Government published the Montagu Chelmsford Report (Montford Report) and the Rowlatt Report, one after the other in 1918. The aim of the former report was to enunciate the goal of responsible government for India, while the latter gave the Government enormous powers to take repressive measures against all agitators. For example the Rowlatt Act authorized judges to try political cases without juries in notified areas, and empowered the provincial governments to intern suspects for an indefinite period without trial.

T. V. K.'s reaction to the Montford Reform was more or less coloured by the views held by the radical group in the Congress, particularly those of Tilak. In the Amritsar Congress (1919) Tilak said emphatically that 'we want now clearly to declare, not only here but to the whole world, that we are not satisfied with the Reform Act and that we will continue our agitation. We will utilize the Act to our best advantage and continue to demand more. Let the rest of the world know that this is the exact state of things.'[18] The same spirit was reflected when T. V. K. delivered his Presidential Address at the Fourteenth North Arcot District Congress held at Vellore on 2 and 3 May 1920. In his address, T. V. K. pointed out that the powers of the governors and the governor-general were in no way reduced and that in the provincial administration the vital departments like the police force, justice and general administration were still under the British control. Notwithstanding these defects he emphasized the importance of making the best use of what was offered.[19]

When the Rowlatt Report was published on 19 January 1919, Tilak was in England. Therefore Gandhi, who understood the motives of the Report published a pledge regarding the Report which we quote below: 'Being conscientiously of the opinion that the Bill known as the Indian Criminal Law Amended Bill No. I of 1919 and the Criminal Law Emergency Powers Bill No. 2 of 1919, are unjust, subversive of the principles of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of an individual on which the safety of India as a whole and the state is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as the committee, hereafter to be appointed, may think fit, and we further affirm that in the struggle we will faithfully follow truth, and refrain from violence of life, person or property.'[20] With this pledge he toured the country to mobilize public opinion

against the Rowlatt proposals and to prepare the people for the proposed nation-wide satyagraha in case the Rowlatt recommendations were embodied into an act.

When Gandhi toured the Presidency of Madras, T. V. K. had a unique opportunity to move closely with him and to understand his concept of satyagraha. As a result he not merely became an admirer of Gandhi but enlisted himself as a satyagrahist. Besides, during this tour T. V. K. invariably translated Gandhi's speeches into Tamil, whenever he addressed public meetings intended for labourers. All these helped T. V. K. in many respects to interpret Gandhi's political ideals clearly to the readers of *Desabhaktan*. When Gandhi declared 6 April 1919 to be a day of *hartal* (a day of fasting, prayer, and penance) to record the nation-wide resentment to the Rowlatt Act, T. V. K. played a notable role in making the *hartal* a complete success in Madras.[21]

The peaceful *hartal* enunciated by Gandhi took a violent turn in various parts of India. In the State of Punjab it ended in a bloody massacre. The reason for this ill-fated historical incident was that on 13 April 1919, twenty thousand people gathered at a big enclosed maidan, known as Jallianwala Bagh, defying the martial law proclaimed in and around Lahore and Amritsar. On hearing the unlawful assembly, the infuriated General Dyer came to the spot and without giving any warning shots, gave orders to open fire at the gathering. This action caused a heavy toll of lives. The news of this massacre shook the whole country. Numerous public meetings were held to mourn the death of those who died at Jallianwala Bagh and to protest against the barbarous action of Dyer. In Madras, T. V. K. blamed the British administration in Punjab for the massacre.[22] He addressed several public meetings and wrote many articles in *Desabhaktan* condemning Dyer's inhuman action as well as propagating the view that the Rowlatt Act and he Pubjab massacre would liberate the country from the shackless of foreign domination.[23]

> I consider it as a service to the nation to speak and write about the massacre of Punjab. I firmly believe that this particular incident would enable India to liberate herself from foreign domination.[24]

With the demise of Tilak in 1920, there was a quick change in the political life of the country. Gandhiji, having experienced the repressive methods of the British rulers and having known the failure of the Kilaphat Movement,[25] initiated a novel type of agitation known as the non-violent non-co-operation for the attainment of political freedom. This was approved by INC which met at Calcutta in 1920. T. V. K. welcomed Gandhi's new programme, which called upon the recipients of government honours to return them, lawyers to renounce their practice, government servants to resign from their jobs, school and college students to leave the government institutions and litigants to boycott the law courts. In

his public speeches and writings in *Desabhaktan*, T. V. K. explained the significance of the programme. At the same time he took particular care to point out the concept of non-co-operation to the people of Tamil Nadu. What he emphasized, at the South Arcot District Third Political Conference held at Tiruppatirippuliyur from 15 to 16 October 1921, about the concept of non-co-operation, can be clearly seen from the following speech.

> Swarajya can be attained either by reform or by revolution, However, as I believe that Swarajya cannot be achieved in this generation through reform and as our concept of *dharma* will not encourage violent revolution, the only alternative left to us is non-co-operation.
>
> Since the guiding principle of non-co-operation is love, it is in tune with *dharma*. Non-co-operation will foster brotherhood and peace in the country and therefore it will be appreciated by all thinkers. Gandhiji, having taken into consideration the turbulent political situation in the country, the denial of justice to the Khilaphat Movement, the Punjab massacre, inaugurated the Non-co-operation Movement, which I think will help us to achieve the much desired political freedom. Therefore every Indian should consider the concept of non-co-operation as his own religion.[26]

T. V. K. and the Swaraj Party

From 1920 onwards T. V. K. became more and more a disseminator of Gandhian political ideas to the people of Tamil Nadu. This can be very clearly seen from the attitude he took towards the Swaraj Party before and after the release of Gandhi in early 1924. The Swaraj Party was organized by C. R. Das (1870-1925), while Gandhi was in prison for his alleged share in the Chauri Chaura disturbances. The Swaraj Party's aim was to contest the election to the councils in 1923 in order to wreck the reforms from within by uniform, consistent and continuous obstruction. The new party was not very well received by many members of the Tamilnad Congress Committee (TNCC), among whom T. V. K. was one. He was sceptical about the usefulness of the Swaraj Party's participation in the council and other representative bodies. Besides, he felt that such a participation would increase communal dissensions in the country.[27]

> From the day that the Congress Party gave up its fundamental policy of non-co-operation and from the day that the members of the Swaraj Party entered the legislatures this country experienced an increase of caste and religious conflicts. Was it non-co-operation or co-operation, which insisted on communal representation in the legislatures? Was it not co-operation, which sowed the seeds of communal representations? Will it not ultimately undermine our aim of Swaraj? The Muslims and the Hindus are fighting for communal representation in North India, while in the South the Brahmins

and the non-Brahmins are at loggerheads over the same issue. This growth of caste feelings among the people will definitely raise the question whether the goal of swarajya is nearer or farther away.[28]

Once out of prison, Gandhi brought unity among the leaders of the Congress and the Swaraj parties. Besides, an agreement was reached between Gandhi and C. R. Das, which allowed the Swaraj Party to carry on its work of obstruction inside legislatures. The opposition within the Congress to the Swaraj Party also ceased,[29] The effect of this agreement on T. V. K. was a sudden change of attitude on the question of Council entry and contesting elections. In all his public speeches thereafter T. V. K. pointed out that by contesting elections alone the Congress Party could prove to the foreign rulers its hold on the people. Though this particular change of attitude unmistakably reveals T. V. K.'s inconsistency, it shows his faith in the judgement of Gandhi. Thereafter T. V. K. worked with S. Srinivasa Iyengar, the leader of the Swaraj Party in Tamil Nadu, canvassing support for the Congress candidates, who contested the Municipal and District Board elections. The outcome of the election proved the popularity of the Congress Party among the people. As a result T. V. K. moved a resolution supporting the participation of the Congress in the state elections in the Tamilnad Congress Annual Convention held at Tiruvannamalai from 15 to 16 November 1924.[30] In addition, he advocated that the fundamental principles of the Swaraj Party should be incorporated into the Congress programme in order to foster unity in the Indian National Congress. T. V. K.'s stand on the question of unity within the National Movement was supported by his colleagues in the TNCC.[31]

The Kanchipuram Conference and T. V. K.

On 21 November 1925, the TNCC met under the chairmanship of T. V. K. to consider and review the political situation in the country. This conference was important in many respects. It was here E. V. Ramasami Naicker (E. V. R.) and T. V. K. the two eminent non-Brahmin leaders of this period, differed over the question of communal representation. And again it was here the seeds were sown for the growth of the Dravidian Party. At the Conference, Srinivasa Iyengar moved a resolution which sought the unification of the Swaraj Party with the Congress so that the unified Congress could contest the elections. E. V. R. opposed the resolution, for he was a staunch supporter of non-co-operation. While his close associate S. Ramanathan moved a resolution in the Consultative Committee demanding that the concept of communal representation be accepted if the Congress decided to contest the election. The resolution was however defeated by a counting of votes. Then Ramanathan informed the Committee that he would bring up this resolution once again. This was agreed upon by the Committee provided that he obtained 25 signatures of delegates in support of the resolution. Meanwhile part of the resolution moved by Srinivasa Iyengar was approved,

while the other part which wanted the consent of the TNCC to participate in the elections was rejected. Though E.V.R. was jubilant over the rejection he chose to support the communal representation resolution moved by Ramanathan. This resolution was however rejected as *ultra vires* by T. V. K. on the grounds that this Provincial Congress Session simply endorsed the resolution passed at the Patna Congress which authorized only the Swaraj Party, but not the Congress Party to contest the elections[32] and therefore the communal representation resolution moved by Ramanathan did not come under the purview of this session.[33] Since the TNCC had rejected the very idea of contesting the elections, there was no need for Ramanathan's resolution, as this was related to the question of elections. Therefore, T. V. K. was technically correct when he rejected the resolution at the TNCC session. However the rejection came under severe criticism from the non-Brahmin Press especially the *Dravidian* edited by Ramasami Naicker.

Causes for T. V. K.'s resignation from the TNCC Working Committee

After the TNCC's Conference at Kanchipuram, the AICC met at Cawnpore in December 1925 under the presidentship of poetess Sarojini Naidu (1879-1950), where it was decided to contest the elections 'in the name of the Congress' stating the issues on which Congressmen could seek election. Srinivasa Iyengar, the then president of the TNCC, warmly welcomed the decision of the Cawnpore Congress. Soon he initiated the election campaign in Tamil Nadu with the staunch support of T. V. K. He took part in the election campaign on the understanding that if the Congress candidates won the elections the principles of non-co-operation would be revived in order to attain complete swarajya. But in the middle of his vigorous campaign, T. V. K. heard rumours that the Congress might form the ministry in case it came out successful in the elections. He was surprised by the rumours. To find out the truth he consulted Srinivasa Iyengar, who categorically said that the intention of the party if it won the elections with a majority was to revive non-co-operation; otherwise to prevent the Justice Party from coming to power, the Congress might lend its support to the Independents to form the ministry.[34] This explicit reply was a bolt from the blue for T. V. K., who was all along urging the public to vote for the Congress in order to attain swarajya through non-co-operation. As a man of high principles, T. V. K. not only withdrew from the election campaign in order not to deceive the public any more by his classical oratory, but also resigned from the Congress Working Committee itself by sending the following letter of resignation on 9 July 1929, which is a profound testimony to his political honesty.

> My firm belief is that independence can be achieved only through non-co-operation. Even though Gandhiji's policy for the successful implementation of non-co-operation has been absent in the activities of the Congress, its spirit can be seen in many ways within the party itself. At least this should be upheld by the nation. To preserve the concept of non-

co-operation it should at least be practised as a principle. Only then can the methods for its future revival be formulated. With this ideal before me I stood by the Cawnpore Congress resolutions and participated in the election campaign. But it is quite evident that some of the Congress candidates are engaged in preventing the very notion of non-co-operation from taking root in the minds of the people. As I cannot agree with such men and it may not be proper for me to remain in the Congress Working Committee while differing from them, I hereby tender my resignation from it.

While caste, communal and religious conflicts are spreading like wild fire in the country, my inner voice urges me to take up the work of eradicating these evils by Gandhi's principles which are based on *camaraca canmarkkam*. Since I realise that party politics and the election campaign will come in my way, I have decided to resign from the Tamilnad Congress Working Committee. My decision to resign is final and it will not be reconsidered.[35]

The Move to inaugurate a Rival Congress in Tamil Nadu

After his resignation from the Tamilnadu Congress Working Committee, T. V. K. continued to be an active political commentator through his Tamil weekly *Navasakti*, though refraining from personal involvement in politics. When the Salt Satyagraha was initiated by Gandhi in 1930, he should have led a contingent at Chidambaram but owing to unknown reasons this did not happen.[36]

The years between 1930 and 1934 were uneventful in the political life of T. V. K. except that he intervened in the North Arcot District Board Election in 1934 on behalf of one Munuswamy Mudaliar, a true Congressman, who had been nominated and withdrawn the same day, by the TNCC without assigning any reason. On realizing that his efforts to renominate Mudaliar had failed, T. V. K. nominated him as a rival Congress candidate with the support of the local residents and had him elected to the district board. This was one of the incidents in his life which proclaimed his belief that even in politics justice could be upheld.[37] Following this incident, the TNCC bungled again in the election for the president of the North Arcot District Board, which incited T. V. K. to start a rival Congress party in Tamil Nadu, in order to reform the Tamilnad Congress Party. Accordingly a preliminary meeting was convened at Vellore in 1934 and there it was decided to form a rival Congress Party in Tamil Nadu following the precedent that had been set up by the Bengal Congress. However, T. V. K.'s efforts to form a rival party fell through owing to the communal attitude of a certain section of the Tamil society, which suggested that the new party should be known as the Tamilnad Non-Brahmin Congress. The pressure to give communal colour to the move and the efforts of C. Rajagopalachari to reform the Tamilnad Congress forced T. V. K. to give up his proposal to start a rival Congress Party in Tamil Nadu.[38]

T. V. K.'s Reaction to the Congress Ministries

The 1936 elections once again brought T. V. K. to the Congress platform to support the Congress Party. The reason for this participation in the election campaign after a decade of seclusion from politics was his abiding faith in the Indian National Congress.

> The Congress had become part of my blood. I always considered that the Congress was the embodiment of the nation. I found in that organization the entire wealth, valour and arts of the country. Many will come and go in the administrative field of the Congress and leave no impression in me, but the Congress itself will always remain in my thought.[39]

As a result of the elections the Congress Party came to power in many provinces including the Presidency of Madras. And in Madras it ruled till the beginning of the Second World War. During this short span of two and a half years the Congress administration in the Presidency of Madras proved no better than the previous administrations. The main reasons for the failure according to T. V. K. were as follows.

1. The Congress Parliamentary Board stipulated that those who had undergone a term of imprisonment for participating in the activities of the National Movement should be selected as candidates for contesting the election.
2. Communal interest played a conspicuous part in the selection of candidates.
3. The legislative members flouted the concept of non-co-operation and worked hand in hand with the British bureaucracy.
4. Since the Congress ministers, secretaries and legislative members held important position in the AICC there was none to check them and the result was rampant corruption in all the Congress ministries.
5. The moment Congress ministries had power in their hands they behaved no better than the British rulers in handling the opposition.
6. Finally the Congress Party became the handmaid of the capitalists.

The above listed reasons for the failure of the Congress administration show in unmistakable terms T. V. K.'s objective attitude in analysing the political events of his day. With the beginning of the Second World War the aging T. V. K. completely disassociated himself from the Congress politics but remained a true Congressman till his last days.[40]

The Leaders who Shaped T. V. K.'s Political Life

T. V. K. was introduced in his younger days to the political philosophy of Tilak by the eloquent speeches of Bipin Chandra Pal and by the revolutionary articles of Aurobindo in *Bande Mataram.* Thereafter T. V. K. became an ardent follower of Tilak and an exponent of his political philosophy. Not only did he

follow the political dogmas of Tilak but did imbibe his revolutionary fervour. T. V. K.'s inborn independent outlook[41] coupled with his acquired revolutionary zeal found clear expression in his resignation from the Spencer and Company when the general manager warned him for reading *Bande Mataram* to his co-workers inside the company's premises. Further the reverence he had for Tilak can be known from the work entitled *Intiyavum Vitutalaiyum*. In this work T. V. K. not only commended Tilak's stand at the Surat Congress in 1907 but also praised him for taking that stand.

> We cannot charge either Tilak or his comrades for what happened at the Congress because he had not planned anything surreptitiously to disrupt the Surat Congress.
>
> Men of Justice, if they find anything irregular will work to set it right. If they fail in their attempts they will not resign themselves meekly but will struggle harder to achieve their aim. It was kshatriya dharma which Tilak followed and to which he rendered his service. He had a clear vision because of his study of the *Gita*. He was a great Karma *yogin*.[42]

Tilak's spirit to uphold justice and truth came to be reflected in T. V. K. when he intervened in the North Arcot District Board elections.

T. V. K. had no personal contact whatsoever with Tilak until his arrival in Madras for a three day visit on 17 December 1919. This visit provided the much desired opportunity for T. V. K. 'to sit at the feet of Tilak and to hear him speak' on many subjects ranging from current politics to abstruse philosophy. It also enabled T. V. K. to understand Tilak's great intellect, his deep learning, his aggressive statesmanship and his passionate love for his country. He was so much impressed by him that at a meeting organized by the labourers of Perambur T. V. K. introduced Tilak as his 'great leader', an epithet he had not used either to Mrs. Annie Besant or Gandhi.

T. V. K. 's association with Mrs. Besant had started as early as in 1914. His contact with the Friendship Association,[43] and the Theosophical Society enabled him to understand her political and religious ideologies. Therefore the influence of Mrs. Besant on T. V. K. was in many fields, of which our concern here is in politics.

> The Home Rule Movement inflamed the dormant political fire in me, induced me to resign from the Wesley College, to take up the editorship of *Desabhaktan*, drew me into the labour movement and finally changed the very course of my life.[44]

Notwithstanding the fact that Mrs. Besant had altered his course of life, and notwithstanding the respect he had for her, T. V. K. was not a blind follower of her

political dogmas. Sharp criticism came from Mrs. Besant when Gandhi wanted to start the satyagraha movement to force the British bureaucracy to withdraw the Rowlatt Bill. She warned Gandhi 'in the most solemn manner that any such movement as he contemplated would result in the release of forces whose potentialities for evil were quite incalculable'.[45] T. V. K. though a follower of Mrs. Besant had already signed his name in the satyagrahi list. Therefore when Mrs. Besant criticized Gandhi, T. V. K. not only differed from her but also criticized her for failing to understand Gandhi's inner motive. This again illustrates T. V. K.'s individuality and free thinking in politics.

Ever since T. V. K. became the editor of *Desabhaktan*, he anticipated that the political principles of Gandhi would deliver India from foreign domination. That realization could be traced from the very first article he wrote on Gandhi in 1918 for the annual issue of *Desabhaktan*. His conviction was further strengthened by the unprecedented welcome Gandhi received when he visited Madras on 18 March 1919 to seek popular support for his proposed satyagraha campaign against the Rowlatt Act. The visit gave T. V. K. an occasion to study Gandhi's political maxims. As a result he turned out to be a staunch satyagrahi and a firm believer in Gandhian principles. To put it in the words of Suddhananta Bharati 'T. V.K. became an active propagandist of Gandhism to the people of Tamil Nadu. Nevertheless he was not a dumb follower of Gandhi but an intelligent interpretator of his concepts. This can be proved beyond doubt by drawing two illustrations from his work *Manita Valkkaiyum Gantiyatikalum* a good analytical work on Gandhism in Tamil. In this work T. V. K. explained the concept of Satyagraha and emphasised that it was not a new creed to the country but an old weapon successfully wielded by Markkandeyar and Tirunavukkaracar to establish truth and justice. Yet in another context we find that he sharply differed from Gandhi's views on varnasrama dharma. Though T. V. K. maintained his idividuality yet he largely accepted Gandhi's political dogma and also lived a life indentical with Gandhian principles. Therefore we have to surmise that after the death of Tilak in 1920, T. V. K. 's political concepts were largely influenced by the political creed of Mahatma Gandhi.

An Evaluation of T. V. K.'s political work in Tamil Nadu

T. V. K. joined the Indian National Congress with the firm belief of rendering service to the country. His oratorical skill enabled him to become one of the most popular leaders in the Tamil Nadu branch of the Indian National Congress. Despite his popularity he never went as a delegate to any of the AICC sessions held annually. Therefore his political activity was entirely confined to Tamil Nadu. Even here his work was mainly one of propagating the policies of the Congress Party explaining the resolutions passed at the annual sessions of the AICC and presiding over the various conferences organised by the Tamilnad

Congress. Apart from this he neither held any high office in the TNCC nor was interested in achieving one for himself. Therefore his work was to awaken the political consciousness of the slumbering masses in Tamil Nadu and of strengthening the hold of the Congress in the country. At a time where there was no Tamil orator worthy of the name, T. V. K. held the political platform by his eloquent oratory for well over two decades establishing a norm in political oratory. His signal contribution to the Congress was through his speeches, which we can rightly say prepared the ground for the growth of the Indian National Congress in Tamil Nadu. Another important contribution worthy of mention was the service he rendered to political journalism. T. V. K.'s Tamil daily *Desabhaktan* and weekly *Navasakti* voiced the political aims of the Congress and held a prominent position among the Tamil newspapers of those days. Their vigorous pronouncement, their bold ideas, their chaste and powerful diction and their scorching sarcasm were unsurpassed by any Tamil journal that was published in those days. Both the newspapers at once raised the tone of every Tamil paper in the country.

Though T. V. K. was recognized and respected as one of the three powerful leaders among the non-Brahmin leaders of his time in the TNCC (the other two being E. V. Ramasami Naicker and Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu), it is still an enigma why he did not rise to the top position even in the Tamilnad Congress. One possible explanation that we can offer is that he was not cut out to be an aggresive politician like some of his contemporaries. Even in politics he lived more in the realm of ideas, of ethics and of philosophies than in the province of practical politics. To substantiate this conclusion we have to recollect here the circumstances that led to his resignation from the TNCC. On knowing of the intentions of the leaders with regard to the future policy of the Tamilnad Congress after winning the elections, he should have remained within the Congress Working Committee to influence its policies rather than resign from it once and for all. But the reasons he advanced for his resignation from the Working Committee are best given in his own words.

> It is but natural that party politics might lead some leaders to unethical activities. In the case of men of principles they should either leave the party or sacrifice their conscience. I have experienced the evils of party politics and these have made me resign from the Tamilnad Congress Working Committee.[46]

In his later days, T. V. K. assumed the role of a political theoretician advocating a new political philosophy called *canmarkka araciyal* or eclectic type politics, drawing the best from various types of political ideologies. According to him the *Canmarkka araciyal* could be established in the world by assimilating the best in Gandhism and Marxism.

NOTES

1. B. G. Tilak's stirring slogan coined in 1905. See D V. Tahmankar, *Lokamanya Tilak, Father of Indian Unrest and Maker of Modern India* (London, 1956), p. 112.
2. R. C. Majumdar and others, *An Advanced History of India* (Calcutta, 1956). p. 980.
3. Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee, *Bipin Chandra Pal and India's struggle for Swaraj* (Calcutta, 1958), p. 83.
4. T. V. K., *Tiru Vi. Ka. Valkkaikkurippukkal* (Madras. 1944) pp. 225, 252-53.
5. T. V. K. *Intiyavum Vitutalaiyum* (Madras, 1940), p. 281.
6. T. V. K., *Tiru Vi. Ka. Valkkaikkurippukkal*, pp. 251-52. and *Intiyavum Vitutalaiyun*, p. 281.
7. T. V. K. *Intiyavum Vitutalaiyum*, pp. 226-27; Suddhananta Bharati, 'Gandhiyattin Pracarakar', in *Hanuman*, Tamil daily, (Madras, 22-8-1943), p. 4.
8. While referring to this particular incident, Suddhannanta Bharati in his article 'Gandhiyattin Pracarakar', paid a tribute to T. V. K. as a man who had resigned a good position (in those days a position in an English Company was considered priceless because of the assured good pay) long before Gandhi initiated the boycott movement.
9. T. V. K. *Intiyavum Vitutalaiyum*, p. 289; Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, pt. I, (Bombay, 1935), pp. 71-72.
10. T. V. K. , *Intiyavum Vitutalaiyum*, pp. 290-300; *Tiru Vi. Ka. Valkkaikkurip pukkal*.
11. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, The History of the Indian National Congress, pt. I, p. 126; R. C. Majumdar and others, *An Advanced History of India*, p. 980; T. V. K. Intiyavum Vitutalaiyum, p. 292; *Tiru Vi. Ka. Valkkaikkurippukkal*, pp. 245-46.
12. R. C. Majumdar and others, *An Advanced History of India*, p. 369.
13. Suddhananta Bharathi, 'Gandhiyattin Pracarakar' in *Hanuman*, p. 4.
14. The Madras Presidency Association was founded with the same principles of the Congress but pledged to work for the communities other than Brahmins in the Presidency of Madras. In fact its main aim was to counter the propaganda carried out by the Justice Party. T. V. K., *Tiru Vi. Ka. Valkkaikkurippukkal*, p. 260.
15. Ibid., pp. 246 & 258. 16. Ibid. p. 258. 17. Ibid. pp. 246 & 286. 18 D,V. Tahmankar, *Lokamanya Tilak* p. 300. 19. T. V. K. *Tamilt Tenral allatu Talaimap Polivu* 6th ed. (Madras 1957) pp. 116 – 18.
20. Pattabhi Sitaramayya: *The History of the Indian National Congress* pt. I,p. 161.
21. T. V. K., *Tiru Vi. Ka. Valkkaikkurippukkal* p. 309.

22. We learn from T. V. K.'s autobiography that he had given forewords to two books written in Tamil on the famous Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. One was a translation of a pamphlet in English issued by the Indian National Congress entitled Congress Statement on Punjab Massacre and the other was Swaminatha Sarma's Tamil work entitled 'April 1919'. Both the books are not available now. T. V. K. *Tiru Vi. ka. Valkkaikkurippukkal* p. 310.
23. T. V. K. *Tamil Tenral allatu Talamaip Polivu* p. 23. *Tiru Vi. Ka. Valkkaikkurippukkal* pp. 309-10.
24. T. V. K. *Tiru Vi. Ka. Valkkaikkurippukkal* p. 310.
25. During the First World War the British Premier Lloyd George pledged to the Indian Muslims that 'we are fighting not to deprive Turkey of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race'. Depending on the pledge of the Premier the Indian Muslims fought against their Islamic brothers. After the war the pledge was not fulfilled and therefore the Indian Muslims started a movement known as Khilaphat Movement in favour of the Sultan Caliph of Turkey to demand the pledge to be fulfilled.
Pattabhi Sitaramayya *The History of the Indian National Congress* pt. I, p. 189; H. R. Ghosal. *An Outline History of the Indian People* (Delhi 1962), p. iii.
26. T. V. K., *Tamil Tenral allatu Talamaip Polivu* pp. 166-67.
27. Ibid., pp. 254-55, 286; T. V. K. *Tiru Vi. Ka. Valkkaikkurippukkal* p. 324
28. T. V . K., *Tamilc-Colai allatu Katturait Tirattu*, pt. I, 3rd ed. (Madras. 1959). p. 137, *Navasakti*, 1 January 1925,
29 T. V. K., *Tiru Vi. Ka. Valkkaikkurippukkal*, p 325; Pattabhi Sitaramayya *The History of the Indian National Congress* pt. I, pp. 269-274.
30. *Navasakti*, 21 November 1924; T. V. K., *Tiru Vi. Ka. Valkkaikkurippukkal* p. 329.
31. Ibid. pp. 325-26.
32. Patna Resolution provided that the work in connection with the Indian and provincial Legislatures shall be carried on in accordance with the policy and programme laid down by the Swaraj Party under the constitution framed by the party and rules made thereunder, subject to such modifications made by the Congress as may be found necessary from time to time for the purpose of carrying out the said policy. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, pt. I, p. 289.
33. *Navasakthi*, 27 November and 18 December, 1925; T. V. K., *Tamilc-Colai allatu Katturait Tirattu*, pt. II, 2nd ed. (Madras, 1954), pp. 333-36; *Tiru Vi. Ka. Valkkaikkurippukkal*, pp. 377-79, 371-72.
34. Ibid., pp. 389-90.
35. *Navasakti*, 7 July 1926; T. V. K., *Tamilc-Colai allatu Katturait Tirattu*, pt. II, pp. 372-73. *Tiru. Vi Ka. Valkkaikkurippukkal*, pp. 390-91.

36. Ibid., pp. 396-97.
37. Ibid., pp. 399-401.
38. Ibid., pp. 404-405.
39. T. V. K., *Tiru Vi. Ka. Valkkaikkurippukkal*, p. 406.
40. T. V. K., *Intiyavum Vitutalaiyum*, pp. 314-18.
41. T. V. K., *Tiru Vi. Ka. Valkkaikkurippukkal*, p. 451.
42. T. V. K., *Intiyavum Vitulaiyum*, pp. 286-87.
43. Friendship Association was a social organization inaugurated with the efforts of Subbaraya Kamath, T. V. K. and others at Royapettah. Its patron and president was Mrs. Annie Besant. T. V. K. was its main administrator. It rendered remarkable service by opening schools in that part of the city of Madras. T. V. K., *Tiru Vi. Ka. Valkkaikkurippukkal*, pp. 255 & 414.
44. Ibid., p. 414.
45. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress* pt. I, p. 161.
46. T. V. K. *Tiru Vi. Ka. Valkkaikkurrippukkal* p. 453.

SECTION 7

ANCIENT LITERATURE

— UPTO 600 A.D.

THE WORLD AND LIFE AFFIRMATION IN TAMIL CANGKAM LITERATURE

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Even before the Aryan contact, and contacts with the merchants of Egypt and Babylonia, the Tamils had evolved and lived a highly developed life of their own which was shaped by them in tune with their environment.

The life of the Tamils, it may be graphically described, started on the hills, came down and developed in the forests adjoining the hills, evolved in the plains and reached a high state in the coastal areas of the country. They called the life on the hills *kurinji*, that in the forests as *mullai* that in the plains *marutam* and that on the coastal areas as *neytal* after the names of the flowers and trees peculiar to the respective regions. From this itself it will be evident that their life was one associated with and patterned after Nature.

In this environment of hills, forests, plains and coastal areas they did not face either storm or earthquake or extremes of heat and cold and so their life was happy and free from fear of the elements. Their efforts to obtain their needs of life from the hills, forests, plains and the sea yielded tenfold returns and naturally they spent their time happily and without any care. As a consequence of this state of welfare and plenty, they developed great faith in the life here itself. Life here was so bounteous and full that they did not even entertain thoughts of heaven or a life hereafter. Their life was one of joyous living. But it must be noted however that unlike the Charuvaka who was purely materialistic in thought and outlook and was mainly capricious, their life was governed by discipline and duty and charity and concern for the well-being of the entire community. This is the first state of their development.

They wanted to live and to live well achieving power and fame. They made wars and practised trade. They sought name and fame by deeds of valour and charity. Unlike the pharoahs of Egypt who tried to perpetuate their memory by preserving their dead bodies, some of the ancient Tamils tried to get lasting fame by means of their deeds of valour and charity and not by seeking to preserve the mortal flesh. Others pursued learning and became learned and proficient in various disciplines of knowledge ; yet others practised different arts and became artisans and

artists and achieved a life of lasting glory by their compositions, songs and fine-arts.' Thus people developed their way of living in this world itself as a fine art. This may be termed the second stage of their development.

Later contact with the Aryans and the clear view of the learned among them gave them an idea of the life hereafter. Ideas pertaining to renunciation gradually spread among them. However, they did not want to give up their faith in the life of this world. As against the heavenly life, they desired only the life on the earth and the glory and happiness of earthly life. This may be termed the third stage of their development.

They started thinking about the state of the soul after it left the body. Even that led only to the concepts of "exemplary life" and "life deserving the praise of the poets" to be lived here on earth. This is the fourth stage of their development.

Even after concepts like heavenly life found their way into their thinking, they still laid stress on the life here itself. Evidence is found in Tamil epics supporting this view. Kannaki is said to have stated "I do not want to give up sport even on the hill of the king Ceran Senkuttuvan.

Subsequently beliefs like destiny and the inviolability of fate also became familiar to the Tamils. They started thinking that life was like a float on the waters, the float merely following the course of the river. But even this belief did not diminish their zest for this worldly life ; on the other hand it seemed to have given an impetus to their faith in the life here. They felt that even for this destiny or fate, their own actions were responsible. Therefore, they started living an ethical life doing good deeds. They were not content to live thinking that their circumscribed Tamil homeland alone was the whole world. They developed the concept. "The whole world is our place ; all are our kin " embracing the entire humanity itself in their fold.

Thus, we learn from the cankam poetry that the ancient Tamils had faith in this world and worldly life and they lived a life of glory and happiness by valour and success, by charity and philanthrophy and by the invigorating performing arts and by ethical deeds.

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE ANCIENT TAMILS

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There is no unanimity of opinion regarding the original home of the Tamils. However, all research workers are agreed that the Tamils along with the Telugus, Kanarese, Malayali and connected tribes in the Southern peninsula constitute the Dravidian race, different from the Aryan race.

Vincent Smith has postulated the theory that the Dravidians entered India as the first wave of settlers and uprooted the aboriginals who were inhabiting the country. The Aryans, as another wave of settlers, came in strength and pushed the Dravidians to the south. There was an assimilation of the traits of both these cultures and a mixed culture was formed.

The Theory of the Lost Continent

The tradition of the loss of a vast continent by as deluge of the sea is too strong in the ancient Tamil classics, to be ignored by any serious type of enquiry. In fact, the first Tamil Sangam was said to have been functioning from South Madurai, in the lost continent. Ancient grammatical texts in Tamil and their later day commentators testify that River Pahruli and Kumari Mountain ranges were lost by a deluge, a Purananuru verse refers to the river Pahruli and Cilappatikaram mentions the deluge in which the Kumari continent was lost. Thiru K. Appaduraiyar has attempted to reconstruct the life and culture of the ancient Tamils in his work 'Kumarik Kandam' There were 49 divisions between River Pahruli and mountain Kumari.

The erudite commentator of Tolkappiyam Perasiriyar has stated that the Kumari river was left as cape Kumari after a deluge. Megastanes also speaks of a river which separated India from Ceylon. Adiyarkku Nallar has also explained the significance of the deluge which has swallowed large tracts of land in Tamil Nadu.

Ilango Adikal also speaks about the loss of the Kumari Mountain Ranges along with the river Pahruli

> Paktulhi aattudan Panmalai adukkattu
> Kumarik Koodum Kodungkadal Kolhlha;

Vadaticaik Kangaiyum Imaiyamum konhdu
Tenticai aanhda tennava vaali.

In order to offset the loss of Kumari Mountain and Pahruli river, Nilam taru tiruvil Pandiyan was reported to have marched towards the north and conquerred the Himalaya mountain and the river Ganges. He is hailed as the one who has added land to Tamil Nadu, Nilam Taru Tiruvil Pandiyan.

Language of the South

Tamil is denoted as the language of the South while Sanskrit is referred to as the language of the North. In Cilappatikaram King Cenkuttuvan swears 'Tentamil aattral kaanngutum'. Kambar also refers to this:

Entrumulha Tentamil Iyampi kisai kondhaan;

hence, Tamil is always the language of the South, 'Tentamil'. Sanskrit is referred to as the language of the North, Vadamoli, in the words of Ilango:.

'Vadamoli Vaacakam Ceyta Nalleedu':

It becomes evident that the origin of the Tamils, is to be found in the direction of the South. It is in vain that one searches for the origin of the South in the North. Such overwhelming internal evidence overrules the theories propounded by Western historians of India. The pioneer in this field of historical research is N. S. Kandaiah Pillai of Jaffna who has written about the lost Lemuria. K. Appaduraiyar has also brought out the close similar traits of culture between the Tamils and the Lemurians.

The Hypothesis of Father Heras

Father Heras in his Proto-Indo-mediterranean culture, has postulated the theory that the original home of man is to be found in the lost continent. He has further ventured to suggest that culture has spread to all the corners of the world only from this lost continent. He has also adduced many anthropological factors and archaeological evidences to support his theory. Although opinion has not settled down to a full acceptance of the hypothesis of Father Heras, it is being increasingly realised that it may be nearer the truth than any other.

The dawn of History in Tamil Nadu

Slowly the speculative type of historical research gives way to more concrete methods. With the advent of the knowledge of the Sangam classics, the light of history is shed on the dim past of the Tamils, and we are on sure grounds when we speak about the cultural heritage of the Tamils as bequeathed to us by the Sangam poetry.

The Classical Age

We shall confine our enquiry to the classical age of the Tamils. It is otherwise called the Sangam Age. Dr. Kailasapathy has chosen to name this as the Heroic Age. This splendid era is indeed the Golden Age of the history of Tamil Nadu. In the literary history of Tamil Nadu also, it occupies the same pree-minent position. The upper limit of this important period is shrouded in mystery. According to some scholars like the Devaneyappavanar it may extend backwards upto 5000B.C. on the other hand, Prof K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in his *History of South India* has opined that the beginning of the Christian era is also the beginning of the Sangam Age. However the truth lies somewhere in between these two theories. Somewhere about 500 B.C. the beginning of the classical age of the Tamils could be seen, as it would be incongruous to bring down the age of Tolkappiyam to any period after 300 B.C.

However there seems to be no significant difference of opinion in fixing the lower limit of the classical age of the Tamils. Dr. M. Arokiyasamy in his *Classical age the Tamils* has done well to rebut many of the presumptions of Thiru S. Vaiyapuri Pillai and to point out the negative attitude of Vaiyapuri Pillai based on negative evidence.

Codification of the Anthologies

It is a matter of great regret that many of the Sangam works have perished. In the first deluge, along with Kumari Mountain many literary works perished; in the second deluge Kapatapuram was swallowed up by the sea and once again many a literary work was lost.

The extant Tamil classics have been preserved in the anthologies, *Pattuppattu* and *Ettuttokai*. But for the efforts to codify the remaining Tamil works into anthologies, all of them would have perished. The codification might have been done after the ravages of the deluge, i.e. in the third century A.D.

In sharp contrast to the negative ideals of a life of negation propounded by the Sanskrit classics, the Tamils were a warlike people, unfortunately quarrelling among themselves and against the Northern kings.

Every youth was in constant readiness to go to the battlefield against the common enemy. Even if the wind lashes at the war drums the young men would arm themselves and march towards the outskirts of the village.

The martial traditions of the Tamils could be easily judged from the heroism of the mothers- one who had lost her husband and other elders hears the beating of the war drums and instinctively calls her only son, an young child, arms him with her own hands and sends him into the battlefield.

Another mother hears the news of the death of her son. She is not cowed down by the demise of her son but by the manner of his death. People told her that he has died while retreating from the battle field, receiving wounds at his back. She is ashamed and enraged so much so that she wants to cut off her breasts that fed him if the news of his ignominous death were true. She proceeds to the field and after a long search finds out the body of her son and gets elated that he has died like a hero receiving wounds at his chest. The heroic mother was overjoyed as much as when she gave birth to him.

iinTa njaanTinum perituvantanale

The Breadth of Vision

Perhaps due to the maritime commerce of the Tamils, they came into contact with other cultures like the Greek and the Roman and their breadth of vision got enlarged. The famed post Kaniyan Pungunranar has declared:

'Every village is ours and all are our kith and kin'

'Yaatum uuree Yaavarum Keelhir'. In the same vein he declares that we would not wonder at great men much Less cavil at small men.

Cosmopolitan Character

The port cities of Tamil Nadu especially Kaverippum pattinam were cosmopolitan in character. Due to frequent international commerce, many languages were spoken in Poompuhar. Uruttiram Kannanar refers to this in Pattinappalai:

Moli Pala Perukiya
Pali illar Ṭeeyattu'

The port city of Korkai has been referred to by foreign travellers like Megasthanes. Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has dwelt upon this in greater length in his 'Foreign Notices of South India'. The impact of foreigners was felt more at the west coast and its ports especially Vanji which is however no longer traceable.

The Maritime Commerce of the Tamils

In India, the Tamils were the first to cross the seas in search of a market for their products. They travelled far and wide in the seas from the Chinese coast

land in the East to Rome in the West. Normally they sailed with the seasonal winds and came back. Pepper, ivory, gems etc. were exported and export duty was also imposed.

Ulku ceyak kutaivu padaatu
Pal panhdam pakarntu viicum.

All this has been attested by the notes left by foreign travellers. Roman coins have also been found in the coastal areas of Tamil Nadu.

Sangam Polity

Tamil Nadu was ruled mostly by the three crowned kings of Ceras, Colas and Pandiyas. They were also petty chieftains, who constantly switched their loyalty from one king to another.

The power of the monarch was absolute. He had certain advisory councils like *Aimperunkulu* and *Enperayam*. The composition and the colour of these councils are not clear. The king held court every morning and matters of war and peace were discussed there. The king's councillors were there only in an advisory capacity and the advice tendered by the ministers and other councillors could be easily overruled by the king, the royal decision being final.

Status of Women

According to Dr. S. Krishnamurthy who has done research in Sangam polity, the queen merely sat by the side of the king. There is no instance in which she has participated in the deliberations of the council. Even in '*Valakkurai katai*' of *Cilappatikaram*, Kopperuntevi remains a passive spectator until it is too late to mend the affairs and she ends her life along with her husband.

There were no doubt many women poets like Avvaiyar and Kakkaippadiniyar. However woman had a say in the social life of the Tamils. Her dominion was confined to her house; she might sometimes even refuse admission to her erring husband.

Society expected women alone to be chaste. Men were free to have their own way. Even the great patron of arts, Pekan was guilty of deserting his wife and living with a concubine.

Marriage and Family

The concept of love at first sight was in vogue. Such union of hearts was considered as the inevitable effect of destiny. Even pre-marital intercourse was allowed but it had invariably to be followed by marriage. In this it differs from the gandarva form of marriage.

Concubinage was widely prevalent and there was even some degree of co-existence but not co-habitation of the wedded wife along with other concubines.

Once again in sharp contrast to the Sanskrit tradition of conferring education to one community, education was common to all sections of the society. In *Pattupaattu* and *Ettuttokai*, many poets hailed from the potters, farmers, gipsies, merchants, brahmins and the like. The existence of women poets also indicates that a high degree of literacy was found in women.

Classification of Subjec Matter

The classical division of subject matter is two-fold-Akam and puram, the former indicating family life and the later social life,. The three-fold classification of the subject as *aram, porul, inpam* is also as old as *Tolkappiyam.*

Inpamum porulhum aramenTaangu
Anpodu punharta aintinhai.

However, the order of classification is *Aram, Porul, Inbam* and not the reverse, as suggested by *Tolkappiyam.* It is clearly stated in Purananuru,

CiTappudai marapin porulhum inpamum
Atattu valippatum tooTTam poola.

Vidu seems to have been a later addition.

Tinai Turai traditions

The grammar of life, Pourl ilakkiyam as revealed in Tolkappiyam, is unique. The systematisation of situations in love life and war conditions as *akam* and *puram* is something unknown to other cultures. It is the direct result of the evolution of a high degree of culture and civilization. However in the long run, the strict divisions of *tinai-turai* traditions is the geographical traditions of the hilly, regions, pastoral regions, the plains and the sea shore (*kurinji, mullai, neytal, marutam*) and seasons and time were included in the division of Mutal porul, the flora and fauna in Karupporul and the human tendencies of union, separation, waiting at home, plaintive sorrowing and sulking are known as *uripporul.*

Religious Tolerance

The Sangam age was truly remarkable for its tolerance. The temples of Siva, Vishnu, and Murugan, and of the Jains and the Buddhists co-existed. Festivals were also conducted without any conflict. The state was not secular in the modern

sense of the word, the king had his own personal preferences regarding religion, but he did not impose his view on his subjects.

Thus the culture and civilization of the Tamils in the classical age presents a many sided splendour in the material prosperity. Storeyed buildings and broad streets, and rural prosperity land trade and international commerce, and find their place in their life, mental refinement, breadth of vision, cosmopolitan character, and noble mode of warfare characterised their outlook.

THE BACKGROUND MYTH IN SANGAM POETRY

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Great poets like Dante, Milton and Yeats have the Myths, already existing, (as in the case of the former two, or imagined through his own vision as in the case of the last) as the background for their poetry, which apart from helping them to arrive at exquisite compressed compositions and therefore unforeseen power of statements thanks to their allusive potentialities, develop, with all their richness and depth, their vividness and vitality, new dimensions for their vision.

Sangam poets had probably their age-long native mythology as their art-motif. They had utilised the rich mythologies of the five-fold geographical regions of Tamil land prescribed even in their own times as a living tradition, which the poets trace to the vision, idealised, each region with its own scene of beauty and perfection, its own alloted time of the day when its spirit will be revealed in all its glory and splendour, positive or negative as the case may be, with their varied and beautiful flora and fauna, with their culture-heroes and culture-heroines apart from various strata of men and women characteristic of the particular region following according to the nature of the soil and exigencies of the times their own respective livelihoods through various trades and occupation, enjoying their own foods and dresses, their ornaments and decorations, feasts and festivities, games and pastimes, above all their own music and dance all inspired by the respective aspects of God-head, with their beliefs and customs mythologies and rituals, all their lives moving on the twin lines of the interior drama of love of the soul, and on the exterior drama of war and peace, both lines being ultimately one, a veritable spectrum continuously and divinely inspired, humanistically cultured, a living whole of Man and Nature synthesising unconsciously the conscious, marching towards the goal of perfect expression as it were of the concrete, absolute though starting as all myths, with primordial arche-types.

The inner reality, the basis, of everything is love, of which external manifestations are everything else in the world. The poets concentrate more on the inner truth, explaining its significant value through a human drama of rich love from the human points of view. It may be considered as having three aspects – 1. Where there is love on both sides as though continuing through a series of births (known as *anpin aintinai*). 2. Where there is only love on one side as least to start with though the love on the other side may develop later on or not (known as *kaikkilai*). 3. Where

there is love on neither side at the beginning, here again developing later on one side or both or neither (known as *perunthinai*). The first is the ideal love, the pre-marital love leading to wed lock, a permanent union. It has fivefold aspects – 1. Coming together in love of a man and a woman in this birth, as though under a scheme of God or nature is *kurinchi* of the mountain regions; 2. Separation is *paalai*, best exemplified in the arid or desert like region; 3. Despair is *neytal* of the desolate sea and coastal beach; 4. sulking is the *marudam* of the cities of agricultural civilisation nurturing the institution of prostitutes, creating suspicion in domestic life; 5. the domestic happiness or expectation of that happiness at the alloted time for the return of the hero, often with a heavy heart when the return is delayed is *mullai* of the pastoral regions.

These inner aspects of various kinds of love have their external worldly manifestations in various walks of life. Love and War are two extreme poles – but on the same scale from a higher point of view. Charity and Dharma depend on love. "Love is the basis for heroism and war" says Tirukkural. Mountainous region symbolises here the opening of a battle or leading to war usually taking the form of cattle-lifting leading to drive the enemy's cattle to a place of safety. In each one of the aspects of war, there will be the offensive and the defensive actions. The *mullai* here represents the siege and the counter attack. The *marutam* represents the skirmish in offensive and defensive. Neytal is the pitched battle of competing individual heroes. *Paalai* represents separation from others by one's unique victory. This victory is not only on the battle field but also in any walk of life, achieving unequalled excellence. This is known as *vaakai.* This shows that other aspects of war could also be allegorically applied to other walks of life, though that has not been attempted.

The internal aspect of one sided love (*kaikkilai*) has the corresponding external aspect in patronage, when the patron aspires for glorification of his fame, while the patronised artist – a poet or a musician – adequately aspiring for presents. That aspect of life where there is no love on both sides (*perunthinai*) corresponds to what is sung in the Sangam poetry as evanescent life, preaching, however, not a philosophy of negation but a philosophy of action, as quickly as possible in the right time, for one knows not when the call of death will come. Here the poetry of life, and the poetry of love thus express the human drama.

The poets concentrate on the human drama, all else coming only as the basic drama stage and the scenic background, giving the necessary light and shade, colour and form, the impetus and the retaining force for the full bloom of the fundamental truth of the universe with all its varied aspects and progression, which alone form the real theme of the drama – that which belongs to the drama considered as urip-porul. The basic drama stage in the poetry rightly called mutarporul is the space-time continuum of the respective regions with their characteristic season and time

of the day. All other aspects known as *karupporul* depend as the flesh and blood which clothe this skeleton; usually referred to as *uripporul* and mutarporul, the things which collectively form a whole. Here the part represents the whole universe of the human drama and in that way a symbol of the whole universe – the total structure of the human drama in the Poetry of the Sangam genre.

Sangam verses are dramatic monologues, giving expression to the one unique poetic moment revealing the depth, value and significance of the suggested inner reality of love. It is a speech of a character, *kurru* in the drama of Love. What goes before it and what follows after it are left to the imagination of the reader who has therefore to be equally a creative artist and not a passive spectator. It is therefore an open-ended unit and its significance is made clear by the picturesque expressions of the poetic moment. Here is a short story in the form of a short short speech of one character, a drama concentrated in the one speech of a character. This is indeed exquisite compression, but the poets still further aim at greater brevity and have come to use the fulness of the myths with their symbolic elements.

The significance of the symbolic nature of anyone of the details of these myths is the secret of the greatness of Sangam poetry. The symbols being part of the universal drama take their colour and suggestive significance from the kaleidoscopic projection of the inward variegated aspects of love as though the external and the internal were reflecting each other in an orderly progressive series. Sangam poetry is full of such myths, but the myth becomes a symbol of ever deepening strata of meaning. These are meanings, not figures of speech; but for want of suitable terms, we shall refer to them as *ullurai*, the suggestion or personification and *iraicci* the metaphor, when away from the thing compared, and the thing compared with a kind of reality transcending them to ever progressive layers of meaning. One behaves as though Nature has a characteristic of its own, but since both Man and Nature form one whole arising from the same origin, they reveal the inner aspects. Nature coming as the background is but a projection of human drama. Everything in Nature beats in unison with the heart of the hero and the heroine. The landscape becomes the inscape and every description of Nature is a part of the description of the human action in the drama of love.

Therefore the poets are not slaves to convention as it was sometimes assumed. They are only using the myths of the five-fold regions as an art motif, giving them a valuable and rich framework for their story and drama. Even here they introduce their innovations through their creative ingenuity. The birds and trees as stated can be found in regions other than their own in which they are noted.

There is also the possibility of these regions forming one whole background for the various aspects of love and this is known as *tinai mayakkam*, adhuambrated in the description of the lands of the patrons. Apart from these, there are more

subtle suggestions. The heroine speaks of her love being sweet and ever fresh, every moment. This could be an expression of domestic happiness and *mullai* of the pastoral region. But using this happiness as the happiness in its full bloom in the background, she harps back to the days of the clandestine meetings of the hero and the heroine which has been made possible by her companion, and thanks her for those happy moments of the past. In this way a poetic scene is given from the *mullai*, which begins as a background, projects the kurinji or clandestine love.

Again, ordinarily during the clandestine meetings, the companion begs the hero for the marriage, explaining the depth as well as the despair inherently involved in such meetings and changing often the time and the place of meeting. One poet thinks of these girls of the kurinji feeling a kind of fraternal companionship with the trees, and therefore they were afraid of embracing the hero in the presence of sisters, namely the trees. This idea of universal sisterhood with Nature suggests the close of any further meeting and therefore in this lies the feeling of despair. Thus here instead of the sentiments of kurinji, one has *neytal* sentiments, revealing the symbol and the myth of tinai mayakkam of Sangam poetry.

One may call into question such interpretations as reading our modern ideas into the ancient poems. But unfortunately there is an old colophon to a poem in *Akannanuru*. In this poem the hero gives expression to his own experience whilst passing through the dreary and frightful desert. Where the jungle fire spreads from one dry tree to another, covering thus the whole area and thereby, erasing all points of reference for finding out the proper route, and where therefore the elephant aong with the group of traders loses its way but gets thereatened by a tiger. He runs away in fear. Fortunately he reaches his own horde. There the sun sets and he lays down asleep. All of a sudden, as though he has fallen into a dream as it were on his bed, he sees his lady-love but in a sulky mood. He then passes his hand on her beautiful tresses of hair, pleading that 'Why she has this sulky mood when he is in this condition?' But he finds he is passing his hands on nothing. He has now returned from his travels to her to the happy home. This return must be *mullai* ordinarily. But the heroine overwhelmed by the pangs of separation being also hurt by assuming his neglect of her in undertaking the travel – feelings which have not yet subsided even on his safe return, asks in a sulky mood "Did you ever think of us whom you had left behind?" She must have been full of this assumed insult and so the consequent sulky mood. He was also in the same mood even in his dream in the desert. To this question the hero replies, and then narrates the dream in the desert. The sulky mood may represent *marudam*. But the sulky mood seems to be the mood of the heroine. Her question itself related to the past. The past dream in the cruel desert is, then, the very life of the poem. The past, which becomes the significant present, explaining to her the present situation very graphically is the very life of the poem – a graphic expression of the

pangs of separation signifying the dream by focussing it on the present moment of her question. Therefore, this is *paalai*,. The description of the *paalai* desert is graphic indeed to increase the significance of the message of the poem. It adds that this poem is *paalai* as is made clear by the mutarporul or the background region. Therefore we find the ancient tradition itself pointing out these strong ties. Note also Tolkappiyar speaks of "*Uripoorul allana mayankavum perume*".

Hence the importance we call the myth of the five-fold regions. They come as inscapes as reflecting the inner drama of love, using the appropriate chord in the drama of nature. They are not mere poetic cohesion but concrete reality to the inward drama. We are not here speaking of *Puranas* found as allusions in Sangam literature.

REFRACTIONS IN AKAM POETRY

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We are accustomed to think that society and arts are simplistic images of one another like a reflection found in a mirror. But modern comparitists like Harry Levin point out that 'books are not reflections so much as refractions of life'.

The word 'refraction' can be defined as "the fact of phenomenon of a ray of light, heat, the sight etc. being diverted or deflected from its previous course in passing obliquely out of one medium into another of different density or in traversing a medium not of uniform density". The actual refraction can be gauged by following the angle at which it has been reflected.

Factors Connected with Refraction

In nature refractions take place in different media. For instance, the rays of the sun get refracted in the atmosphere, water etc. But when the refraction is deliberately diverted through a prism, the factual truth 'VIBGYOR' can be visibly recorded. The seven colours thus observed by the ancients through natural refraction, symbolized these colours as the seven horses of the sun god.

Theory of Refraction in Literature

The thought process of refraction in literature can be established by various factors, according to the situation and theme of the poetic composition. For example, *Akam* poetry is said to be a different and distinct genre from *Puram* poetry of the classical period. But when we gauge the angle of refraction of poets' thought through the form and theme it can well be established that these two types are only conventional classification and mutually complementary and not to be attributed as of different genres.

Theme and form

The theme and form of *Akam* and *Puram* poetry are almost similar with regard to background and description, i.e. in the landscape (முதல்) and topographical features (கரு). But so far as the intrinsic stratum is concerned the description in poetic theme and the prescription of subject matter, there are subtle differences. The distinction in generic composition between *Akam* and *Puram* poetry can be referred to the inner form only. *(சுட்டி ஒருவர்ப் பெயர் கொளப் பெறார்.) Akaval* metre forms the major outer form of both *Akam* and *Puram* poems.

Situation and Theme

A mental review of the love situation based on the conventional theme reveals and identifies the landscape of Tamil nadu which are common factors for both types of poems.

The singer of Akam theme takes the reader to a place where the author is not a lover himself/herself as member of the dramatic monologue.

Problem No. 1. Where did the composition of Akam poetry take place?

Problem No. 2. Is it a personal love lyric?

Problem No. 3. How can refractions of poets' thought be gauged in Akam poetry?

(Though these three problems are raised here, they are not answered serially in this article as they are interrelated.)

It can be said that Akam poetry is the drama of the mind, whereas Puram poetry is the drama of the situation itself.

In Puram poetry the reader's mind easily gains general appraisal of Puram situation without much difficulty. One can easily analyse the poems of Puram situations under threefold classifications. They are: 1) Songs sung in royal courts (அவைக்களத்தில் பாடியவை), (2) Under war situations at the battle-front (அமர்க்களத்தில் பாடியவை), (3) In war situations at the courts (அமர்க்களச் சூழலில் அவைக்களத்தில் பாடியவை)

If these are the three situations under which the poets of the Sangam period composed Puram poetry then on what did they base Akam poetry is a pertinent question.

The love poems of Shelley and Shakespeare may be classified as love lyrics of a personal nature. The love poems of Akam type are experiences and expressions of the then generation with leanings to court situation.

It can be seen that the instrinsic stratum of all tinai in Akam except *Kurinji* is separation in one form or the other. Tolkappiyar gives the clue that separation takes place under three circumstances. (ஓதல் பகையே தூதிவை பிரிவே). Hence all such activities can only be attributed to a hero who leads a life of chivalry. கல்வி தறுகண் இசைமை கொடையெனச் சொல்லப்பட்ட பெருமிதம் நான்கே. Hence the ideals and ambition of the hero for name and fame can be achieved through the aforesaid activities. If separation of the hero from the happy life with the heroine could be attributed to commercial activities, w have no internal evidence

to prove such attitude of the hero. Besides, it is not known as to what sort of trade the hero of the Akam resorted to.

In order to gauge the refractions of Akam poetry in this paper only two aspects are taken up for consideration. Whenever the poet imagines the hero he refers to him as a valorous hero.

The war situations mentioned in Akam poetry make us wonder as to why the Sangam poets brought similes and epithets pertaining to Puram i.e., war activities for their description. For instance, the Akam hero is referred to with epithets as *மை அணல் காளை, வன்கண் காளை* etc. Further, the hero of the Akam poetry is described as *வஞ்சினக்காளை (ஐங். 372); அம்புஅமைவல்வில், காளை (ஐங். 373; கடுங்கண் காளையொடு நெடுந்தேர் ஏறி (ஐங். 385).*

Fighting for the sake of getting a bride is a common feature mentioned under the theme of *மகட்பாற் காஞ்சி.* If war situation is clearly indicated in Akam poetry it becomes Puram in its label. The song of Nakkannaiyar can be cited as an example. Though there is no mention of the name of the hero in the text of the Nakkannaiyar's poems, they were classified as Puram, because of the fighting situations found in them.

Mullai tinai vividly describes the return of the hero from the battle field. (*வினை முற்றி மீளும் தலைவன்*). The word *vinai* is an indication of the hero of royal status, returning to meet the heroine as per schedule. The word *vinai* in Sangam literature invariably refers to the men in action. (For example: *வினை நவில் குதிரை; வினைநவில் யானை; வினையேஆடவர்க்கு உயிரே*). The return of the hero in *Neythal kali* is described as:

ஆய்இழை மடவரல் அவலம் அகல
பாய்இருட் பரப்பினைப் பகல்களைந்தது போல்
போய் அவா மண்வெளவி வந்தனர்
சேய்உறை காதலர் செய்வினை முடித்தே

—கலி. செய்தல். 118

மயங்கமர் மாறட்டு மண்வெளவி வருபவர்
தயங்கிய களிற்றின்மேற் றகைகாண விடுவதோ. *கலி. 31*

பகைவென்று திறைகொண்ட பாய்திண்டேர் மிசையவர்.
கலி. 3

It is obvious that the heroes referred to in Akam poems are mostly warriors, chieftains and kings.

Akam-Puram

Out of 307 poets who have sung Akam poems, 89 of them have sung about Puram. About 77 of them have sung both in Akam and Puram classification.

It can be seen that Akam poems bear the testimony of the names of kings and their deeds in the art of warfare either in the form of simile or in the form of description.

To a certain extent, the thought refractions of the poets who sang Akam poems can be traced here. The convention forbids revealing the names of the hero in Akam context. In most of the Puram poems there are no references to the names of the kings except at the colophon where footnotes denote the name of the author and name of the hero.

As such, the Akam and Puram poems of Sangam are mutually complementary and only the war situation ascribed to Puram heroes makes the distinction for conventional classification.

JUSTICE IN ANCIENT TAMIL LITERATURE

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"Justice is the first virtue of social institutions as truth is of systems of thought. A theory, however, elegant and economical, must be rejected or revised if it is untrue: likewise laws and institutions no matter how efficient and well arranged, must be reformed or abolished if they are unjust. Each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override. For this reason justice denies that the loss of freedom for some is made right by a greater good shared by others. It does not allow that the sacrifices imposed on a few are outweighed by the larger advantages enjoyed by many".

This echo of John Rawls finds consonance in the evergreen evolution of Justice in ancient Tamil Literature. The more specific sense Aristotle gives to Justice and from which the most familiar formulation derives is that of refraining from pleonexia, that is from gaining some advantage for oneself by seizing what belongs to another, his property, his reward, his office and the like, or by denying a person that which is due to him: the fulfilment of a promise, the repayment of a debt, the showing of proper respect and so on. Even a casual study of charismatic and celestial Tamil Literature would reflect the deep and indelible imprint of Aristotle's theorem of justice.

Ubiquitous divinity was universally associated with the unfettered Ruler, the King in olden days. King was the altar of Justice and Justice was embodied in the King. The precious *Puranaanuru* proclaims:

நெல்லும் உயிரன்றே நீரும் உயிரன்றே
மன்னன் உயிர்த்தே மலர்தலை உலகம். (186: 1-2)

Neither the Paddy nor the water
Maketh the soul but the Ruler,
Breath of the World, the King.

The greater fountainhead of justice was the king and found in his handsome hands as the sceptre of the land. A single salient and unique word "Irai" (இறை) distinctly denotes a dual meaning, the king and God. Protection of the people in the Universe is the primary project and function of the Omniscient Almighty. Safeguarding and sheltering of his subjects is the spirit and sacred task of the Ruler. This duty of the King is dispassionately defined in the immortal Couplet:

முறைசெய்து காப்பாற்றும் மன்னவன் மக்கட்
கிறைஎன்று வைக்கப் படும். (Kural 388)

Duly and decisively defends his subjects, he be the king,
Holy God he'll be – hails the world.

Failure in his fair administration would foretell fatality to his Empire, forewarns the fragrant couplet again:

நாடொறும் நாடி முறைசெய்யா மன்னவன்
நாடொறும் நாடு கெடும். (Kural 553)

Deliberation and distribution of Justice be the day-to-day duty of a king,
Deviation and transgression of this daily rhythm cause doom to his land and beings.

The priceless *Puranaanuru* pinpoints the principal performance of a king as rendering of justice and that duty is paramount. Justice shall be the just and primary concern of the princely ruler.

அறநெறி முதற்றே அரசின் கொற்றம் (குறள் 551)

Crown of the king crowns first jutice. Administration of justice was the adorable and ardent directive enforced upon the king in ancient literature.

Sagacious kings found saturation in the celebration of the administration of justice than countering and conquering encounters. Dauntless and daring hero of Talayalanganam fame Pandiyan Nedunchezhain throws a challenge and takes a ceremonious vow:

என்நிழல் வாழ்நர் செந்நிழல் காணாது
கொடியன் எம் இறை' யெனக் கண்ணீர் பரப்பிக்
குடிபழி தூற்றுங் கோலேன் ஆகுக. (Puranaanuru 72: 10-12)

If I were to fail to win the victory, let me be the object of scorn and scolding of my subjects and let them accuse me as if I fail to afford grace of shadow and shelter to them.

This beautiful piece of literature prescribes the kingly command. It envisages the imperative duty of a king and his inborn trait and in–lit spirit for protecting the people under his rule. The oft quoted episode of Porkai Pandiyan reinforces the concrete structure of justice in ancient Tamil kingdom as disclosed by the Tamil literature.

To ensure that justice instills confidence in the minds of the aggrieved who approaches the altar of justice, what a king did would establish that fair and free and confidence-combined trial was prevalent in those days. Equally it elucidates the exuberant presence of juristic disposition of mind in a young king. It was King Karikalan in his tender youth who had to decide a dispute between two litigants who came to his court with their respective grievance and problem. The tender aged appearance of the young king meandered in the minds of the litigants.

Their face was the index of their mind. Observing absence of optimism and spotting the secret fear in their eyes, the young king absented himself from the crowd promising to procure an older man to arbitrate. Then appeared on the scene an old, spotlessly-white bearded, wrinkle-faced judge attired in an age-worn robe with experience of written in between the wrinkles. Rendering of justice by this aged saint was held in reverence by the parties to the litigation. After accepting the unambiguons gratitude of the aggrieved parties for his correct adjudication, the old man vanished and in his place emerged the young king radiating in brilliance. Everybody hailed his immaculate judgement. The verse that portrays the scene is:

உரைமுடிவு காணான் இளமையோன் என்ற
நரை முது மக்கள் உவப்ப — நரைமுடித்துச்
சொல்லால் முறைசெய்தான் சோழன் குலவிச்சை
கல்லாமல் பாகம் படும்'' —பழமொழி நானூறு 7.

This portrayal brings to the fore the tone and tenor of the judges in ancient Tamil land and spotlights the most spelt out judicial theorem that a true judge is one that justifies the decision to the acceptance and appreciation of the defeated litigant.

Imprints of justice are found implanted in important locations as seats of justice in ancient Tamil literature. To wit, Uraiyur a place nearer Trichy earlier known as Uranthai was the place where the Temple of justice was built beautified and glorified. *Akanaanuru* partakes in the fame of this holy land by pronouncing:

'அறங்கெழு நல்லவை உறந்தை அன்ன' —Akananuru 93 : 5.

Courts were founded on this graceful ground and *Silappathikaaram* hails them as *அறங்கூறவையம்*. Speaking about the same and singling out its grandeur and greatness, *Maduraikkanchi* mentions:

செற்றமும் உவகையுஞ் செய்யாது காத்து
ஞெமன்கோ லன்ன செம்மைத் தாகி
சிறந்த கொள்கை அறங்கூ றவையம் —489-91

Unbridled with attachment and unaffected by ecstasy or wrath exposing the untruth and exploring the real veracity and expounding the justice was the incarnate and imperative command of the court (i. e. *அறங்கூறவையம்*.) These lines carry our memory to the immortal *Tirukkural* which defines justice as the unbiased and un-illusioned exposition of the real cause:

''ஓர்ந்து கண்ணோடாது இறைபுரிந்து யார்மாட்டும்
தேர்ந்து செய்வதே முறை'' (Thirukural 541)

Classics of our ancient Tamils reveal that Kosar administered justice efficiently and excelled in their judgement and disposition.

''ஒன்று மொழி கோசர்''
''வாய்மொழி நிலைஇய சேண் விளங்கு நல்லிசை
வளங்கெழு கோசர் *(12)*

Akananuru 196, 205.

The verses make reference to their meticulous maintenance of justice at all costs and their unstinted and unequivocal aim and ambition for the establishment of uncorrupted and omnipotent truth,. *Kurunthokai* comes to establish the aforesaid conclusion in inmitable terms:

''பறைபடப் பணில மார்ப்ப இறை கொள்பு
தொன்மூ தாலத்துப் பொதியிற் றோன்றிய
நா லூர்க் கோசர் நன்மொழி போல
வாயா கின்றே'' — 15

Emulating one another, imperial justice never found discrimination on the basis of sex, caste, creed or race. The offender be he young or old, be he a beautiful damsel or a barracking bull-like bachelor, was punished mercilessly and the axe of justice sailed into the offender smoothly without any fear or favour. Every king had and possessed an individual and exceptional tree known as "Guarding Tree". (*காவல் மரம்*). Standing on the banks of a full flooded river was a mango tree of a king named Nannan. A slim, slender and imperious young girl, bathing in the river found a fallen mango from the tree inside the river and tasted it. The angered king, rejecting the compensation of 81 elephants and gold equivalent to her weight imposed capital punishment on the blossoming young head, for the offence of theft. *Kurunthokai* paints the picture in a telling and moving manner:

மண்ணிய சென்ற ஒள்நுதல் அரிவை
புனல்தரு பசுங்காய் தின்றதன் தப்பற்கு
ஒன்பதிற்று ஒன்பது களிற்றொடு அவள் நிறை
பொன் செய் பாவை கொடுப்பவும் கொள்ளான்
பெண்கொலை புரிந்த நன்னன் போல. *(292)*

Sitting in judgment over the conduct of this king Nannan the sagacious Kosar planned the way for the murder of the king for the inflicting of death sentence on their dear delicate damsel. *Paranar* picturises the scene of retaliatory and retributory act of Kosar in the following lines in *Kurunthokai:*

நன்னன், நறுமா கொன்று நாட்டிற் போகிய
ஒன்று மொழி கோசர் போல
வன்கட் சூழ்ச்சியும் வேண்டுமாற் சிறிதே. *(73)*

This incident carves out the theory that King is not above the Law in ancient Tamil land, contrary to the common conception prevalent in England and other continental countries. Further evidence is forthcoming from the pen of a foreign traveller Marco Plolo who visited India in the 12th century and extensively toured

Tamil nadu. The practice of drawing a circle around a debtor and detaining him within it till he discharged the dues was dominant in ancient Tamil land. A circle was drawn around a Tamil King by an Arab merchant for the balance of consideration for a horse, he sold and delivered to the King. The King fairly felt for the wrong done to the merchant and remaining within the circle, cleared the loan and then, came out, thus rendering justice to his own in the course of discharge of his daily administration of justice.

Immaculate upholding of justice was a tradition founded on a solid base in the ancient Tamil states. *Silappadikaram* speaks out the immediate surrender of life to the cause of justice which was rendered blemishly by the Pandiya King. The king repents and rebuking his own self cries:

> பொன்செய் கொல்லன் தன் சொல் கேட்ட
> யானோ அரசன்? யானே கள்வன்— வழக்குரை காதை 73, 74

and succumbs to the sin done by him to the innocent Kovalan. Justice was revered and respected more than one's own life and the injustice administered ended with the sacrifice of his life by the king at the altar of justice.

Noncommittal judgement and neutral decisions were the necessary ingredient and equipment for every single soul of a judge, however high the kingly throne he may occupy. Evolving upon the endowed qualities of a judge, *Puranaanuru* focusses our attention to:

> அறநிலை திரியா அன்பின் அவையத்து
> திறனில் ஒருவனை நாட்டி மெலிகோல்
> செய்தே னாகுக.

Emphasising these exemplary qualities, *Puradaanuru* embarks upon the enunciation of these essential requisites of a rightful judge as:

> வழிபடுவோரை வல்லறி தீயே
> பிறர்பழி கூறுவோர் மொழிதே றலையே
> நீமெய் கண்ட தீமை காணின்
> ஒப்ப நாடி அத்தக வொறுத்தி
> வந்தடி பொருந்தி முந்தை நிற்பின்
> தண்டமும் தணிதி பண்டையிற் பெரிதே.

Tracking the culprits trying them and punishing them with chastisement tantamount to the gravity of the offence committed was the responsibility of a king in his administration of justice. Sekkizhar in his *Periapuranam* calls upon the king to ensure safety to his subjects from intruders. thieves, wrongs from and by officialdom, enemies and wild animals. While endorsing these basic duties,

elders of that age insisted upon the inevitable presence of these qualities in a king as a judge. Tiruvalluvar also insists:

கொலையிற் கொடியாரை வேந்தொறுத்தல் பைங்கூழ்
களைகட் டதனொடு நேர்.

Remove the reed from the blossoming plant,
The same way chastise the murderer-
That is the duty of a king.

Ambiguity in one's case can be dispelled and destroyed by definite evidence. The word "evidence" derivative from Latin "evidere" means "to show clearly; to make plain certainly; to ascertain; to prove". "Evidence" says Blackstone, "signifies that which demonstrates, makes clear or ascertains the truth of every fact or point in issue, either on one side or on the other". Evidentiary value of a document excels an eloquent elaboration in the classic of *Periapuranam.* At the wedlock ceremony of Sundarar, Lord Siva disguising as a brahmin claims control and authority over Sundarar. A dispute ensues and evidence was asked for by the mediators who embark upon an enquiry to elicit the truth. A written document said to be in the handwriting of Sundarar's ancestor was produced to prove the claim. Deliberately denying, the groom Sundarar destroyed the evidence by tearing the palmyrah leave containing the writing. Enraged but earnestly and eloquently explaining the patient Siva exposed that the document was only a duplicate and the original was safely kept back by him. The Lord enticed away Sundarar to his abode, the Temple. This demonstration describes the distinction and difference between primary and secondary evidence as the same is now known today in the books of law. How naturally the principles are firmly established is a treatise on evidence enshrined in our Tamil literature.

ஆட்சியில் ஆவணத்தில்
அன்றிமற்று அயலார் தங்கள்
காட்சியில் மூன்றில் ஒன்று
காட்டுவாய் என்ன முன்னே
மூட்சியில் கிழித்த ஓலை
படியோலை மூல ஓலை
மாட்சியில் காட்ட வைத்தேன்
என்றனன் மாயை வல்லோன் —தடுத்தாட்கொண்ட புராணம்-56

Main limb of judicial pronouncements and administration of law is what is known as Precedents. Precedents play a paramount part in polishing the Law and focussing the final pronouncement. Pondering over precedents is promptly referred to in *Silappathikaaram:*

அரைசுகோல் கோடினும் அறங்கூ றவையத்து
உரைநூல் கோடி ஒருதிறம் பற்றினும்
—இந்திரவிழவூர் எடுத்தகாதை—135-136

அறங்கூறவையத்து உரைநூல் -கோடி refers to the abundant availability of precedents and how they are followed without any deviation or difference of, opinion is emphasized in these lines. After the sudden and sad demise of Dasaratha in the words of mourning Kosalai, Kambar refers to the joy of a person finding a precedent after a thorough and untiring search burning even midnight oil. Kambar gives a frame and attention to this idea in his composition:

> "வேள்விச் செல்வம் துய்த்திகொல் மெய்மைத்துணையின்மை
> சூழ்வின் செல்வம் துய்த்தி கொல் தோலா மனுநூலின்
> வாழ்வின் செல்வம் துய்த்தி கொல்மன்'' என்றனர், வானோர்
> கேள்விச் செல்வம் துய்க்க வயிற்றுஓர் கிளை தந்தாள்.
> —கம்பராமாயணம்; அயோத்தியாகாண்டம்: தைலமாட்டுப்படலம்: 68

In ancient Tamil Literature there appears to be the conspicuous absence of an advocate who pleads for the other to expound the cause of his clients before a judicial forum. In the thrilling Court Scene in *Silappadhikaram*, the arguments of Kannagi alone terrified the Ruler,. In Periyapuranam Lord Siva ably and efficiently argued his case against Sundarar.

Law as defined by the elite, demonstrated by the intelligent, distributed by the dispassionate kings attained glory in Tamil land thousands of years ago,. It is clear that law was attached with divinity; that administration of justice was akin to the outstnding ability of king; that the victor and the vanguished welcomed the decision as just and proper; that unbiased justice was the outturn of every temple of justice; that maintenance of justice was the tradition; that the king and the common man were equals before law; that incorrect judgement by imperial men were exposed and the judges laid their lives on the altar of justice for their miscarrying the justice: that unperturbed by affections or favours the duty of a judge was performed meticulously; that providing legal safeguard to the people was the prerogative of the king; that evidence both oral and documentary effectively and efficiently played a part in every decision; that aplethora of precedents proved powerful in rendering judgments and that Tamils aspired for and appreciated a very high standard of justice. Justice ruled over this sacred land, so establishes the ancient Tamil literature.

PHYSICO-AND POETIC TRADITION IN TAMIL LITERATURE OF THE THOLKAPPIYAM AND SANGAM PERIODS

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The term Physics is used here in the sense in which Sir J. A. R. Marriot has used it in his Physics and Politics. In fact it is used in an extended sense to cover a wider scope than that envisaged by Marriot. Marriot used the word Physics to connote the physical and physiographical environment. The connotation here is widened to include spatial location, the biosphere and what could be called the culture sphere. The sense of the word as used here could be considered to be co-extensive with that of physical, Bio and Cultural Geography.

Geography is basically and fundamentally a spatio-locational study just as much as History is a temporal study. Though the dichotomy between space and time is, as a consequence of the Theory of Relativity, obsolete in the physical sciences, in the social sciences due to the philosophical implications of the Relativity Theory not having been worked out, the dichotomy persists in vogue between spatio-locational studies and temporal studies. So much by way of a digression on the nature and place of geography as a social science. Though this monograph is about aspects of Geography impinging on certain literary or poetic tradition, Geography being a spatio locational study we are obliged to define the location in space of the area where the poetic tradition was pervasive. This however is no easy task in a context such as this, in the midst of Tamil literary scholars. As a geographer, of course, I have no difficulty in defining the location of the Tamil country of the Tholkappiyam and Sangam Periods. It is the southernmost portion of the Indian peninsula south of the Venkatam, bounded on the south by the Indian Ocean, the portion of the Indian Ocean forming the southern boundary being called the Kumarikkadal. The difficulty arises from the fact that in this context the geographer cannot be oblivious to the literary and historical traditions. There is a tradition in Tamil literature, fairly persistent and insistant, that the Tamil country of the Tholkappiyam and Sangam Periods was bounded in the south by a river called Kumari Aru or Mountain called the Kumari Malai and that therefore there was landmass extending beyond what is now called the Kumarik Kadal. Literary scholars link the tradition with the Gondwanaland of Geography and venture to identify the Tamil Country with or at least locate it in the Gondwanaland. In this venture they are emboldened by the fact that in the Tamil literature of the period relevant

to the subject of this monograph the sea is mentioned as the boundary only to the east and the west by seeming references to a deluge that engulfed the Tamil country south of Kumari munai or Cape Comorin in the following passges in Silappadhikaram and Kalittogai:

வடிவேல் எறிந்த வான்பகை பொறுது
பஃறுளி ஆற்றுடன் பன்மலை அடுக்கத்துக்
குமரிக் கோடும் கொடுங்கடல் கொள்ள.

—Silapathikaram – Kadukan Kathai.

மலிதிரை யூர்ந்துதன் மண்கடல் வவ்வலின்
மெலிவின்றி மேற் சென்று மேவார்நாடிடம்படப்
புலியொடு வில்நீக்கிப் புகழ்பொறித்த கிளர்கெண்டை
வலியினன் வணக்கிய வாடாச்சீர்த் தென்னவன்

—Kalittokai - 104

Traditional references to குமரிக்கண்டம் – Kumari continent, and reference to the Tamil country as Navalantivu–an island are made. As a geographer I have but to reject the identity of Tamil country with or its location in the Gondwanaland, prior to disintegration, as an impossibility verging on the absurd as the system of dating according to Plate Tectonics would put the existence of Gondwanaland millions of years back. The mentioning of sea as the boundaries only to the east and west could be explained away by the fact that the shape of Peninsular India south of the Vengada hills is that of an inverted triangle. When the apex of the triangle is to the south, the sea in the east and that to the west could converge at the apex.

Hence the reference to the two ocean boundaries and the apex as the converging point apart from the reference to the northern boundary. The loss of landmass in the south referred to in the two references given above could be explained as caused by submergence of landmass consequent to the sea extending its boundaries. Such phenomena are not uncommon. In fact the formation of Sri Lanka and the limestone topography of my homeland, Jaffna peninsula, have been explained as caused by periodic invasion and recession by the ocean. Even here the snag is the time lag. The last of such submergence dates back to many thousands of years. I am by no means unmindful of the fact that research done by my one time teacher and present colleague Prof. A. Sathasivam points to Tamil as being linguistically anterior to ancient Sumerian. However, the age of Sundaramurthi Nayanar has been established by incontrovertible inscriptional evidence and the time lag between the age of Sundarar and that of Sangam cannot be so many thousands of years. However, I would not venture to pontificate on this matter with pompous finality as Tamil language and literature are not my disciplinary home ground. All I would venture to say is that as a geographer I would not hesitate to dismiss such claims as absurd and that my knowledge of Tamil literature and history would not make me shrink from so dismissing.

The northern boundary of the Tamil Country of the Sangam age presents problems equally vexatious. The foreward or Payiram of Tolkappiyam supposed to, and might possibly, have been written by a contemporary of Tolkappiyar defines the Tamil country as

வடவேங்கடம் தென்குமரி
ஆயிடைத்
தமிழ் கூறு நல்லுலகம்

The vexed question is what is Venkatam that is referred to here. Is it the same as the one referred to by our contemporary poet Bharathiar in the verse –

நீலத் திரைக்கடல் ஓரத்திலே—நின்று
நித்தம் தவஞ்செய் குமரிஎல்லை—வட
மாலவன் குன்றம் இவற்றிடையே—புகழ்
மண்டிக் கிடக்கும் தமிழ்நாடு

Bharathi refers to Tiruppati hill as the Venkatam or *மாலவன் குன்றம்*. The Tiruppati hill cannot be the Venkatam of the Tolkappiyam - Sangam age for the reason that the latter is not a place but a region and also because a particular hill could not be the northern boundary of the Tolkappiyam-Sangam age Tamilnad, as the boundary has to run East-West or West-East the whole gamut of the extent from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. There does not seem to have been such a range of hills or mountains in historical times. Nevertheless, the Sangam literature is persistent in referring to Venkata mountains being very high.

'வென்வேல் திரையன் வேங்கட நெடுவரை'

—Ahananuru - 85

'கலைபாய்ந் துகளும் கல்சேர் வேங்கைத்
தேங்கமழ் நெடுவரைப் பிறங்கிய
வேங்கட வைப்பிற் கரணிறந்தோரே'
தேன்றூங் குயர்வரை நன்னாட்டும்பர்
வேங்கடம் ....

—Ahananuru - 393

காம்புடை நெடுவரை வேங்கடத்தும்பர்......

—Ahananuru - 209

Such references are legion in Sangam literature. A reconciliation of such references with the non-existence of a high range of mountains from east to west to bound the Tamil country of the Sangam age is necessary. One is in a position to offer a conjecture as this reconciliation. I am refering here to the conjecture of N. Subbu Reddiar in his Sethupillai Silver Jubilee commemoration 1973-74 lectures – published as "Tiruvenkatamum Tamil Ilakkiyamum". He considers Venkatam as a compound word (vem-katam). Vem means "parching" katam means arid stretch of land. He considers Venkatam a region rather than as a

range of mountains. This seems quite plausible as Sangam poets make countless references to the hero or the eloping couple going through such arid parched up hilly regions away from their homeland. The range of hills close to the eastern coast of central peninsular India bearing the name Venkatam hills might well have got the name by being in the parching arid region.

The northern boundary of the Tamil Country during the Sangam period seems to have been along the North Pennar. The map of ancient India published in the Penguin Atlas of World history shows the Satavahana area as being upto the North Pennar. Thus the Tamil Country of the Sangam period included bulk of the modern Karnataka and part of the Telugu Andhrapradesh. The Karnataka was referred to as Karunadu in the Sangam period. Cilappathikaram refers to the people of this area as Karunadar. The Tamil Country has now shrunk to the size of the present Tamil Nad state probably by Tamils emigrating and dispersing to far flung areas in accordance with the maxim '*திரை கடலோடியுந் திரவியம் தேடு*'. To get absorbed and dispersed and to lose identity through enriching others, identity seems to be essential aspects of the Tamil genius.

Talking of geographical location one is reminded of the statement of Sister Nivedita that the Mediterranean lands were destined to be the cradle of many pioneer civilisations by virtue of being the seat of many commercial routes, roads and crossways and that the Nile and India were destined to be centres of production and therefore of civilisation. One is also struck by what Sister Nivedita has left unsaid or unrealised, that the ancient Tamil country was destined to be a seat of pristine civilisation and culture not only by virtue of being a centre of production but also equally by virtue of it being on the trade route and seaways as the destination of many a seafaring people, by virtue of the many ports formed naturally along the coast and by virtue of rivers serving as naval pathways. The Mediterranean lands owed their pre-eminence in civilisation and culture to trade and navigation. Egypt and Babylon owed their pre-eminence to alluvial fertility and the aquarian abundance conferred by their rivers. *The ancient Tamil country had both these blessings.* They were a settled, cultured and civilised people because of their production. They were catholic and eclectic, in their culture, ways and thought because of their commerce and navigation. It is only such a people who can produce epithets such as

'*யாதும் ஊரே யாவருங் கேளிர்*'

and

'*யாதானு நாடாமால் ஊராமால் என்னொருவன்*
சாந்துணையுங் கல்லாத வாறு'.

The Tamil country was blessed with Ports like Korkai, Musiri, Tondi, Kayal, Kaviripoompatnam, Parantai and a legion others. They are referred

to in Sangam literature as துறை as for instance Korkayanturai, Puran Thai, Mun thurai, Korkai munthurai and so on.

The Tamil country during the Sangham period and probably during the Tolkappiyam period was divided into a number of kingdoms or royal principalities such as Pandiya Kingdom, the Cola Kingdom, the Tondai Kingdom, the Cera Kingdom and a number of other principalities such as the Kudagu Nadu, the Kutta Nadu, Kuda Nadu (the western country) and so on. However by the age of Tolkappiyam itself, the Pandiya, Cola and Cera Kingdoms have attained such undisputed pre-eminence, that the Tamil Country had come to be identified with these three Kingdoms as is evidenced by the lines

> .... உறுபகை
> வேந்திடை தெரிதல் வேண்டி ஏந்துபுகழ்ப்
> போந்தை வேம்பே ஆரென வரூஉம்
> மாபெருந் தானையர் மலைந்த பூவும்
> ....

Tolkappiyam Purathinai Iyal.

There are numerous references to this pre-eminence in the Sangam literature too. References such as the following are many in Sangam literature

> தமிழ்கெழு மூவர் காக்கும்
> மொழிபெயர் தேத்த பன்மலை இறந்தே'

Akananuru – 31

However it is very difficult to define the spatial boundaries of these three Kingdoms as well as those of the principalities or chieftaincies with any degree of accuracy or even of approximation. It is not absolutely impossible, but I would not, at this juncture, venture to define the boundaries with any degree of precision. I, nevertheless, make an attempt to give even a hazy idea of the location of the Tamil nadu itself and the kingdoms and some of the principalities in the map that forms part of this monograph. Incidentally it is disheartening to realise that there is no Historical Geography of the Tamil land.

The Tamil Country defined above is part of the Deccan plateau. However most of the Pandiya and Cola country was a plain, though with somewhat hilly stretches particularly in the West. The Western part which formed Cera country is higher than the Eastern part. The Western ghatts roughly demarcated the Cera country from the Cola and Pandya countries. It is because the Western part of the Tamil land was higher that word signifying West மேற்கு has as its root மேல் which means above or high. Because of this tilt towards the west the major rivers flow from West to East. That explains why the Pandiya and Cola countries were more blessed with rivers than the Cera country. However, the Cera country was blessed with rains being on the windward side of the Western Ghats. The hilly

regions in the West where we find plantations now must have been the home of rich montane vegetation. There is eidence of scattered montane vegetation elsewhere too, in the Pandiya and Cola country. The land along the coast being close to the sea was not fertile for crops. The rest of the Tamil Country was shared by alluvial plains amenable and conducive to cultivation, scrub and pasture lands which could support herds of cattle and arid marginal lands. It will be shown that the arid marginal land was not of any fixed extent but varied in extent depending on weather spells and cycles. Stretches of hilly areas, scrub and pasture lands and plans all swelled the extent of the arid marginal land during dry spells and dry cycles. Such a spell which might very well have been part of the weather cycle of the Tamil land is referred to in the Irayanar Ahapporulurai.

A brief note now on Chronology. The Tamil literature of the period prior to 250 A.D. with the exception of Tolkappiyam will be considered Sangam literature. The works now considered as forming the Ettutokai and Pattupattu form part of the literature. Paripadal and Thirumurugatrupadai being of themes not typical of Sangam literature will not be considered. A few verses in the Sangam works which are mostly anthologies of verses composed over a long period of time could possibly be earlier than Tolkappiyam. However, the tradition regarding literary theme in the Tolkappiyam has basically guided the poet of the Sangam period as well. Therefore it would not be wrong to consider Tolkappiyam and Sangam works together for purposes of this monograph.

The theme of literature as far as Tolkappiyam and the Sangam works are concerned is the life of people. This is something which has not been explicitly stated anywhere but has to be inferred. Even Tolkappiar, though being a grammarian, did not define the theme of literature – i.e. Porul – even in the Porulathikaram. This is in keeping with the technique of Tolkappiyar. Tolkappiyar seldom, if ever, attempts to define anything unless definition by enumeration is possible. Tolkappiyar, the astute grammarian that he is, does not for instance attempt to define letter or எழுத்து. He only enumerates them. Nor does he attempt to define word. So does he not attempt to define theme or porul. Tolkappiyar refrains from defining for the simple reason that an attempt to define anything is beset with fatally dangerous pitfalls, and that, in any case, such a definition is not necessary for an exposition of the grammar of a live and flexible language that Tamil has always been.

Be as it may, there are two fundamental aspects of one's life, one's private life and one's social or public life. Literature, concerning the private, domestic home life of people is aham literature. Literature concerning other aspects of life is puram literature. This is the basis of the division of literature into aham and puram. This has been shown by a verse in Purananuru. Kopperuncolan a king who had been banished by his children themselves, asks his bosom pal,

the secret of his youth even in old age. The latter replies that the secret is that his private as well as public life has been trouble-free and pleasant.

> யாண்டுபல வாக நரையில வா குதல்
> யாங்காகா கியரென வினவுதி ராயின்
> மாண்ட என் மனைவியொடு மக்களும் நிரம்பினர்
> யான்கண் டனையரென் னிளையரும் வேந்தனும்
> அல்லவை செய்யான் காக்கும் அதன்றலை
> ஆன்றவிந் தடங்கிய கொள்கைச்
> சான்றோர் பலர்யான் வாழு மூரே

The late Maraimalai adihal has explained the import of this verse well in his Murkala Pirkala Tamil Pulavar. Ilampuranar, the first known commentator on Tolkappiyam seems to have comprehended the meaning of aham properly. He says that aham being sexual enjoyment and therefore known by oneself is private.

> அகப்பொருளாவது போக நுகர்ச்சியாகலான் அதனுன்
> ஆயபயன் தானே அறிதலின் அகம் என்றார்

He further goes on to say அஃதேல் இந்நூலகத்து விரித்துக் கூறிய பொருள் யாதெனின் காமப்பகுதியும் வீரப்பகுதியும் என்க. The reason he says aham is enjoyment is probably that the basis of home or private life is marriage and that the basis of marriage is sex. Naccinarkkiniyar however dribbles and manipulates and thereby, wittingly or unwittingly, gives a twist, which entirely distorts the meaning of the term. He says the enjoyment in the congress of a hero and heroine being felt in the mind, is called mental or subjective. He takes aham to mean the mind.

ஒத்த அன்பான் ஒருவனும் ஒருத்தியும் கூடுகின்ற காலத்துப் பிறந்த பேரின்பம், அக்கூட்டத்தின் பின்னர் அவ்விருவரும் ஒருவருக்கொருவர் தத்தமக்குப் புலனுக இவ்வாறிருந்ததெனக் கூறப்படாததாய் யாண்டும் உள்ளத்துணர்வே நுகர்ந்து இன்பமுறுவதோர் பொருளாதலின் அதனை அகம் என்றார். எனவே அகத்தே நிகழ்கின்ற இன்பத்திற்கு அகமென்றது ஓர் ஆகுபெயராம்.

Catching on this, some scholars say aham is subjective as opposed to, or different from, objective literature and threfore embraces the body of exquisitely enthralling devotional literature in Tamil. This is however a fatal error. Both Ilampuranar and Naccinarkiniyar agree that aham literature is love poetry but ih interpreting the meaning of the term aham and therefore in explaining the nomenclature they differ. Ilampuranar implies that conjugal bliss being private to oneself it is in the home. Naccinarkiniyar, explicitly blunders in construing the term as meaning mind and in explaining the nomenclature, by having recourse to what may be called subjectivity. Incidentally, I may in passing mention that Ilampuranar

interpreted Tolkappiyar in keeping with the Tamilian traditions more than any other commentator, Senavarayar not excluded.

In fact Senavarayar accuses Ilampuranar of not having scholarship in Sanskrit. In fact as a person who studies the history of the grammatical tradition in Tamil will discern a definite break with the period of Ilampuranar. Commentators chronologically coming after Ilampuranar increasingly tend to interpret and explain Tolkappiyam in terms of and in the light of Sanskrit grammar. Somasundara Bharati has tried to reverse the trend as far as a few chapters of Poruladhikaram are concerned. His definition of aham and puram are more in agreement with that of Ilampuranar. In fact he explicitly states that aham is literature concerning private life and puram is literature concerning public life. A pioneer explanation of the aham-puram nomenclature on these lines is the exposition of the above Purananuru verse by the late Maraimalai Adikal.

Aham itself is classified further. There is first an implicit three-fold classification. Love can be mutual or one sided. One sided love could become mutual or die off; or in the alternative become improper love. There can therefore be three types of love, one-sided, mutual and improper,. One sided love is called kaikkilai by Tolkappiyar; kai is side and kilai, relationship. Improper love is called peruntinai; mutual love being subject to a further five-fold classification is called aintinai. One sided love being transitory and passing off into mutual love, or turning off to improper channels was not treated at length by poets. Improper love was not considered a fit theme for poetry. So the emphasis was, though not exclusively, on aintinai or mutual love. The five-fold classification of mutual love is Union or Kurinchi, Separation or Palai, Waiting or Mullai, love Quarrels or Udal, Pining or Irangal. Corresponding to this classification of aham there is a classification of Puram. Constraints of time and space preclude a detailed study, of the puram literature in this paper.

I may, in parenthesis, make reference to a tradition – a medieval tradition – among some Tamil scholars that does not regard the above theme as being the life of the people. There is an interpolation in Iraiyanar Ahapporulurai that aintinai is non – existent (but) sweet (therefore) good. Naccinarkiniyar refutes this when he says

இஃது இல்லதெனப்படாது உலகியலேயாம். உலகியலன்றேல், ஆகாயப் பூ நாறிற்றென்ற வழி அது சூடக்கருதுவாருமின்றி, மயங்கக் கூறினுனென்று உலகம் இழித்திடப்படுதலின் இதுவும் இழித்திடப்படும்.

The tradition of Iraiyanar Ahapporulurai interpolation has however persisted among some scholars. These scholars try to see in this the relationship between the soul and God of Saiva Siddhanta. There is absolutely no basis for this conjecture either in the Sangam literature or in Tolkappiyam. The classical tradition among

Tamils as among all others has been to afford only a subservient or secondary role to the female. The soul in the Saiva Siddhanta philosophy is subservient to God. Saiva Siddhanta tried to equate the God-soul philosophy to the relationship between husband and wife. They were probably prompted or even prodded to do so, to equate by the conflict between their respect for the Sangam literary tradition which was down to earth and this worldly and the medieval obscurantist religious puritanism which regarded worldly life as something to be eschewed.

The poets of the Sangam age were guided by a tradition in the exposition of their theme. In fact the theme of a poem is three—fold as expressed by the following Tolkappiyam sutram.

முதல் கரு வுரிப்பொருளென்ற மூன்றே
நுவலுங் காலை முறைசிறந் தனவே
பாடலுட் பயின்றவை நாடுங் காலை.

The meaning of the verses or sutram is 'Analysing the theme of poems one finds Muthal, Karu and Uri are important in that order.

'முதலெனப்படுவது நிலம் பொழுதிரண்டின்
இயல்பென மொழிப இயல்புணர்ந் தோரே'.

The meaning of this sutram is 'knowledgeable scholars say Muthal is the nature of space and time. Karu is the culture—biospherical setting. The sutram is—

'தெய்வம் உணாவே மாமரம் புட்பறை
செய்தி யாழின் பகுதியொடு தொகைஇ
அவ்வகை பிறவும் கருவென மொழிப.

The meaning of karu (the beings and things peculiar to the various regions) is composed of gods, food, fauna and flora, drum, profession or livelihood, music and such others.

These sutras are of particular interest to the student of Human Geography. The temporal aspect in the sutram about spatio-temporal setting is not the temporal aspect in which a historian would be interested. It is, on the other hand, the temporal aspects which interest the geographer. Time there signifies the time of the day as well as the time of the year, or the season.

Let us now deal with the spatial aspect of the muthal porul. Space here means terrestrial space or land. Classification of land was basic to the classification of the conduct of people. The basis of classification of land or in other words, the taxonomical principle which guided the classification of land into regions was a composite one. The basis of classification was combination of consideration relating to physical features—natural vegetation, land use as well as the culture—biosphere as is evident from the sutram dealing with Karu. The classfication of land is given in a sutram

explicitly. We will first have a look at the sutram and then try to discern the taxonomical principle or principles behind the classification—

மாயோன் மேய காடுறை யுலகமும்
சேயோன் மேய மைவரை யுலகமும்
வேந்தன் மேய தீம்புன லுலகமும்
சொல்லிய முறையாற் சொல்லவும் படுமே.

Forest land occupied by Mayon
Hilly land occupied by Seyon
Land blessed with water occupied by Vendhan
Sandy (coastal) land occupied by Varunan-
These are said to be Mullai, Kurinchi
Marutham and Neital respectively.

In this verse each class is defined both by reference to the god of choice and also by its physical features or vegetation. Thus culturo-sphere and physiography have been the basis of classification adopted in this verse. An analysis of the different gods worshipped in a spatial perspective could be an interesting study to the cultural geographer. Naccinarkkiniyar attempts an explanation. He says—

முல்லை நிலத்துக் கோவலர் பல்லா பயன்தருதற்கு மாயோன்
ஆகுதிபயக்கும் ஆபல்காக்க வெனக் குரவைதழீஇ மடைபல
கொடுத்தலின் ஆண்டு அவன் வெளிப்படும் என்றார்.

இனிக் குறிஞ்சி நிலத்திற்குக் குறவர் முதலியோர் குழீஇ
வெறியயர்தற்கு வேண்டும் பொருள் கொண்டு வெறியயர்ப்ப
வாகலின் ஆண்டு முருகன் வெளிப்படும் என்றார்

இனி ஊடலுங் கூடலுமாகிய காமச் சிறப்பு நிகழ்தற்கு
மருத நிலத்திற்குத் தெய்வமாக ஆடலும் பாடலும் மூடலு முணர்த்தலும்
உள்ளிட்ட இன்பவிளையாட்டு இனிது நுகரும் இமையோர்க்கும்
இன்குரலெழிலிக்கும் இறைவனாகிய இந்திரனை
ஆண்டையோர் விழவு செய்து அழைத்தலில் இவன் வெளிப்படும் என்றார்.

இனி நெய்தனிலத்தில் நுளையர்க்கு வலை வளந்தப்பின் அம்மகளிர்
கிளையுடன் குழீஇச் சுறவுக்கோடு நட்டுப் பரவுக் கடன்
கொடுத்தலின் ஆண்டு வருணன் வெளிப்படும் என்றார்.

Now, god belongs to the culturo sphere which is part of karu not muthal But Tolkappiyam tags god on to land which is part of muthal. Naccinarkkiniyar discerns and recognises this apparent mix up and tries to explain it away. He says—

இவ்வாசிரியர் கருப்பொருளாகிய தெய்வத்தினை முதற்
பொருளோடு கூட்டிக் கூறியது தெய்வ வழிபாட்டு
மரபு இதுவே, ஒழிந்தது மரபன் றென்றற்கு.

Naccinarkiniyar's explanation is a camouflage. To Naccinarkkiniyar it is a real contradiction and the contradiction troubles his mind. He is unable to resolve it. His respect for Tolkappiyar would not allow him to point it out as a contradiction. The rigour of his intellectual discipline and his standards of intellectual integrity would not allow him to gloss over it without making any reference. He therefore makes reference to the contradiction but is only able to explain it away without resolving it. However if one discerns Tolkappiar's taxonomy of land classification one would see that the contradiction is only apparent. It is evident that Tolkappiyar deliberately brings a vital element of karu in the sutram on land classification because he wants to make it clear that the basis of his classification is not only physiography but the culturo-biosphere as well. One is pleasantly surprised that in those days about two millennia back away from us Tolkappiyar had adhered to sound principles of land classification. It is also very gratifying to discern the close connection between geography and such a lively humanity as literature.

Now why only four classes of land to correspond to the five aspects of mutual love or aintinai? Tolkappiyar recognises and adopts a five-fold classification of land. For, does not Tolkappiyar say in Kalaviyal

'முதலொடு புணர்ந்த யாழோர் மேன
தவலருஞ் சிறப்பின் ஐந்நிலம் பெறுமே'

Kalaviyal -16

The meaning of this verse, "the aintinai comparable to the gandarva union will be ascribed to the five lands when in conjunction with muthal".

Why does Tolkappiyar enunciate a four-fold classification of land in Ahattinai Iyal but refer to a five-fold classification in Kalaviyal ? Is it because he is muddle headed ? No, he has very sound reasons for doing so. The four classes of land or four regions referred to in Akattinai Iyal are distinctly identifiable on the taxonomical basis adopted by Tolkappiyar and explained here a little earlier. The fifth class called Palai is identifiable on a different basis. Things do not exist and categories do not evolve according to a set pattern or order discerned or wishfully enunciated by the physical or social scientists. Categories do exist which are related, but not in a set logically defined and definable pattern. The five land regions Mullai, Kurinchi, Marutham, Neithal and Palai are such. These are related categories but the first four to each other in a particular way and fifth one to the others in a different way.

We should perhaps disabuse ourselves of a misunderstanding. The original and primary meaning of Palai nilam was not desert land. The Tamil country never in historical or proto historical time was aware of deserts like the Sahara desert, the Kalahari or the Patagonian desert. The Tamils therefore had no need for a word to denote such a region. Palai is from Pal or Paku meaning to divide or separate. Originally regions which came in between the four categories of land was called

Palai Nilam. Generally such land was marginal land uninhabited or very sparsely inhabited. The extent of such marginal land was swelled by spells of drought in the other four categories. The marginal strips in these four categories themselves became Palai land when parched up by drought. Tolkappiyar himself in enunciating the time for separation says—

நடுவுநிலைத் திணையே நண்பகல் வேனிலொடு
முடிவுநிலை மருங்கின் முன்னிய நெறித்தே.

Akattinai Iyal - 9

Nilai here is nilam or land. Mudivu Nilai means the land where the other regions come to an end. The same idea is expressed by Ilankovadikal in the Silapathikaram.

Thus—

கோத்தொழி லாளரொடு கொற்றவன் கோடி
வேத்தியல் இழந்த வியனிலம் போல
வேனலங் கிழவனொடு வெங்கதிர் வேந்தன்
தானலந் திருகத் தன்மையிற் குன்றி
முல்லையும் குறிஞ்சியு முறைமையிற் றிரிந்து
நல்லியல் பிழந்து நடுங்குதுய ருறுத்தல்
பாலை யென்பதோர் வடிவங் கொள்ளுங்
காலை யெய்தினீர் காரிகை தன்னுடன்.

It would be shown when discussing the appropriateness of relating the different aspects or phases of aintinai or mutual love to the five territorial regions, that the phase of separation attributed to palai has characteristics of coming in between.

The second aspect of muthal is the temporal setting. When one studies this aspect of Muthal one is struck by the fact that there is a climatic basis for this classification. For have we not noted earlier that time here means the time of the days as well as the time of the year. Let us now have a look at the Sutram of Tolkappiyar in this regard.

காரும் மாலையும் முல்லை குறித்தன
Ahatinai Iyal 6

குறிஞ்சி கூதிர் யாமம் என்மனார் புலவர்
ibid 7

பனியெதிர் பருவமும் உரித்தெனமொழிய
ibid 8

வைகறை விடியல் மருதம்
ibid 9

எற்பாடு
நெய்த லாதல் மெய்பெறத் தோன்றும்
ibid 10

நடுவுநிலைத் திணையே நண்பகல் வேனிலொடு
முடிவுநிலை மருங்கின் முன்னிய நெறித்தே—
ibid 11

பின் பனி தானும் உரித் தெனமொழிப

The time of the day is the siru Poluthu or shorter unit, the time of the year is the perum Poluthu, or the longer unit. The season ascribed to each aspect of conjugal behaviour is not only the one that is conducive to it but also the pre-eminent one in the land. Tolkappiyar was adept in the principles of land taxonomy as in those of Tamil language and literature.

Now what is the rationale behind the nomenclature முல்லை, குறிஞ்சி, மருதம், நெய்தல் and பாலை? There are two views among the commentators. Ilampuranar's view is that each region got its name by the flower of the most typical of it. In other words Bio-Geography is the basis of the nomenclature.
He says—

முல்லை குறிஞ்சி என்பன இடுகுறியோ காரணக்குறியோ எனில் ஏகதேச காரணம்பற்றி முதலாசிரியர் இட்டதோர் குறி என்று கொள்ளப்படும். என்னை காரணம் எனின்...... காடுறை யுலகுக்கு முல்லைப் பூ சிறந்ததாகலானும்...... மைவரையுலகிற்குக் குறிஞ்சிப் பூ சிறந்ததாகலானும்...... தீம்புனலுலகிற்கு மருது சிறந்ததாகலானும்...... பெருமணலுலகிற்கு நெய்தல் சிறந்தமையானும், இந் நிலங்களை இவ்வாறு குறியிட்டார் என்று கொள்ளப்படும்.

பாலை என்பதற்கு நிலம் இன்றேனும், வேனிற் காலம் பற்றி வருதலின் அக்காலத்துத் தளிரும் சினையும் வாடுதலின்றி நிற்பது பாலை யென்பதோர் மரம் உண்டாகலின் அச்சிறப்பு நோக்கிப் பாலை யென்று குறியிட்டார்,

Naccinarkiniyar disputes thie bie-geographical explanation. He says—

இனி இவ்வாறன்றி முல்லை முதலிய பூவாற் பெயர் பெற்றன இவ்வொழுக் கங்களெனின், அவ்வந்நிலங்கட்கு ஏனைப் பூக்களும் உரியவாகலின் அவ்வாற்றாற் பெயர் கூறலும் உரியவெனக் கடாவுதற்கு விடையின்மை உணர்க.

This argument is very feeble and logically untenable. One could detect a few logical faults and fallacies in the small sentence. Naccinarkiniyar, steeped as he was in Sanskrit linguistic and literary traditions quite often tries to dispute and refute Ilampuranar who was steeped in the Tamil linguistic and literary traditions by sheer force of habit. I should not be understood as saying that Naccinarkkiniyar was innocent of Tamil linguistic and literary tradition. He was Sanskritised. The Sutram reads as—

முதல் கரு வுரிப்பொரு ளென்ற மூன்றே
நுகலுங் காலை முறைசிறந் தனவே
பாடலுட் பயின்றவை நாடுங் காலை.

There is wide disagreement on the interpretation of the phrase முறை சிறந்தனவே between Ilampuranar and Naccinarkkiniyar. This disagreement is very fundamental The point at issue is of fundamental importance both to Tamil literary tradition and to Historical Geography. The literary meaning of the phrases is important in that order. The difference is in the way the order is interpreted : Ilampuranar held, that muthal is most important, karu is next in importance and the uri the last. Naccinarkiniyar holds that muthal is important, karu more important and uri the most important. Uri being the real human life and conduct and being the subject sought to be communicated with the help of muthal and karu Naccinarkkiniyar's interpretation would appeal to literary scholars. On this interpretation verses should be classified into Mullai, Kurinchi, Marutham, Neithal and Palai on the basis of the aspect of conjugal conduct or behviour that is the subject of the composition. Ilampuranar's contention is that Muthal or the spatio-temporal setting is the most important appeal to the geographer. On this interpretation the verses should be classified on the basis of the land or region where the conjugal behaviour which is the subject of the composition occurs. Ilampuranar's system seems to have been adopted by the scholars who compiled Ahananuru. There are a number of verses in Akana nuru which are classified on the basis of land or region other than the conjugal behaviour. Verse 200 in Ahananuru, Manimidai pavalam, is classified as Neidal. The conjugal conduct for neidal is pining in the absence of the husband or lover.

The verse reads on as—

நிலாவின் இலங்கு மணல்மலி மறுகின்
புலாலஞ் சேரிப் புல்வேய் குரம்பை
ஊரென வுணராச் சிறுமையொடு நீத்து
இன்ஞு உறையுட் டாயினும் இன்பம்
ஒருநாள் உறைந்திசி ஞோர்க்கும் வழிநாள்
தம்பதி மறக்கும் பண்பின் எம்பதி
வந்தனை சென்மோ வளைமேய் பரப்ப
பொம்மற் படுதிரை கம்மென உடைதரும்
மரஞேங் கொருசிறை பலபா ராட்டி
எல்லை எம்மொரு கழிப்பி எல்லுற
நலந்தேர் பூட்டலும் உரியீர் அற்றன்று
சேர்ந்தனிர் செல்குவி ராயின் யாமும்
எம்வரை யளவையிற் பெட்குவம்
நும்மொப் பதுவோ உரைத்திசின் எமக்கே

The heroine's maid who is the go-between invites the hero to their village at least for an overnight stay. This is an aspect of union or Kurinchi. Nevertheless, the verse is classified as Nethal because the home or the spatial location of the behaviour is coastal land. There are large number of instances like this in Ahananuru and Kalitohai. Modern scholars and commentators who have classified the verse on Natrinai and Kuruntogai have adopted the same basis. The basis of classification is thus the

spatial base of the behaviour than the content and form of the behaviour. This certainly is an interesting and noteworthy aspect to the geographer.

I have so far been considering the spatio-temporal location and the culturo-bio-spherical setting. I should complete the picture and consider the conjugal conduct which is after all the subject of composition and which is what is sought to be communicated by the poet to the reader. This is called uri. I shall in a little while discuss the nomenclature of uri, but for the present let us have a look at the Tolkappiyam sutram which deals with uri—

புணர்தல் பிரிதல் இருத்தல் இரங்கல்
ஊடல் இவற்றி னிமித்த மென்றிவை
தேருங் காலைத் திணைக்குரிப் பொருளே
ibid 16

கொண்டுதலைக் கழிதலும் பிரிந்தவ ணிரங்கலு
முண்டென மொழிப ஓரிடத் தான்
ibid 17

The meaning of the verses is—

Union, separation, waiting (towards re-union)
Pining (in separation) and love quarrel are
the subjects belonging to tinai.
Elopement and waiting in separation too are
allowed occasionally.

The physiography of the montane region in conjunction with the montane climate and the bio-geographical setting are conducive to union which is of a clandestine nature. All love affairs in the initial stage are of a clandestine nature. That is why it is called Kalavolukkam or Marai Olukkam. Marai is what is not known to others. Waiting is the type of behaviour characteristics of pasture lands. The women, because of their daily chores, are occupied physically and mentally during the day. Towards the evening when their chores are over they think of their husbands. The behaviour of the fauna too indicate similar tends. The entire biospherical setting reminds one of homeward journey and reunion. The seasons of the year the menfolk return was kar or the rainy season. That is how pasture land, rainy season and evening became the setting for mullai. Marutham is agricultural land. The agricultural people have a settled life. They have security. They have time for the pleasures of life. The husband goes in pursuit of pleasure and stays overnight and returns in the early hours of the morning to an annoyed and dejected wife. Quarrels take place and ends in a happy reconciliation. Udal signifieds only love quarrels which are reconciled.

The men folk in the coastal areas i.e. neidal go out fishing and sailing. Seafaring on those early vessels was a real hazard. When the return is delayed the wife gets anxious, nervous and grief stricken progressively. The time of the day this could happen is the dusk.

Palai merits separate and special treatment on account of its special peculiar nature. I have adverted to palai land as being the land that comes in between and separates the other regions. Separation has the same function in conjugal or love behaviour. Separation comes between union and grief stricken pining and/or waiting for reunion which is Neidal.

What an apt relation between the nature of the region and the nature form and content of the love behaviour ascribed to it by literary tradition. When the husband goes away from the wife in pursuit of wealth or avenues for the display of valour he goes away from the home region through the intermediary marginal land that palai is to other regions. Palai is karpu or married love here. In kalavu-premarital love there is another form of palai. The eloping couple go away through the marginal land. This is called udanpokkupalai or elopement separation.

However, a small note on the meaning of tinai which is supposed to be the composite name for muthal, karu and uri: When speaking of the classification of tinai in the context of the classification of land and classification of the aspects of conjugal or love behaviour there crops up the question what exactly is tinai, land or behaviour. This question is discussed in Iraianar Akapporul Urai—

'இனி ஒழுக்கத்திணைத் திணையென்பாரும் நிலத்திணைத் திணையென்பாருமென இரு பகுதியர் ஆசிரியர்: அது பொருந்தாது; ஒழுக்கமே திணையெனப்படும். குறிஞ்சியாகில் ஒழுக்கம் நிகழ்ந்த நிலமும் குறிஞ்சியெனப்பட்டது; எண்ணை விளக்காகிய சுடர் இருந்த இடனும் விளக்கு எனப்பட்டதுபோல என்பது.

However, there is an argument that the original connotation of tinai was land. The word tinai is derived from the root திண் meaning strong, solid. Earth being trim and solid the argument runs tinai originaly meant land. Ilampuranar and Naccinarkkiniyar hold that tinai is composed of all three together.

உரிப்பொருள் திணையென உணர்த்துவராயின் முதற் பொருளும் கருப் பொருளும் திணையாதல் தோன்றாதாம். அவையெல்லாம் அடங்குதற் பொருட்டு முல்லை குறிஞ்சி பாலை மருதம் நெய்தல் என்றாரென்பது—Ilampooranar. இதனானே முதல் கரு வுரிப் பொருள் கொண்டே வருவது திணையாயிற்று —Naccinakkiniyar

Another point remains to be discussed in this context about the co-relation between the classification of regions and the classification of the aspect of love life. It is that this classification is not an exercise building water tight compartments.

There is a considerable amount of flexibility. The co-relation between the classification of culturo-bio-geographical setting and that of regions is by no means an absolute one. Nature does not exist in water tight compartments. So are not human nature, life and behaviour. In recognition of this principle Tolkappiyar enenciates the concept of Tinaimayakkam. The sutrams relating to Tinaimayakkam are—

திணை மயக் குறுதலுங் கடிநிலை யிலவே
நிலனெருங்கு மயங்குத லில்லென மொழிப
புலனன் குணர்ந்த புலமை யோரே

ibid 14

உரிப்பொரு ளல்லன மயங்கவும் பெறுமே

ibid 15

எந்நில மருங்கிற் பூவும் புள்ளும்
அந்நிலம் பொழுதொடு வாரா வாயினும்
வந்த நிலத்தின் பயத்த வாகும்

idid 21

The meaning of these sutrams is as follows : The intermingling or interchange of tinai is not precluded but that of region is. Those other than uri porul may overlap. The flowers and birds peculiar to one region when not found in the region and season ascribed to them, would be with those regions and seasons with which they are associated in the context.

Mayakkam is not only intermingling but also interchange. Ilampuranar however takes mayakkam to mean interchanging or one being in place of the other. The importance of these three streams is that there could be interchange or intermingling in the temporal setting and the culturo-bio-geographical setting but not in the spatial setting or conjugal behaviour which is uriporul. In other words, there is no rigid compartmentalism in the classification. Tolkappiyar and our classical poets of yore did not sacrifice reality and realism for logic. Nor did they denounce, debunk or disregard logic.

Upto now I have been able just to deal with a portion on the fringe of the subject. Limits of time and space allocated to me cannot be disregarded. Even the Akam tradition has not been analysed adequately in the light of geographical concepts. As I progressed in this research I was pleasantly surprised by the discovery that a monograph trying to do justice to the subject would be like Canute trying to hold the oceans back.

TIRUKKURAL AS VIEWED BY THE FOREIGNERS

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The advent of the Europeans to Tamil Nadu heralded a new era in the annals of the Tamil language and literature. European scholars and missionaries have made successful attempts to introduce the wisdom of the Tamils embedded in the great classic of Tiruvalluvar, to the Western world. In 1730 A.D. Father C. Beschi translated the first two parts of Tirukkural into Latin.[1] This gave a great momentum to the study of Tamil language and literature by the succeeding generations of European missionaries.

From the reference made by M. Ariel to an earlier French version of Tirukkural (selections), it appears that the scholars of France were well aquainted with it in 1767 A.D.[2] Extracts from Tirukkural have been introduced for the first time to the Englishmen by N.E. Kindersley with the title 'The Ocean of Wisdom' which has been included in a literary anthology known as the 'Specimens of Hindoo Literature'[3]. These are the earliest attempts made by the three different nationalities of Europe to draw the attention of their countrymen towards the mysterious wisdom of India.

For the last three hundred years, Tirukkural has been translated into a number of languages in Europe and Asia.[4] From a cursory glance at these translations and observations, one can get a flood of light to understand and appreciate the lofty ideals of Tiruvalluvar in a wider perspective.

World Literature

What is most striking in the Europeans' treatment of Kural is their catholicity of literary taste, which has been enunciated and elucidated by Goethe in his concept of world literature. He has said to his friend that "national literature is now an unmeaning term ; the epoch of the world literature is at hand, and every one must try to hasten its approach".[5] A number of European scholars began to interpret Tirukkural in the light of Goethe's theory of world literature.

In the eighteenth century, Beschi was thinking on the lines of Goethe. He observes that "He (Tiruvalluvar) shines as a fish in the darkness of night, a lovely flower in the desert, a light that drives the gloom of ignorance and a beacon light to the whole world".[6]

M. Ariel, the Frenchman who had a great fascination for Kural, in a letter to his friend Burnouf in 1848, speaks of Tiruvalluvar's great work as "a masterpiece of Tamil literature, one of the highest and purest expressions of human thought. what above all is wonderful in the Kural is the fact that its author addresses himself, without regard to castes, peoples or beliefs, to the whole community of mankind".[7] This careful observation of this French scholar points out the universal outlook of the Tamil sage.

Charles E. Gover is one of those who had considered Tirukkural as one of the great literatures of the world. He says that "Kural is essentially the literary treasure, the poetic mouthpiece, the highest type of verbal and moral excellence among the Tamil people, as ever Homer was among the Greeks".[8] Then Gover points out the importance of this work. He affirms that, "it is no exaggeration to say that it is as important in Tamil literature, as influential on the Tamil mind, as Dante's great work on the language and thought of Italy".[9]

Subsequently Tirukkural has been fully translated into English by Dr. G.U. Pope, the renowned 'Student of Tamil Literature'. In his benediction to Valluvar, he paints a glowing picture of Valluvar in the following form :

"Sage Valluvar, Priest of the lowly clan,
no tongue repeats, no speech reveals thy name ;
Yet, all things changing, dieth not thy fame,
For thou art *bard of Universal Man*".[10]

This encomium paid by an English clergy man to a Tamil poet in the heyday of the British rule in India is particularly remarkable.

In the thirties of this century, Dr. Albert Schweitzer, the eminent German philosopher and social worker offers a great tribute to Tirukkural in the following words :

> With sure strokes the Kural draws the ideal of simple ethical humanity. On the most varied questions concerning the conduct of man to himself and to the world, its utterances are characterised by nobility and good sense. There hardly exists in the literature of the world a collection of maxims in which we find so much lofty wisdom.[11]

It is interesting to note that the scholars of Soviet Russia hold that Tirukkural deserves to be considered as one of the finest pieces of world literature. Dr. Alexander M. Pyatigorsky, the great Indologist, in his scholarly foreword to the Russian translation of the Tamil masterpiece asserts that "the Kural of Tiruvalluvar is rightly considered as *chief d' oeuvre* of both Indian and world literature. This is due not only to the great artistic merits of the work but also, and this is most important, to the lofty humane ideas permeating it, which are equally precious to the people all over the world, of all periods and countries".[12]

These European missionaries and scholars have placed Tirukkural in the front rank of the precious classics of the world, which requires special mention here.

Our own national poet Subramania Bharathi sings the glories of Tiruvalluvar in this same vein :

Tamil Nadu gave unto the World Valluvar
And won thereby great renown[13].

Composition of the One Master-Poet

M. Jules Vinson was a French Tamilologist of the 19th century, who served in the French colony of South India. He was a devoted student of theTamil language and literature. When he made a thorough study of Tirukkural, he began to think that it must be an anthology or at least the work of two authors. He adduces the reasons for his suspicion. He observes that the Kaamattuppaal, the third part of Tirukkural differs entirely in its form and content from the first two parts of the work. Besides this, the arrangement of the chapters and verses in Arattuppaal and Porutpaal appear very much similar to Naaladiyar, the other popular didactic work in Tamil So, it is better to treat Tirukkural as a compilation of various verses composed by several poets rather than the composition of one master-poet.[14]

But this view has been ignored subsequently on the basis of further research undertaken by Dr. G.U. Pope. He asserts that "it is not an anthology, but the perfect and most elaborate work of one master. The third part might be deemed separable but the manner even there is quite peculiar to our bard. As one link in a chain of evidence, the following is remarkable. The poet uses 'todi' nine times as equivalent to 'lady' ; but never uses the same epithet twice. So with 'iLai'. There is a studied variety in epithets throughout".[15]

Misgivings about Kaamattuppaal

Some of the European missionaries had some misgivings about the third part of this work. Charles E. Gover sarcastically says that "the third part is, in fact, not suited for a Christian dress".[16] Rev. W.H. Drew refrained from translating Kaamattuppaal into English. He gave the following reason for this. He remark that "it could not be translated into any European language without exposing the translator to infamy".[17]

But Rev. G.U. Pope rejects these views on the following grounds. He says that "this is only true in regard to certain of the commentaries upon it, which are simply detestable. I am persuaded that it is perfectly pure in its tendency and in the intention of its wise and high-souled composer".[18]

The main reason for this misunderstanding appears to be their ignorance about the ahapporul tradition of the Tamils. Most of the ancient Tamil classics

were in the form of palm-leaves till 1860 A.D. Only in the sixties of the 19th century, some of the sangham literature began to see the light of day. So, most of the missionaries were not aware of the noble tradition of love poetry in Tamil.

A recent scholar who had an early access to the Sangham literature asserts that "Tiruvalluvar's Kamattuppal is utterly different from any of Sanskrit Kamasastras. While Vatsyayana's work (and all Sanskrit erotology) is Sastra, that is objective and scientific analysis of sex, the third part of Kural is a poetic picture of eros, of ideal love, of its dramatic situations".[19]

Bridal-Mysticism

In order to avoid this discontent, some of the native and foreign scholars tried to interpret Kaamattuppaal in the light of Mystic love, i.e., the allegorical representation of love between the soul and God. In the devotional literature of Tamil we find some instances of the sublimation of mundane love into the mystic love. Then this appears to have become a cherished tradition in the Bhakti literature. The old commentators of Tirukkural have never interpreted Kaamattuppaal from this view point. But, this view was prevalent among the missionaries.[20] We can get some glimpses of this allegorical representation of love, which is well known to us as 'naayaka-naayaki bhaavaa'.

Dr. Schweitzer believes that this method of interpretation might have been given by those who could not accept the 'life affirmation' theory. He observes that "in 250 maxims—they form the concluding part of the work—earthly love is lauded. Later times, because they cause offence, interpret them allegorically as concerning the love of the soul to God.[21]

Literary Excellences of Tirukkural

This didactic literature reveals originality in ideas and technique. The poet breaks the rigidity of poetic conventions by the skilful manipulations of simple innovations and also by the felicity of expression.

Foreign scholars have tried their best to find out the reasons for the popularity of Tirukkural. Besides its Universal outlook and humane approach to the problems of life, they point out to its exquisite poetic form as another reason for its greatness. They appraise Kural venba as "a couplet containing a complete and striking idea expressed in a refined and intricate metre. No translation can convey an idea of its charming effect".[22]

Dr. G.U. Pope emphasises the importance of the form of metre which Valluvar has adopted to give vibrant expression to his moral fervour. "The brevity rendered necessary by the form" remarks Dr. Pope, "gives an oracular effect to the utterances of the great Tamil 'Master of Sentences'. They are the choicest of moral epigrams".[23]

Another missionary thinks that "the 'Kural' cannot be improved nor its plan made more perfect. It is a perfect *mosaic* in itself. The slightest change in the size, shape or colour of a single stone would mar the beauty of the whole"[24] which appears as an advice to Father Scott who indulged in mutilating the form and structure of Tirukkural according to his whims and fancies.

Relevance of Tirukkural to the Modern World

Tirukkural deals with the essentials of human nature. Its observations go beyond nationality and language. Hence, it is acclaimed as a 'Universal Book of Humanity' for all ages and climes. It reveals the loftiest sentiments and the purest mind of the author. It is remarkable for its range of ideas and variety. It has been best known to the world because of its outspoken universalism and modernity.

These significant features of Kural have arrested the attention of the foreigners. One Englishman wonders that "there is no trace in Kural of many things, systems, doctrines and practices, current in South India at different periods".[25] Then he comes to the conclusion that "they have been eliminated from the sage's own eclectic system of faith and practice and because his work is didactic and not controversial".[26]

The fact that Tirukkural is the earliest didactic work in Tamil with a perfection and fulness inconceivable in a first work of its kind never induced the foreigners to deny its relevance to the modern world.

Prof. M. Winternitz says that "he (Valluvar) stands above all races, castes and sects ; and what he teaches, is a general human morality and wisdom"[27] which are relevant for all ages.

In his 'A Letter to a Hindu', Leo Tolstoy specifically makes reference to the sacred Kural as "The Hindu Kural", and points out the importance of non-violent attitude. In this context, he quotes the following verses from Tirukkural to strengthen his views about non-violence :

> The aim of the sinless one consists in acting without causing sorrow to others, although he could attain to great power by ignoring their feelings (311).
>
> The aim of the sinless one lies in not doing evil unto those who have done evil unto him (312).
>
> If a man causes suffering even to those who hate him without any reason, he will ultimately have grief not to be ovecome (313).
>
> The punishment of evil doers consists in making them feel ashamed of themselves by doing them a great kindness (314).

Of what use is superior knowledge in the one, if he does not endeavour to relieve his neighbour's want as much as his own ? (315).

If, in the morning, a man wishes to do evil unto another, in the evening the evil will return to him. (319).[28]

Mahathma Gandhi was attracted very much by these couplets and practised these sayings of Valluvar in his life. We know that he was a follower of Tolstoy, whom he revered as a great teacher of righteousness in the modern world.[29]

The message of Tiruvalluvar to the suffering humanity has been culled from the aphorisms of his work and elucidated in the form of three maxims by Albert Schweitzer. The idea of active love, i.e. service to humanity, is considered as one of the significant teachings of Tirukkural. Secondly, the doctrine of life affirmation forms an important part in the preachings of Tiruvalluvar. "Maxims about joy in activity" observes Schweitzer, "such as one would not expect from Indian lips, bear witness to the strength of the world and life affirmation present in the Kural".[30] Then he points out how the "Kural draws the ideal of simple ethical humanity"[31] based on casteless and creedless society.

The reason for this basic difference in the spirit of Tirukkural has been attributed to the following fact :

It is more important that he (Valluvar) was also a very integral part of the non-Sanskritic and pre-Sanskritic Tamil tradition ; this fact is seen not only from his conception of "pleasure" which is so typically a reflexion of the *aham* genre ; but also from the all-pervading pragmatic, this-worldly, empirical and, to a great extent, humanistic and universalistic character of his particular conception of *dharma* and *niti*.[32]

This is one of the significant contributions made by the foreigners to the Tamil studies in general and to the study of Tirukkural in particular. Schweitzer breaks new ground in elucidating the ideals of Valluvar which are quite different from the good old spirit of India. Dr. Kamil Zvelebil gives due recognition to the non-Sanskritic and pre-Sanskritic Tamil tradition which makes Tirukkural appear very fresh and modern in its outlook.

There is an inspiring observation made recently by Master Subramuniya, an American sage who is a student of the Saiva Siddhanta philosophy. He hopes that "the Holy Kural may well be the meeting ground, the common ground of all religions. It could be called a Common Creed for the modern world".[33]

This modest attempt to trace the views of the foreigners about Tirukkural will reveal their broader vision, luminous insight and universality of outlook. By

their strenuous efforts to understand and to appreciate the philosophy of life enshrined in Tirukkural, they have drawn the attention of the world towards the nuances of the wisdom of the Tamils and brought a new awareness to the cultural heritage of the Tamils.

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THIRUKKURAL AND THIRUVALLUVAR AS SEEN BY A JAPANESE

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The Japanese language is an isolated language in the world, and the only relative language, if there were any, is supposed to be Korean. It was recently proved, however, that the relations of Japanese with Papuan, Dravidian, and the Burmese - Tibetan languages are quite remarkable. Among them, the relation between Japanese and Tamil, one of the Dravidian languages, was found to be more intimate than the relation between Japanese and Korean as far as the correspondence between the primitive words are concerned.

By the way, how many present Japanese people know what kind of people Tamils are, and in what country they do live? For us Japanese, people who are essentially Buddhists, India is a great country where Gautama, the Buddha was born, where several hundreds of millions of people live under the strict caste system and where sacred cows are quietly roaming around the bustling streets under the burning sunshine. Such are the images of India which occur to the general Japanese folks when they hear the word India.

More erudite people know the following. That is, the majority of the Indian people are composed of Aryans who had invaded the Indian subcontinent from the north around B.C. 1500, and they speak Hindustani. In the whole Indian sub-continent, however, more than ten different languages in the rough classification, and several hundred languages in the minute classification, are spoken, and their mutual communication is carried out in English. Those who had been the original masters of the sub-continent before the invasion of Aryans had to move to the south under the pressure of the latter, and now the former live in the southern part of the Indian peninsula. They are called Dravidians and their Dravidian language is an isolated language in the world like our Japanese language. But, I am afraid only a limited number of the erudite Japanese know that Tamils are one of the most influential people among Dravidians, and have boasted of their high culture for several thousand years.

The opinion that "the root of the Japense language is the Tamil language", advocated by Professor S. Ohno of Gakushuin University, has been very much

responded in the weekly magazines. Under such circumstances, Japanese general folks began to be interested in what kind of people Tamils are. I hadn't had any knowledge about the Tamil people before I came to have some pen friends in Tamil Nadu more than thirteen years ago. However, through correspondence with them, and especially through my work of translating *Thirukkural*, their holy bible, into Japanese, I came to know their warm heart and their great culture.

Thiruvalluvar (Valluvar), the author of *Thirukkural (Kural)* is supposed to have lived around B.C. 1000.* This only writing of his is divided into three parts, i.e. Part I Virtue, Part II Wealth, and Part III Love, and is composed of 1330 couplets. Each couplet which observes strict rules is composed of seven metric feet.

Among them, Part I and Part II have didactic content and Part III contains lyrical love songs. The morals, the view of life, and the affection enshrined in the *Kural* couplets greatly rouse my deep sympathy. Since some linguistic relations exist between the Tamil and Japanese languages, the Tamil and Japanese people might have been blood-related in the far remote ages. As the ancient chroniclers of Lu would say, my deep sympathy to the *Kural* might be caused by my Tamil-affected blood.

Mr. Clarence Thanaraj presented me this holy bible in 1978. Since then I have devoted myself to the Japanese translation of this book. I do not have any knowledge of the Tamil language, but owing to the excellent English version by Dr. Pope etc., I think I could sufficiently appreciate what is described in the book.

Part I Virtue is divided into two parts, i.e., one generally for householders or laymen and one for ascetics.

The virtues of householders are almost the same as those we Japanese regard as virtues. Here, the most remarkable point is that "Love to the others" is the very basis of all the virtues, and is the human life itself. Valluvar expounds,

> Of precious soul with body's flesh and bone,
> The union yields one fruit, the life of love alone.

No Japanese word standing for *Aram* – the Great Power which confers limitless happiness to those who live in accordance with the principle of love and punishes those who are against it – comes to my mind. But, quite naturally, I can believe the existence of such a Great Power.

I was especially moved by the affection between parents and children. Valluvar says,

> Sire greatest boon on son confers who makes him meet,
> In councils of the wise to fill the highest seat.

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*This of course requires correction —Editor

In order that the children can find a clue to get a high social position, Japanese parents are making their utmost efforts to have their children attend reputed universities. Their heart is just like what is expressed in the above couplet. But, can it be said that all of the present day universities well deserve the councils of the wise? We must reconsider what Valluvar meant by the wise.

Further, the author says,

The kindly aid's extent is its worth no measure true,
Its worth is the worth of him to whom the act you do.

When we bestow a favour on the others, haven't we an intention of self advertisement? Aren't we calculating the repayment? Here, Valluvar admonishes that the benefits conferred on others should be the result of the outpourings of the strong love to them, and should be free from any dishonest motives or calculations.

We Japanese should have to examine ourselves if our deeds to the developing countries were only to push material benefits expecting the repayment, or if we have ever appreciated their spiritual civilization. Why should we be called an economic animal in spite of our painstaking efforts? In order that we may be loved by them, should we have to reconsider the value of their spiritual civilization and feed it with some mental nourishment? However great the material aids may be, they wouldn't bear any real value when the mental nourishment is neglected. As one of the Japanese people, I have to make a deep reflection.

The virtues of ascetics are rather difficult to understand because they are supported by various religions such as Hinduism and Jainism with which I am not familiar. However, the thought backed by Samsara and the fatalism which is continuously running through these chapters might not be so hard of access for us Japanese who are essentially Buddhists as it is for the western people who are essentially Christians.

Especially, the couplets included in Chapter 38 Fate and Chapter 34 Instability remind me of the ancient Japanese Buddhist literature. When I summarize the couplets in the chapter of Instability and express the content in the form of Japanese literature, it can be mentioned in the following *waka* poem (a Japanese short poem of 31 syllables) by a Buddhist priest *shinran* (A.D. 1173-1262).

Asu ari to omou kokoro no ada-zakura,
Yowa ni arashi no fukanu mono kawa.
(Belief in the existence of tomorrow is as vain as the cherry blossoms
that are blown away by a night storm.)

In such a form, he expressed the instability of the human life, and admonished the people to do good deeds immediately without postponing until tomorrow.

Moreover, Valluvar says,

As 'day' it vaunts itself; well understood,' tis knife,
That daily cuts away a portion from thy life.

I have lived already about sixty years. It has been a regretful life and my remaining years may be rather few. I am not a wise man, but I feel as if I were chopped up by a knife, fearing if I will be able to devote my remaining years to the service in the cause of humanity. In order to be relieved from this pain, I have devoted myself to the translation of the *Kural*, the holy scripture which is not yet known to the Japanese folks. My secret consolation is that my Japanese version of the *Kural* might be able to enrich the spirits of some Japanese people.

Dogmas and terms of Hinduism and Jainism are scattered in various parts of the *Kural*. However, I think Valluvar was rising above such religions. He says,

The laws of "grace" fulfil by methods good due trial made,
Though many systems you explore, that is your only aid.
To punish wrong, with kindly benefits the doers ply;
Thus shame their souls; but pass the ill unheeded by.

Whatever things, of whatsoever kind it be,
'Tis wisdom's part in each the very thing to see.

Whatever religions people may believe, Christianity or Buddhism, these utterances should be laid in their hearts. Really, in these couplets, I can find the culmination of teachings to the whole human being.

Dr. Pope, the English translator of the *Kural*, says that Valluvar's thought is that of a Christian. However, his fatalism coupled with his selfless love to the others makes me feel that he is a Buddhist rather than a Christian.

Part II Wealth contains many teachings to kings, state ministers, and men of power in general. Sometimes, the chapters remind us of Discourses of Confucious or Mencius in the ancient China. But according to the interpretation by Dr. Pope, Valluvar's teachings seem more concrete and practical. I think that the universal validity of these teachings is such that every leader of thepresent day society can make most of them as they are.

Among the matters that a king has to take care of, many utterances are made concerning the selection, appointment, and making the most of capable men. Especially, the couplets included in Chapter 45 Seeking the Aid of Great Men emphasize the importance of employing a man who is wiser than the king himself. For example,

To live with men of greatness that their own excels,
As cherished friends, is greatest power that with a monarch dwells.

Here, I recollect one page of the Chinese history. In the time of the Three Countries (A.D. 221-280) in the ancient China, *Shoku* (Japanese pronunciation) was the smallest country in the three, though it was descended from the glorious Empire Han. *Ryubi* (Japanese pronunciation), the king of Shoku who was full of the desire of restoring the glory of his ancestors, knew that a wise man named Kung-Ming was living in seclusion. *Ryubi* wanted Kung-Ming's help, and regardless of his high standing as a king, he dared to visit Kung-Ming's cottage not only twice but three times to beg his service. Kung-Ming who had already made up his mind not to serve any kings was moved by King *Ryubi's* warm friendship to dare to visit a countryman three times, and changed his mind. Owing to Kung-Ming's help, the country Shoku enhanced its glory and even after Kung-Ming's death, the opponent army took flight fearing if Kung-Ming were still in command of the *Shoku's* troop. The Japanese people of our age learned this historical fact in the elementary school as *Sanko no Rei* (courtesy of the three visits), and made it a fundamental attitude to scout for a great man as well as to repay for the friendship.

Not only in the ancient China, but also in every country and throughout every age, Valluvar's utterances find their echoes. As another example, I would like to make reference to the Japanese Imperial Family who have a history of being close upon two thousand years. They were respected in various ways according to the ages, and the foreign people's evaluation may be different. But, the fact that our Imperial Family have fulfilled a great duty as a nucleus of the unity of the Japanese people is an indisputable fact. The reason why they have continued so long was that each emperor, with a few exceptions, tried to be benevolent first of all, refrained from dictatorship, made his retainers exercise their utmost ability and endeavored by themselves to act standing on the top of the spiritual civilization of the nation. If Valluvar were alive now, he might say that our emperor is an ideal one.

In these chapters, I find an interesting warning to kings. That is,

> Though fort be none, and store of wealth they lack,
> 'Tis hard a people's homesteads to attack.

I am reminded of the American troops that were hopelessly mired in the stalemate of the Vietnam war. Who could foresee the defeat of American troops in the case where the wealth of both the sides was as different as day from night, and there was no fortress worthy of the name? Really, Valluvar had foretold what happened about 3000 years later!

It is a surprise that Valluvar's teachings extended even to spies.

> These two: the code renowned and spies
> In these let king confide as eyes.

I don't know if the ancient Japanese rulers employed spies, but the fact that one chapter was allotted for spies in this didactic book gives me a strange impression. Is this because of the difference between the continental nation having lived under the threatenings of the surrounding enemies and the islander who has been rarely invaded by the other nations? Anyway, the teachings to the spies and to those who employ spies may be acceptable as they are to the present day spy war.

To the state ministers, Valluvar emphasized the importance of the cleanness of the behaviour and the power of eloquence.

> Before the bright ones shine as doth the light
> Before the dull ones be as purest stucco white.

What a concise and exqusite expression of the disposition desirable to the state ministers! I hope that the present day statesmen of the world will make it a motto and treasure up in their memories.

Another interesting theme concerning the state minister is that the importance of reading other's mind is emphasized as an essential disposition of a minister. In Japan, we have a word *Ishin-denshin* (communication of mind with mind). We often respond knowing the intention of the other through his behaviour or catching only a few words. This kind of communication can be effectively used among the Japanese people, but not for the case between the Japanese and the western people. The latter believe only spoken or written matters. I hear that western husbands have to say "I love you" to their wives every day because the wives cannot be sure of their husbands' love without the words. We Japanese husbands never do in such a way, but the wives can be sure of their husbands' love through their attitude. Nowadays, such a character of the Japanese people is supposed to be one of their racial defects because we are often mistaken in the negotiation with western people. But, the fact that the importance of *Ishin-denshin* is expanded in the *Kural* encourages us very much.

In the separate chapters in Part II Wealth, tangible and intangible matters indispensable for a state are enumerated. In those, Valluvar made a thorough investigation on the friendship, and the contrary, hatred.

> Friendship from ruin saves, in way of virtue keeps;
> In troublous time, it weeps with him who weeps.

More than three thousand years ago, Valluvar gave this exquisite definition of friendship. Further, his explanation and teachings on how to build a real friendship, what is the seeming or harmful friendship, and how to deal with it goes into minute detail. I think this fact proves that the spiritual civilization of the Tamil people while Valluvar was alive had developed to a quite high level. The following couplet emphasizes the fact more clearly.

Although you hate incur of those whose ploughs are bows,
Make not men whose ploughs are words your foes.

Really, in the quite early period of the human history, the Tamil Nadu had already attained to the circumstances where "The pen is mightier than the sword".

There is an interesting coincidence between the military spirits in *Kural* and *Bushido*, or the Japanese chivalry.

Our *Samurai* disdained to destroy the ferocious look when an arrow flew to him. He cut the enemy's bone, being cut in the flesh. He begged such a glorious death as to fill the eyes of his ruler with tears. However, what was indispensable to this undaunted warrior was *Bushi no nasake* or warrior's fellow feeling. If a warrior lacks the feeling of compassion, he is only a devil. The following couplet expresses the *Bushi no nasake*. the culmination of *Bushido*.

Fierceness in hour of strife heroic greatness shows;
Its edge is kindness to our suffering foes.

As a descendant of *Samurai*, I find it highly gratifying.

In Chapters 98 and 99, Valluvar made a thorough investigation on the greatness and perfectness of a man. Such a man is supported by the five virtues, i.e. love, modesty, beneficence, benignant grace and truthfulness. He is free from self-conceit, vanity and baseness. His spirit is full of activity. He guards himself faithfully. But, Valluvar never forgets to complement with the following couplet which manifests the culmination of his virtue.

What fruit doth your perfection yield you, say
Unless to men who work you ill good repay?

He also says that whether a man is great or not it depends not on his birth nor on his material wealth but on his spiritual richness. Since Valluvar was supposed to be born in a caste, the lowest one in the Indian system at his age, his proclamation might have caused him various kinds of discrimination and persecution. However, meekly enduring the persecution, he must have tried to make his utmost efforts to elevate the opponent's mind. What a difference from the habit in the Moslem society! I hear that their motto is "An eye for an eye".

I would like also to refer to the mendicancy on which Valluvar made many utterances. He says,

Even if a draught of water for a cow you ask,
Nought's so distasteful to the tongue as a beggar's task.

On the other hand, he defines that the act of refusing to give alms to the poor is as bad as the deed of begging.

For the present day Japanese people, not giving alms to the poor is not supposed so bad. On the contrary, many of us think that giving alms to the poor heedlessly is not good because the independent spirit of the poor is damaged. I wonder if the present day Tamil people are interpreting Valluvar's words literally concerning this matter. Of course, it is quite natural for us to return the wealth to the society when we become rich, and not to do so is bad. But, the badness of begging is far worse than that of not giving alms. I am afraid if the difference of the cognizance on the begging and alms might cause some misunderstandings in the course of our contact with the other nations.

Different from the solemn didactic content of Part I and Part II, Part III is composed of lyrical love songs. I can hardly believe that the grave moralist Valluvar who stared at the very depth of the human soul, who confronted badness with goodness, who gave advice on the conduct of life, sang such passionate and vivid love songs in such a frank way. However, paradoxically speaking, because Valluvar was such a man of the world who had tasted the sweets and bitters of life, his solemn teachings were so warm hearted and humane. Another wonder is that both the solemn didactic contents and the tender sentiment of love were expressed in the entirely same form of the verse which is composed of only seven words.

I hear that Kural means something short in Tamil, i.e. quite a short poem which cannot be shortened any more. In Japan, we have short poems such as *Maiku* and *Waka.* The former is composed of seventeen syllables in the order of five, seven, and five syllable groups. The latter is composed of thirty one syllables in the order of five, seven, five, seven, and seven syllable groups. Both types of poems are excellent in the description of scenery and the manifestation of impressions. And the latter is especially suitable for the expression of the love between man and woman. But, either of them is rarely used for the expression of didactic contents.

If I dare to try verse translation of the *Kural* couplets in Part III Love, I will choose the form of *Waka* without hesitation. As a matter of fact, some couplets are compared to the following *Waka* poems composed by ancient *Waka* poets.

For example, couplet 1146 is :

> Koisu-cho waga na wa madaki tachi ni keri,
> Hito shirezu koso omoi some shiga

(Though my love to her was secretly cherished in my heart, the rumour that I fell in love has spread so soon.)

Couplet 1169 is:

> Ashibiki no yamadori no o no shidari-o no
> Naganagashi yo wo hitori kamo nen.

(How sad I am to sleep alone throughout the night, as long as the drooping tail of a copper pheasant.)

Couplet 1253 is:

> Shinobure-do iro ni ide ni keri waga koi wa,
> Mono ya omou to hito no tou made.

(Though I endeavoured to conceal my love, I looked so serious that people asked me "Why are you in such a musing fit?").

The most interesting characteristic of the *Kural* love songs is the independence of the body of a person. Heart, face, soul, eyes, hands, forehead, or even the pallid complexion of the face shows their character uncontrollable by the person himself. Such an expression rouses deeper and deeper emotions. Toward the end of the *Kural* love songs, we can see a vivid love quarrel between husband and wife caused by the sneeze of the husband. This description is so fresh and animated that I feel as if I were watching a home drama on T.V.

The Kural is the core of the spirit of the Tamil people. And the most remarkable point is that it is threaded through with "Love to the others". Do we have such a core of the spirit of the Japanese people? Before the War, the Imperial Rescription Education was the standard of our morality. But, it was denied because of the fear of enhancing militarism. Now, we do not have any racial bible which should be kept in the minds of all the Japanese people. I am seriously worrying about the future of our race whose material civilization has overwhelmed the spiritual one. *As long as the Kural is kept in the minds of all the Tamil people, I think, their glory will last forever.*

The Tamil poet Naganar praised the Kural in the following short lines.

"What is the use of great length, when the short work of Valluvar alone is enough to edify the world? It contains everything, and there is nothing which it does not contain."

Will I be allowed to utter any more on this marvellous holy script ? Valluvar praised the excellence of Rain in ten couplets.

For me, the Kural is as wonderful as Air. The teachings penetrate into my chest without any resistance, and inform me with a new life. If I miss the morals in Kural, I shall be choked in a moment.

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICIES OF TIRUVALLUVAR

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A good number of learned minds have gone into the classic work of Tiruvalluvar – some with clinical precision – over the last thousand years and more. The entire range of 1330 couplets have been squeezed and squeezed to extract the essence of the teachings of the Master Poet. A great deal of research has also been undertaken by way of critiques – on its originality, the probable influences of the then extant local and foreign works on the Master, its internal consistency, and external parallelism to its coevals, the permanance of its relevance and so on. I shall not attempt to turn any new stones. What follows is a review of the home and foreign policies of the *Kural* suggested by random thoughts that arose on the state of mind of the poet, so essential to understand his views in the proper perspective.

Ordinarily, it is odd to review a work some 2000 years old. However when it comes to Kural, it seems to be the most natural and purposeful thing to do. It is a work about mankind as such and through time, and not about a certain sect or a tribe or race at a certain time or period. The theme of Kural is not something abstract and other-worldly, pertaining to the realm of mysticism. Kural has a down-to-earth theme - living here below, and now. The book lays down a code of living for the individual in his relation to the society. In this Valluvar is unique. He is an idealist – pragmatist. He circumscribed his ideals into human reality. He did not invent any out-of-the-way code of living. Neither did he prescribe any extraordinary sacrifices for the people. His code is perfectly in line with the "ordinary business of life". Thus he may not have laid down the right code of living; but he has most certainly laid down the best code of living. Two millennia have passed since Valluvar's time. Yet the foibles, faults, follies and fallacies of the human race that Valluvar high-lighted are still with us, as green as ever. Hence is the lasting relevance and influence of Kural, which can still pave the way for a meaningful society.

That Kural is basically temporal and mundane in content should not be confused with agnosticism or deism . The fact that Valluvar opens his account

with an invocation to God Almighty; that he allots a separate chapter to Ascetic Virtues and his deterministic view of Destiny should suffice to convince us that he was an ardent theist. But what distinguishes him from all other sages of his time and after is his practical outlook of life on earth. Have faith in God, but wait for the green light before crossing the street, – is the kind of advice typical of him. Valluvar sees no inconsistency in being godly and human at the same time,. "Indeed there is hardly any need for asceticism if the heart is pure and shuns what all world condemns as wrong".[1] For Valluvar there is no dichotomy involved between materialism and spirituality. One may call this synthesis as his thesis.

The Sangam Age, considered to be the Golden Age of the Tamils, in which Valluvar lived was subjected to two main counter-acting influences. Originally the Sangam period marked the high-tide of Tamil materialism. People were mainly concerned with the pursuit of material achievements of life. Love and war formed the main themes of the poets. No heavenly doubts troubled their carefree hearts, such as did the contemporary Upanishad thinkers in the North. The Tamils of the Sangam Age were realists, by and large. With the advent of alien faiths from outside such as Buddhism and later Jainism and from inside, particularly the Vedic influence, the outlook of the people began to change and the slumber of thought was stirred again. What was welcomed, more by the rulers than the subjects as a wholesome doctrine to the excessively earth-earthy concerns of the age, soon drifted to the extremes tilting the balance to the point of being counter-productive. Suddenly love became an object of disgust and war an act of despisal. Material pursuits and physical valour became an anathema. Such was the effect of self-abnegation preached by these alien religions that from a predominantly rationalistic attitude, the life of the Tamils passed into systematic disparagement of the world as total illusion.

Tiruvalluvar, a dialetic thinker he was, presumably sensed the danger in the situation and took upon himself the task of striking a balance between these two extremes of Material and Spiritual. Evidently he rejected the reversal to unalloyed materialism. Moreover the new gospels had much to teach that was of lasting value and had already taken root in the hearts and minds of men. Thus he sought the obvious – the golden mean. He brought forth a matchless work of synthesis between the two apparently opposing concepts of the Spiritual and the Material. Finally, the message had to reach the people at large. It had to be democratic in form, content and appeal. The form had to be new, even as its content of thought. The choice of the form of Kural was deliberate, despite its great limitations as a vehicle of didactic teaching. It did not have the imaginative appeal either of

1. மழித்தலும் நீட்டலும் வேண்டா உலகம்
பழித்த(து) ஒழித்து விடின்.

Buddhist Jataka tales or of Upanishad stories, or of biblical parables, not to say of the later day absorbing epics and puranas. The success he made of the epigrammatic form is a miracle in the history of poetical expression.

Though Tiruvalluvar was decidedly a theist, and believed in the attendant other-than-wordly implications, in Kural he primarily sought to present only a Model of Living. Of the four-fold conventional divisions of life's aim into *Dharma* or *Aram* (Ethics) *Artha* or *Porul* (Polity), *Kama* or *Inbam* (Love) and *Moksha* or *Veedu* (Liberation), he deliberately excludes the fourth objective and confines himself to the first three. He thus sought to present only the earthly framework of a society – namely ethics, polity and love.

In Valluvar's system the three pillars of ethics, polity and love form an integrated structure. One does not run counter to the other. To understand any aspect of Kural one must necessarily understand and accept his code of ethics or Aram. For it is a single current that pervades the entire poem. He sees polity only through an ethical eye. Valluvar gives it (ethics) the pride of place in the introduction (*Payiram*) itself. Ethics of Valluvar is not something demonstrable as, for instance. in the case of the Utilitarian Philosophy. There is no likening of pleasures arising from push-pin and poetry. It is founded on the innate, intuitive and abiding human values. In the final analysis it is somewhat like the Confucian dictum of "do good because it is good".

Valluvar's Aram or ethics is not concerned with the social laws, the society's customs and conventions; nor with the Governmental laws which determine the relationship of man to man in the context of society as a political organism. Valluvar is only concerned with the moral code of permanent and universal validity. The authority of this law transcends into the "other-world" too. For the observance of this Law or Righteousness "opens the gates of heaven and unlocks the treasures of the earth".[2]

It is common and understandable temptation to compare and contrast Tiruvalluvar's views with those of his contemporary and later day philosophers. His political thoughts have been both extensively and intensively compared with those of political philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Confucious, Machiavelli and our own Kautilya. The near identical views of Valluvar and Kautilya in certain matters of polity have particularly attracted much debate. Who was influenced by whom is still an inconclusive debate, as the respective periods of the two authors are not yet clearly known. I do not propose to search for anything more in this already well researched area.

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2. இருமை வகை தெரிந்து ஈண்டறம் பூண்டார்
பெருமை பிறங்கிற்று உலகு.

In fact it is immaterial to ponder what or who all influenced Valluvar in his ideas. Philosophy is essentially a value-loaded discipline. And value-judgement is purely intuitive. What becomes a philosophy is when what is uttered by way of values by the philosopher is in perfect harmony with the intuitive values common to all mankind. When the values of two philosophers are identical, it is not necessary that either one of them should have been influenced by the other. Religions have grown not because of their apostles, but because of the intuitive capacity of mankind to understand and accept the values contained in them.

Tiruvalluvar, so erudite, evidently must have been conversant with the political thoughts of his times. But Kural that he composed was essentially an original piece; a product of his intuitive search for the right values of earthly life. Whatever be one's erudition, it is one's intuitive knowledge that finally asserts[3]. And that knowledge was highly eclectic in its approach.

Kural is not a manual of statecraft dealing with the machinery of the Government like Arthasasthra or Machiavalli's Prince. Statecraft is a concept changing with time and forms of Government. Kural is concerned with only abiding values that should inform any form of polity at any time, anywhere. Thus though Valluvar's polity is monarchy, which was the popular form of Government in his times, the values attributed to it hold good for any form of Government upto the present day democracy, or perhaps any other innovation political philosophers may in future think of. It was not the intention of Valluvar to perpetuate monarchy. He was beyond the passion of his day. His search was to find a lasting basis which could provide order and progress in any form of society. And he found it in ethics or Aram. Based on ethics he propounded his polity.

Valluvar's monarchy is not autarchy. The king in Kural is not the despot of Machiavelli or the Universal Sovereign or Chakravartin of Kautilya. He is a just king – an enlightened and benevolent monarch. "The armour of the King is his equity".[4] What brings glory to the king is not his javelin, but his sceptre held with equity.[5] Conversely, Valluvar attacks tyranny in no uncertain terms. A tyrant is worse than an assassin;[6] or highway robber.[7] The ruin of such a ruler

3. நுண்ணிய நூல்பல கற்பினும் மற்றுந்தன்
உண்மை அறிவே மிகும்.

4. இறைகாக்கும் வையகம் எல்லாம்; அவனை
முறைகாக்கும் முட்டாச் செயின்.

5. வேலன்று வென்றி தருவது; மன்னவன்
கோலதூஉம் கோடா(து) எனின்.

6. கொலைமேற் கொண்டாரில் கொடிதே அலைமேற்கொண்டு
அல்லவை செய்தொழுகும் வேந்து.

7. வேலொடு நின்றான் இடு என்றது போலும்
கோலொடு நின்றான் இரவு.

will be swift and sure.[8].. Valluvar does not speak of civil war or revolution that will topple a tyrant. He believes in natural justice. In a tyrant's hand seasons alter and heavens withold their showers.[9] It is the tears of the oppressed and the downtrodden who groan under the tyrannous yoke of a prince that wear away his fortune".[10] And "the days of a tyrant, on whose head do fall the curses of his subjects, are numbered and he perishes".[11]

The internal state policies of Valluvar can be brought under the conventional classification of the legislative, executive and the judiciary. However, Valluvar, as noted earlier, is not concerned with the administrative mechanism of these units of state. He merely gives the attributes of the persons who man these departments and their respective functioning. Valluvar's unique contribution is that he holds the ruled as well as the ruler equally responsible for the just and orderly functioning of the state. He therefore, prescribes the necessary attributes of the functionaries as well as of the people.

Legislative

The legislative organ of Valluvar consists at the top of the Ruler and His Council of Ministers. Valluvar attaches much importance to the personal attributes of the ruler. For not only does the Ruler wield the ultimate authority; he has to be a model for his subjects. Valluvar does not see any dualism between the personal qualities of a ruler and his actions, as did some philosophers in the name of reality. For a ruler's actions to be great, he must personify greatness himself. History is punctuated with cases where the personality of the leader has overshadowed all other authorities. A Ruler, Valluvar says, should have unflinching courage, extreme "liberality", infinite wisdom and inexhaustible energy.[12] He almost resembles the Philosopher-King of Plato. He should avoid niggardliness, overweening pride and sensuality.[13] Innumerable are the instances of heads of

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8. வெருவந்த செய்தொழுகும் வெங்கோலன் ஆயின்
ஒருவந்தம் ஒல்லைக் கெடும்.

9. முறைகோடி மன்னவன் செய்யின் உறைகோடி
ஒல்லாது வானம் பெயல்.

10. அல்லற்பட்(டு) ஆற்றுது அழுதகண் ணீர்அன்றே
செல்வத்தைத் தேய்க்கும் படை.

11. இறைகடியன் என்றுரைக்கும் இன்னுச்சொல் வேந்தன்
உறைகடுகி ஒல்லைக் கெடும்.

12. அஞ்சாமை ஈகை அறிவூக்கம் இந்நான்கும்
எஞ்சாமை வேந்தற்(கு) இயல்பு.

13. இவறலும் மாண்பிறந்த மானமும் மாணு
உவகையும் ஏதம் இறைக்கு.

states who were forced to step down for reasons of indiscretion in private life. So, a ruler should avoid liquor and gambling. A king who is a drunkard is not dreaded by his foes.[14] "And let a king avoid gambling even if he is skilful in that; for many a monarch who had flourished had come to grief by frequenting the gambling hall and playing dice".[15] The Ruler for all this wisdom and valour should not lock himself in an ivory tower. He should identify himself with his subjects as one among them. He shall be easy of access and never guilty of a harsh word;[16] lest all his greatness should be as useless as the hoarded wealth jealously guarded by a sleepless monster.[17] Eternal vigilance is another important attribute of a Ruler. Nothing is impossible to a Ruler who is all eyes and ears about this work.[18]

Fore-thought and planning for a Ruler are essential qualities, be it economic or political matters. A country well endowed with natural resources by itself cannot bring about prosperity. It has to be exploited and managed judiciously. A good Ruler is one who "develops the resources of his domain, enriches his exchequer and channels the expenditure purposefully."[19] A Ruler who is thoughtless of his expenditure only appears to be prosperous, but in fact he is on a "downward path to destruction".[20] The Ruler should combine in him the qualities of an economic adviser in a larger sense and a business consultant in a micro sense. Kural advises the Ruler to "take stock of the expenditure, return and profit of any enterprise, and then embark on it."[21] Incidentally, Valluvar holds the traditional approach to state budget. He recommends a balanced budget.[22] Perhaps there is much wisdom in this time-honoured Canon of State Finance, so much respected till

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14. உட்கப் படாஅர் ஒளிஇழப்பர் எஞ்ஞான்றும்
கட்காதல் கொண்டு ஒழுகுவார்.
15. கவறும் கழகமும் கையும் தருக்கி
இவறியார் இல்லாகி யார்.
16. காட்சிக் கெளியன் கடுஞ்சொல்லன் அல்லனேல்
மீக்கூறும் மன்னன் நிலம்.
17. அருஞ்செவ்வி இன்னா முகத்தான் பெருஞ்செல்வம்
பேஎய்கண்(டு) அன்ன(து) உடைத்து.
18. அரியஎன்று ஆகாத இல்லை பொச்சாவாக்
கருவியால் போற்றிச் செயின்.
19. இயற்றலும் ஈட்டலும் காத்தலும் காத்த
வகுத்தலும் வல்ல தரசு.
20. அளவறிந்து வாழாதான் வாழ்க்கை உளபோல
இல்லாகித் தோன்றாக் கெடும்.
21. அறிவதூஉம் ஆவதூஉம் ஆகி வழிபயக்கும்
ஊதியமும் சூழ்ந்து செயல்.
22. ஆகுஆறு அளவுஇட்டிது ஆயினும் கேடில்லை,
போகுஆறு அகலாக் கடை.

Gladstone's days, and so little remembered in modern times with the insoluble problems of deficit financing and recurring bouts of inflation, deflation and stagflation.

Council of Ministers

Although Valluvar's Ruler is an enlightened father figure revered instinctively by the people, he (Valluvar) is only too aware of the human limitations; and that power corrupts mortals. Hence his equal emphasis on the council of ministers who act as a positive check on him. "Is there an enemy that can work evil to a wise Ruler who turns not away from the wholesome taunts and reproaches of his far- seeing ministers?" asks Valluvar.[23] A Ruler can ignore the ministers only at his own ruin. "Ruin seizes the Ruler that trusts not his wise counsellors."[24] Even in a democracy, in practice, the head of the state, be it the President or the Prime Minister, is not one among equals, but wields the final authority. Nevertheless for his continuing in office he has necessarily to consider the counsel of his ministers. A Ruler therefore must take utmost care in the selection of his ministers. The stability of a ruler rests on the wise counsel of his ministers, even as profit is built on capital.[25]

Choice of Counsellors

Valluvar prescribes an elaborate screening procedure – which is an accepted practice even today – for the selection of the ministers; lest "reposing confidence in a minister without studying him breeds millions of mischiefs even to generation of rulers yet unborn.."[26] The minister shall be screened with regard to his lineage, character and honour;[27] and also for his "love of right conduct, love of money, love of women and love of life.[28] Valluvar vehemently opposes nepotism – which is a bane even today – in the selection of ministers. It is the height of folly.[29]

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23. இடிக்கும் துணையாரை ஆள்வாரை யாரே
கெடுக்குந் தகைமை யவர்.
24. வினைக்கண் வினையுடையான் கேண்மைவே றாக
நினைப்பானை நீங்கும் திரு.
25. முதலியார்க் (கு) ஊதியம் இல்லை; மதலையாம்
சார்பிலார்க் (கு) இல்லை நிலை.
26. தேரான் பிறனைத் தெளிந்தான் வழிமுறை
தீரா இடும்பை தரும்.
27. குடிப்பிறந்து குற்றத்தின் நீங்கி வடுப்புரியும்
நாணுடையான் கட்டே தெளிவு.
28. அறம்பொருள் இன்பம் உயிரச்சம் நான்கின்
திறம்தெரிந்து தேறப் படும்.
29. காதன்மை கந்தா அறிவறியார்த் தேறுதல்
பேதைமை எல்லாந் தரும்.

Assignment of Portfolios

Once the screening is over, and the choice of the minister is made, then comes the question of choice of portfolio for him. The ruler shall be no less careful in assigning the portfolios. "Weigh the merits of a minister", Valluvar exhorts the ruler; "choose him and then assign him the proper sphere of work[30]".

Qualities of Counsellors

The ministers as advisers are the positive check on the functioning of the Ruler. It is therefore necessary that they should also be men of high qualities. Valluvar gives the attributes of the ministers thus: A minister should be pure in his action. The echoes of ethics keep recurring throughout Kural. "Let the minister scorn shameless deeds that promise neither earthly fame nor the distant prospect of heaven."[31] A deceitful minister is sure to bring about the ruin of the ruler. "The support of such a minister is like preserving water in a pitcher of unbaked clay".[32] How prophetic did the words prove in our own country not so long ago!

The minister must be aware of laws of the land and be capable of wise counsel at any time of need.[33] For this he should be learned and a man-of-the world at once.[34] He should be able to judge people. A Ruler is advised to accept even at great sacrifice a counsellor who can read the thoughts of others.[35] Persuasive speech is a quality most indispensable to a minister;[36] for "on his very tongue rests the fortune or the ruin of his Ruler."[37]

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30. தேறற்க யாரையும் தேராது; தேர்ந்தபின்
தேறுக தேறும் பொருள்.

31. என்றும் ஒருவுதல் வேண்டும், புகழொடு
நன்றி பயவா வினை.

32. சலத்தாற் பொருள் செய்(து) ஏமார்த்தல் பசுமண்
கலத்துள்நீர் பெய்திரீஇ யற்று.

33. அறனறிந்(து) ஆன்றமைந்த சொல்லான் எஞ்ஞான்றும்
திறறினந்தான் தேர்ச்சித் துணை.

34. செயற்கை யறிந்தக் கடைத்தும் உலகத்
தியற்கை யறிந்து செயல்.

35. குறிப்பின் குறிப்புணர் வாரை உறுப்பினுள்
யாது கொடுத்துங் கொளல்.

36. சொலல்வல்லன் சோர்விலன் அஞ்சான் அவனை
இகல்வெல்லல் யார்க்கும் அரிது.

37. கேட்டார்ப் பிணிக்குந் தகையவாய்க் கேளாரும்
வேட்ப மொழிவதாஞ் சொல்.

Valluvar commends the qualities essential to a good minister. He wants the minister to be definite and authoritative in his counsel, once he has weighed the pros and cons of a matter.[38] A minister who is not resolute in his actions is not respected by wise men, notwithstanding his all other virtues.[39] Valluvar also decries defection. A minister should be committed to his cause. Let him not desert a foolish Ruler; let him continually advise him.[40]

The minister should also observe certain service etiquettes in his relationship with the ruler. It is in the interest of both. The minister should keep a respectable distance from the Ruler. He should neither be too familiar with the Ruler nor stand too aloof from him. Let him be like one who warms before a fire. If he is too close, the fire will scorch him; if he be too distant, he cannot gain the warmth and confidence of the Ruler, so essential for the success of his mission.[41] "The foolish acts which a minister does through familiarity with the king causes his own downfall".

Bureaucracy

Valluvar's polity recognises the due place of the Executive. However the executives of Valluvar are not bureaucrats, who are mere pen-pushers. To use the modern language, he prefers active "technologists" so to say, for executives. He relies heavily on expertise. "He should be employed in the service of the state who develops her resources and removes all her ills.[42] For the secret of success of an undertaking depends on seeking the aid of the expert.[43] It is strange that 2000 years after he wrote, we are still debating whether experts or general administrators should run the government; and the Fullarton Committee in U.K. decided on a compromise. Here again Valluvar raises the word of caution against favouritism

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38. தெரிதலும் தேர்ந்து செயலும் ஒருதலையாச்
சொல்லலும் வல்ல(து) அமைச்சு.

39. எனைத்திட்பம் எய்தியக் கண்ணும் வினைத்திட்பங்
வேண்டாரை வேண்டா(து) உலகு.

40. அறிகொன்(று) அறியான் எனினும் உறுதி
உழையிருந்தான் கூறல் கடன்.

41. அகலா(து) அணுகாது தீக்காய்வார் போல்க
இகல்வேந்தர்ச் சேர்ந்தொழுகு வார்.

42. வாரிபெருக்கி வளம்படுத்(து) உற்றவை
ஆராய் வான் செய்க வினை.

43. செய்வினை செய்வான் செயல்முறை அவ்வினை
உள்ளறிவான் உளங் கொளல்.

in appointments. They shall be chosen on the basis of their uprightness and endurance.[44] In assigning their posts, Valluvar, again warns against placing square pegs in round holes. He clearly instructs, "Gauge the capacity of the servant, measure the work for which he is competent and then saddle him with that work.[45]

Secret Service

A Ruler, however cautious he is in choosing his ministers and executives must have sources of his own to know what is going on around him – his Secret Service. It is a sort of counter-check on the advice and counsel he receives, as also on the continuing integrity and loyalty of his ministers and officers. Valluvar advises the ruler to employ an intelligence corps for this purpose. The internal secret service is to this day a universal feature in any type of Government. The intelligence service and the code of laws are like the two eyes of the Ruler.[46] Through them he learns betimes all the minute affairs of his realm.[47] They also keep a watch on the ruler's officers, his relatives and his enemies.[48] Thus the ruler keeps himself abreast of all the developments – good or bad – of his realm, which helps him immensely in making his decisions.

Valluvar lays down the qualifications of the Ruler's Intelligence Service. An intelligence service man should always work under cover, and have an iron will. Valluvar commends the disguise of an ascetic for service in the espionage corps; but he should never disclose his identity even under the worst of tortures.[49] He should act normal and have no suspicious air about him.[50] He should also be intelligent to get at secrets and pass them on to the ruler in a precise, clear and unconfused manner.[51] Valluvar advises the king to be wary of his intelligence men

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44. அறிந்தாற்றிச் செய்கிற் பாற்(கு) அல்லால் வினைதான்
சிறந்தாஎன்(று) ஏவற்பாற் றன்று.
45. இதனை இதனால் இவன்முடிக்கும் என்றாய்ந்(து)
அதனை அவன்கண் விடல்.
46. ஒற்றும் உரைசான்ற நூலும் இவை இரண்டும்
தெற்றென்று மன்னவன் கண்.
47. எல்லார்க்கும் எல்லாம் நிகழ்பவை எஞ்ஞான்றும்
வல்லறிதல் வேந்தன் தொழில்.
48. வினைசெய்வார் தஞ்சுற்றம் வேண்டாதார் என்றாங்கு
அனைவரையும் ஆராய்வது) ஒற்று.
49. துறந்தார் படிவத்தர் ஆகி இறந்தாராய்ந்(து)
என்செயினும் சோர்வில(து) ஒற்று.
50. கடாஅ உருவொடு கண்ணஞ்சாது யாண்டும்
உகாஅமை வல்லதே ஒற்று.
51. மறைந்தவை கேட்கவற் றாகி அறிந்தவை
ஐயப்பா(டு) இல்லதே ஒற்று.

too. A better way, he suggests, to get information is to spy upon a spy.[52] Better still is to get the information from three different spies (without each aware of the other) and if all three views tally, then accept it as the truth, he adds.[53]

Judiciary

Justice or judiciary in Valluvar's polity is in the sole hands of the Ruler. Valluvar does not go into the details of administration of the judiciary. He only speaks of justice which is of eternal value. Valluvar equates a Ruler who dispenses perfect justice with the Almighty himself.[54] And he warns, a Ruler who prostitutes justice for his private ends, will lose both his fortune and his domain.[55]

Crime and Punishment

Though Valluvar is a humanitarian essentially, he speaks of the vital role of punishment for keeping order in a society. To punish the wicked to preserve peace and happiness is no reproach to the Ruler, it is his duty.[56] "Punishing the wicked is like removing the noxious weeds that choke the healthy growth of a sturdy plant".[57] Valluvar's concept of justice is thus based on plain commonsense. This reminds one of Confucius. When once Confucius was asked "Would you requite an injury with kindness?", he replied: "How do you requite a kindness, then?"; and added "Requite kindness with kindness and injury with justice".

However, Valluvar is not for inflicting heavy punishments rashly. "Bitter words and heavy punishments, like the keen edge of a saw, wear away the conquering might of a Ruler".[58] The very threat of punishment should be able to keep the people from doing wrong. A judge should look stern and severe but in meting out justice he should season it with mercy".[59] In meting out justice a ruler should

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52. ஒற்றொற்றித் தந்த பொருளையும் மற்றுமோர்
ஒற்றினால் ஒற்றிக் கொளல்.
53. ஒற்றொற்(று) உணராமை ஆள்க; உடன்மூவர்
சொற்றொக்க தேறப் படும்.
54. முறைசெய்து காப்பாற்றும் மன்னவன் மக்கட்கு
இறையென்று வைக்கப் படும்.
55. கூழுங் குடியும் ஒருங்கிழக்கும் கோல்கோடிச்
சூழாது செய்யும் அரசு.
56. குடிபுறங் காத்தோம்பிக் குற்றங் கடிதல்
வடுவன்று வேந்தன் தொழில்.
57. கொலையிற் கொடியாரை வேந்தொறுத்தல், பைங்கூழ்
களைகட் டதனொடு நேர்.
58. கடுமொழியும் கையிகந்த தண்டமும் வேந்தன்
அடுமுரண் தேய்க்கும் அரம்.
59. கடிதோச்சி மெல்ல எறிக; நெடிதுஆக்கம்
நீங்காமை வேண்டு பவர்.

first investigate the accusation impartially, judge it according to the nature of its guilt and award such punishment as will act as a deterrent.[60] Valluvar further expatiates: "Go into the details of a crime, view things impartially without being swayed by any motive; consult the wise men of the realm; that is the way to administer even-handed justice.[61]

Thus Valluvar not only stresses perfect justice, but also prescribes a "due process of law" to prove a guilt "beyond a reasonable doubt". Valluvar's instructions to the Ruler reads like a present day Judge's instructions to the jury. His advice to the ruler not to judge a crime by his opinion alone, but to consult the wise men speaks of his great respect for the "due process of law", which alone can minimise the inherent human bias to the extent humanly possible.

Social contract

Even a just ruler assisted by wise ministers that help in legislation, competent executives that have expertise and a learned and understanding judiciary who form the three limbs of the State cannot bring peace and prosperity to the country if his subjects are devoid of certain basic values of life. A country can be happy only when the rich, the wise and the working class live in concord and amity.[62] The people should have a voluntary "Social contract" as was envisaged by Rousseau so to say with the polity, based on common goodwill. A country will never prosper, if there is no harmony between the Ruler and the Ruled.[63] This relation between the Ruled and the Ruler is born out of the "social instinct of fellowship" as Confucius would have it. "Renowned is the land that is not divided into warring sects and torn with internal dissensions and does not nourish in her bosom murderous traitors.[64] Patriotism should inform the Ruled as much as the Ruler and there should be reciprocity of devotion in the common cause, of defence and development. Then will the levies of State on the people be as on the bedrock of ever-

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60. தக்காங்கு நாடித் தலைச்செல்லா வண்ணத்தால்
ஒத்தாங்(கு) ஒறுப்பது வேந்து.

61. ஓர்ந்துகண் ணோடா(து) இறைபுரிந்து யார்மட்டும்
தேர்ந்துசெய் வஃதே முறை.

62. தள்ளா விளையுளும் தக்காரும் தாழ்விலாச்
செல்வரும் சேர்வது நாடு.

63. ஆங்கமை வெய்தியக் கண்ணும் பயமின்றே
வேந்தமை இல்லாத நாடு.

64. பல்குழுவும் பாழ்செய்யும் உட்பகையும் வேந்தலைக்கும்
கொல்குறும்பும் இல்லது நாடு.

lasting love and mercy.[65] The people will then ungrudgingly make good even the severest drain on the country's resources in times of calamity.[66]

Social Code for the People

Among the social evils he condemns in a polity are prostitution, drinking and gambling. These can be fought only by society itself. So he lays down duties of the people as much as their rights on matters that should be dealt with by conventions and understanding of the Society itself – forming the Fourth Arm, as it were of the State. Where is hell, he asks, for degrading and abject souls but in the bedecked arms of the deceitful prostitutes?[67] Drinking brings down one in esteem.[68] It makes him dead to all sense of modesty and shame.[69] On evils of gambling he says gripping poverty springs from nothing else than gambling and leads one to endless woes.[70]

The attributes that people have, so essential for a good state, are further expatiated under what has been rather inappropriately termed section "Miscellaneous" (ஒழிபியல்) of the Kural. Valluvar speaks of the people of high birth, not based on their lineage (birth never determines the nobility or littleness of a soul[71]) but on their nobility. "Men of birth never play false to their innate sense of modesty, their rectitude and their truthfulness".[72] "Rather go without the very things that nourish and sustain your life and die, than lead a life of dishonour which brings disgrace to your home"[73] – exhorts Valluvar. Those who hold the honour and

65. அருளொடும் அன்பொடும் வாராப் பொருளாக்கம்
புல்லார் புரள விடல்.

66. பொறையொருங்கு மேல்வருங்கால் தாங்கி இறைவற்கு
இறையொருங்கு நேர்வது நாடு.

67. வரைவிலா மாணிழையார் மென்றோள் புரையிலாப்
பூரியர்கள் ஆழும் அளறு.

68. உண்ணற்க கள்ளை; உணில் உண்க சான்றோரால்
எண்ணப் படவேண்டா தார்.

69. நாணென்னும் நல்லாள் புறங்கொடுக்கும், கள்ளென்னும்
பேணாப் பெருங்குற்றத் தார்க்கு.

70. சிறுமை பலசெய்து சீரழிக்கும் சூதின்
வறுமை தருவதொன்(று) இல்.

71. மேலிருந்தும் மேல்அல்லார் மேலல்லர்; கீழிருந்தும்
கீழல்லார் கீழ்அல் லவர்.

72. ஒழுக்கமும் வாய்மையும் நாணும் இம் மூன்றும்
இழுக்கார் குடிப்பிறந் தார்.

73. இன்றி அமையாச் சிறப்பின வாயினும்
குன்ற வருப விடல்.

renown of their house in high regard will not descend to ignoble deeds.[74] Nothing brings greater renown to a man than his untiring zeal to add to the glory of his house.[75] Success, of its own accord, attends those who ceaselessly toil for the renown of their race.[76] On the need for greatness in men he says "the glory of life is in the titanic energy of the soul to achieve the impossible. The poverty of life is the poverty of the spirit which is content with a mere dung-hill existence."[77] Perfection of character based on affection, dread of sin, benevolence, benignity and truth,[78] is another important attribute of the people. In such a society even begging is no shame. To beg of them that deny not even in their dreams is as sweet as to bestow.[79] Common courtesy is essential for harmony of the soceity; but for it the world would be a mere heap of dust and ashes.[80] Niggardliness is despicable in a society. The riches of a miser are like the fruits of a poisonous tree in the heart of a village.[81]

Foreign Relations

On Foreign Policy, Valluvar is highly practical and his ethics is by no means inflexible. He becomes more a diplomat and a strategist. But then, ethics is not an unvarying concept. The ethical codes differ for different walks and situations of life. At times they may look contradictory too. But that is only apparent and not real. All ethical codes of lofty origin are in the final analysis in harmony with each other; for they all aim at the common good. Possibly Valluvar was influenced by the warring culture of the nations of his times. Battle in his times was equated with personal valour, and hence a desirable attribute of the ruler and his subjects. Centuries later dealing on the subject Freud, the father of psycho analysis, observed "The tendency to aggression is an innate, independent, instinctive disposition in man". Much of Valluvar's foreign policy, therefore, is taken up by

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74. சலம்பற்றிச் சால்பில செய்யார் மாசற்ற
குலம்பற்றி வாழ்தும்என் பார்.
75. கருமம் செய ஒருவன் கைதூவேன் என்னும்
பெருமையில் பீடுடைய(து) இல்.
76. சூழாமல் தானே முடிவெய்தும் தம்குடியைத்
தாழா(து) உஞற்று பவர்க்கு.
77. ஒளியொருவற் குள்ள வெறுக்கை; இளியொருவற்(கு)
அஃதிறந்து வாழ்தும் எனல்.
78. அன்புநாண் ஒப்புரவு கண்ணேட்டம் வாய்மையோடு
ஐந்து சால்பு ஊன்றிய தூண்.
79. இரத்தலும் ஈதலே போலும், கரத்தல்
கனவிலும் தேற்றாதார் மாட்டு.
80. பண்புடையார்ப் பட்டுண் டுலகம்; அதுஇன்றேல்
மண்புக்கு மாய்வது மன்.
81. நச்சப் படாதவன் செல்வம் நடுஊருள்
நச்சு மரம்பழுத் தற்று.

the art of warfare and war diplomacy. Obviously Valluvar was influenced by the stern belief that the Ruler is the defender of the realm and to defend is his first and last duty.

And defence is inextricably involved in offence. So agression and annexation form part and parcel of a Ruler's foreign policy. A mighty Ruler should possess a powerful army, loyal subjects, infinite resources, far-seeing ministers, good friends and impregnable defence arrangements.[82] Napoleon once said "God is on the side of the bigger battalions". He should have known better. However, war between two equally mighty Rulers can rarely be decisive. In war, therefore, it is the weak and tiny kingdoms that are invariably the targets of attack. A prudent ruler would rather strike hard at the weaker one than measure his strength with the powerful one.[83] "Glory is not for the prince who does not take advantage of a weak and ignorant foe."[84] On the face of it, this policy of Valluvar looks unethical and destructive. A closer searching would make clear the moral that war can be prevented only by preparing for war. "To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace", said George Washington, one of the greatest of Generals and Statesmen. May be Valluvar wanted to put forth the concept of, what we call now, the balance of power for world peace in an ironical manner. Valluvar may also have, possibly, been of the view that a country is rather conquered by a strong Ruler than drag under a weakling. In any case, the strong ones attempting, if not annexing, the domains of the weaker ones in one way or the other, has basically been the time-honoured foreign policy of nations.

Defence and Diplomacy

The defence of a country is maintained both by might as well as by diplomacy. Valluvar advocates a path of diplomacy which even now is fresh in its outlook. He advises the ruler to make allies of his foes.[85] This is what we now have in the form of defence pacts. Also, a ruler should never wage war on two fronts. "When alone contend not against two foes at a time; but make one of them your agreeable ally".[86] He has a valuable advice for the weak rulers also. A weak

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82. படைகுடி கூழ்அமைச்சு நட்பரண் ஆறும்
உடையான் அரசருள் ஏறு.

83. வலியாற்கு மாறேற்றல் ஓம்புக: ஓம்பா
மெலியார்மேல் மேக பகை.

84. கல்லான் வெகுளும் சிறுபொருள் எஞ்ஞான்றும்
ஒல்லானை ஒல்லா(து) ஒளி.

85. நட்டார்க்கு நல்ல செயலின் விரைந்ததே
ஒட்டாரை யொட்டிக் கொளல்.

86. தன்துணை இன்றால்; பகை இரண்டால்: தான்ஒருவன்
இன்துணையாகக் கொள்கவற்றின் ஒன்று.

Ruler would do well to accept the olive branch graciously offered by his mightier foe than confront him.[87] A Ruler can also, if able, spread his influence far, through friendly diplomacy. "The whole world is under the sway of the prince who takes the sting of hate and turns the frowns of foes into smiles".[88] Thus Valluvar drives home the point that though war is inevitable, a Ruler can also immensely gain by way of tactful diplomacy, both in time of war and in time of peace.

Art of Warfare

Valluvar dwells at length on the art of warfare. Before declaring war, a Ruler should take into consideration the sinews of war, the engines of destruction, he nature of action, the fitting time and the proper theatre of operation.[89]

The sinews of war, – finance – has always been the ultimate determinant of the outcome of a war. "Money, more money and still more money" was what the Mercantalists considered the essentials for a war. Even today the economic wealth of a nation invariably determines its battle power. Valluvar, therefore, gave prime importance to finance before plunging into war. He says a heroic defence of a fortress alone is not enough; it has to be well-stored with victuals of all kinds to last the war.[90] In vanquishing an enemy a Ruler need not be particular how the state gets the money to fight. War Finance has its own codes. It is beyond the canons of Peace Finance. Amassing wealth is the surest way of humbling the pride of the foe.[91]

A war requires extensive and intensive planning. A Ruler who wages a war without planning out the details is only paving the way to the success of the enemy.[92] Before going to war the Ruler should judge his own strength and resources as compared with those of his enemy. He should also understand the full implications of his enterprise, weigh his strength, and should be ever intent on it. Such a one knows no defeat.[93] Last, Valluvar sounds a warning. "Many a Ruler who has

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87. உறைசிறியார் உள்நடுங்கல் அஞ்சிக் குறைபெறின்
கொள்வர் பெரியார்ப் பணிந்து.

88. பகைநட்பாக் கொண்டொழுகும் பண்புடை யாளன்
தகைமைக் கண் தங்கிற்(று) உலகு.

89. பொருள்கருவி காலம் வினையிடனொடு ஐந்தும்
இருள்தீர எண்ணிச் செயல்.

90. எல்லாப்பொருளும் உடைத்தாய் இடத்துதவும்
நல் ஆள் உடைய(து) அரண்.

91. செய்க பொருளைச்; செறுநர் செருக் கறுக்கும்
எஃ(கு): அதனின் கூரிய(து) இல்.

92. வகையறச் சூழாது எழுதல் பகைவரைப்
பாத்திப் படுப்பதோர் ஆறு.

93. ஒல்வது அறிவது அறிந்ததன் கண்தங்கிச்
செல்வார்க்குச் செல்லாதது இல்.

not gauged his strength and that of his powerful enemy has been humbled in the midst of the battle."[94]

In Valluvar's days wars were commenced only after formal declaration. Even now we have an international convention which requires a nation to declare war formally before beginning the offensive. However in reality, nations now seem to circumvent this cardinal rule by such preposterous excuses as being "invited" to annex a nation or "teaching a lesson" to another nation.

A Ruler should bide his time before declaring war. History is replete with instances of mighty warriors failing in their ambition by timing their invasions wrong. Conquerors who aspire to the sovereignty of the world, must also wait unruffled, for the fitting moment.[95]. A Ruler should not be forced even by his own passion to declare war at an inopportune time. The prudent Ruler does not fly into a fit of passion at the insult of his enemy ; but smothers his wrath to allow it to burst into a greater fury at the right moment.[96]

It is true that wars are no more fought on agreed battle grounds as in Valluvar's days. But still even now the geography of nations has to be necessarily taken into consideration in a war. A Ruler should, once the right opportunity comes, choose the right place of battle. Valluvar advises the Ruler not to declare war until he has gained the vantage ground :[97] "Never fight the enemy on his own ground"[98] A well-built stronghold will set at nought all the enemy's strategems.[99] Even if weak, a ruler can prevail over his enemy if he can spy out a suitable field of action.[100]

Strengthening the base of attack, namely, the fortress, is not less important than choosing the right place of battle. A fortress is invaluable both when the Ruler

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94. உடைத்தம் வலிஅறியார் ஊக்கத்தின் ஊக்கி
இடைக்கண் முரிந்தார் பலர்.
95. காலங் கருதி இருப்பர் கலங்காது
ஞாலங் கருது பவர்.
96. பொள்ளென ஆங்கே புறம்வேரார்-காலம் பார்த்து
உள்வேர்ப்பர் ஒள்ளி யவர்.
97. தொடங்கற்க எவ்வினையும் எள்ளற்க முற்றும்
இடங்கண்ட பின்னல் லது.
98. சிறைநலனும் சீரும் இலரெனினும் மாந்தர்
உறைநிலத்தோடு ஒட்டல் அரிது.
99. எண்ணியார் எண்ணம் இழப்பர் இடனறிந்து
துன்னியார் துன்னிச் செயின்.
100. ஆற்றாரும் ஆற்றி அடுப; இடன் அறிந்து
போற்றார்கண் போற்றிச் செயின்.

is on the offensive and when he is on the defensive.[101] The fortress should be strong enough to withstand the outright onslaught of the enemy as well as provisioned enough to stand a siege.[102]

Qualities of a Soldier

Preparation by way of choosing the right time and place and a strong fortress are no doubt essential prerequisites of war. But to what avail will they all be, if the army is not valiant and disciplined ?[103] In war "man not material forms the decisive factor". So reads a page from Chairman Mao's Red Book. By a valiant soldier, Valluvar means a soldier "Who deems that day spent in vain that has not seen a battle-wound on his brave breast."[104] Valluvar gives the attributes of a national army as "valour, honour, an acquaintance with the old, glorious traditions of the army and loyalty to the chief."[105]

Qualities of an Army Chieftain

And it enjoins the ruler, on his part, to keep the army contented, well-paid and in suitable strength.[106] Napoleon was very particular of his own dictum that in war morale counts for three quarters and manpower for only one quarter. Last but not the least, Valluvar speaks of the vital place of the General in the army. It is he who makes all the differencc between victory and defeat. Asks Valluvar, "Of what avail are the forces ready for war, if there be no General bold to lead them on to victory".[107]

Importance of War Strategy

Though valour should inform every soldier, in a war, it is not prudent for him to lead with his chin up. To die in battle may bring glory to him, but will it bring victory to his side ? "No man ever won a war by dying for his country, but

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101. ஆற்று பவர்க்கும் அரண்பொருள் அஞ்சித்தன்
போற்றுபவர்க்கும் பொருள்.
102. முற்றியும் முற்று(து) எறிந்தும் அறைப்படுத்தும்
பற்றற்(கு) அரியது அரண்.
103. எனைமாட்சித் தாகியக் கண்ணும் வினைமாட்சி
இல்லார்கண் இல்ல (து) அரண்.
104. விழுப்புண் படாதநாள் எல்லாம் வழுக்கினுள்
வைக்குந் தன் நாளை யெடுத்து.
105. மறம்மானம் மாண்ட வழிச்செலவு தேற்றம்
எனநான்கே ஏமம் படைக்கு.
106. சிறுமையும் செல்லாத் துணியும் வறுமையும்
இல்லாயின் வெல்லும் படை.
107. நிலைமக்கள் சால உடைத் தெனினுந் தானை
தலைமக்கள் இல்வழி இல்.

by making the other dumb men die for his"—are the famous words of that famous Second World War American General,— Patton. In war there is no substitute for victory, declared Douglas MacArthur, another hero, of the Second World War. Valluvar also asks the soldiers to follow reason rather than passion when the situation so warrants. "Nobly fight out your foe wherever you can. Wherever you cannot, adopt some other method of warfare to vanquish your foe."[108] An army should be valiant and tactful too. It is the strategy that counts in a war. In attacking, it should avoid the strong points of the enemy and march on them in such a way that it suffers no loss itself.[109] When applied properly even a safe retreat can gain a victory.[110].

Ambassadors

War and peace have alternated throughout human history. So too the relationship between the nations. If in times of war nations turned enemies to each other, in times of peace they maintained friendly relationship. In either case the ambassador or the emissary plays a crucial role. He is the lynchpin of diplomacy. It is on his ability that the external fortunes of a ruler rest. An emissary is capable of bringing about the ruin of the ruler too. Therefore Valluvar makes a special mention of the qualities of an ambassador. In fact, what he prescribed still forms a valid criterion for choosing the diplomats.

The basic attributes of a good ambassador are native intelligence, a commanding personality and profound learning.[111] Eloquence is essential for his functioning. A true ambassador carries conviction home by his persuasive eloquence.[112] He should also act with tact if he should fulfill his assignments. He should know the decorum of the court, seize the opportune moment and present his well-thought out case.[113] Commitment to the cause is the mark of a diplomat. He shall not

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108. ஒல்லும்வாய் எல்லாம் வினைநன்றே; ஒல்லாக்கால்
செல்லும்வாய் நோக்கிச் செயல்.

109. தார்தாங்கிச் செல்வது தானை; தலைவந்த
போர்தாங்குந் தன்மை அறிந்து.

110. சிறுபடையான் செல்இடம் சேரின் உறுபடையான்
ஊக்கம் அழிந்து விடும்.

111. அறிவுருவு ஆராய்ந்த கல்வி இம்மூன்றன்
செறிவுடையான் செல்க வினைக்கு.

112. கற்றுக்கண் அஞ்சான் செலச் சொல்லிக் காலத்தால்
தக்க(து) அறிவதாம் தூது.

113. கடனறிந்து காலங் கருதி இடனறிந்(து)
எண்ணி உரைப்பான் தலை.

turn against his Ruler even under the threat of torture.[114] An ambassador who enhances the prestige of his nation even in mightier nations is a statesman among statesmen.[115]

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114. விடுமாற்றம் வேந்தர்க்(கு) உறைப்பான் வடுமாற்றம்
வாய்சோரா வன்க ணவன்

115. நூலாருள் நூல்வல்லன் ஆகுதல் வேலாருள்
வென்றி வினையுரைப்பான் பண்பு.

VALLUVAR'S CONCEPT OF UUZH

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Perhaps the most perplexing crux in Thirukkural ("The Sacred Couplets") by the Tamil sage Tiruvalluvar is the concept of *uuzh*, to which he devotes a whole chapter (38). Most of the learned annotators of the classic seem to have been influenced by the changed outlook of their own (later) times in their interpretation of *uuzh*.

Parimelalagar, the most erudite and the most famous commentator of the classic, to whom all students of the *Kural* are deeply indebted, defines *uuzh* as the Law by which the performer of good and bad deeds experiences their fruits. Manakkudavar had already given the same interpretation. Neither of the two would specify the deeds as those of former births, though that seems to have been their understanding. Another annotator of the Middle Ages, Parithiyaar, is more explicit though less precise. He calls *uuzh* the fruit of the deeds of the previous birth (the idea of Law is ingnored here). Many modern commentators, including V.V.S. Aiyar[1] and Dr. T.P. Meenakshisundaran[2], identify *uuzh* with the doctrine of *karma* by which the soul experiences the fruits of the deeds of former births.

This explanation of *uuzh* by the galaxy of erudite annotators might make one assume that there would be incontrovertible evidence in the chapter on *uuhz* to justify their interpretation. But, strangely enough, not one of the ten couplets refers or even alludes to the doctrine of Karma.

We are not now concerned with the dispute over the validity of the doctrine of Karma. The question before us is whether Valluvar has spoken of it or not in the chapter on *uuzh*.

It is true that the ancients thought of *uuzh* , which orginally denoted the impersonal cosmic principle of order or regularity, as ensuring the universal vogue of the doctrine of karma. But, then, while referring to this aspect, ancient Tamil literature is punctilious in using the term *uuzhvinai*, which may be translated as the Law concerning the fruits of the deeds of former births. For instance there are at least four references in *Silappadikaaram* ("The Lay of the Anklet") to the hero being impelled by the Law of the fruits of former births, and every time the poet uses *uuzhvinai* ; not even once does he clip it to *uuzh*.[3] So, *uuzh* must not be identified with *uuzhvinai*.

In the chapter on *uuzh* Valluvar uses *uuzh*, *paal* ('apportioning'), *unmai* (truth), *iyarkai* (nature') as synonyms. He uses *deyvam* (Sanskrit *daiva* 'divinity') in couplets 619 and 1023 as synonym of *uuzh*. In his introductory note in the *uuzh* chapter Parimeelalagar himself recognizes them as well as *murai* ('regularity'), *vidhi* (fate) and *niyathi* ('destiny') as synonyms. Nowadays we use *murai* and *iyarkai* in the secular sense only, neither denoting nor connoting any involvement of the divine. So we may be tempted to take *uuzh* for the pattern of circumstances in which one finds oneself. But, that would be a misreading of Valluvar. He perceived the determining role of the Divine in the regularity of phenomena. That apart, if Valluvar had thought of *uuzh* in the secular sense he would not have used *deyvam* as its synonym.

The use of *deyvam* and *paal* as the synonyms of *uuzh* provide the first clue to solving the puzzle regarding *uuzh*. In Tamil the word *deyvam* may denote the Almighty, which is not the meaning here, or a specific deity who is usually referred to in a preceding modifier. Evidently, *deyvam* as synonym of *uuzh* is a clipped form. It is also obvious that the semantically significant modifier could be omitted only because, in view of the popularity of the particular divinity, the word divinity itself was invariably associated in people's minds with that particular deity.

Paal, which means apportioning, does not by itself hang together with the other synonymns. So, one is led to infer that it is also a shortened form. Inevitably one asks the question whether *paal* and *deyvam* are clipped forms of the same phrase. Presto, one is reminded of the phrase *paal varai deyvam* in *Tolkaappiyam*, the work on Tamil grammar of the second century B.C. Even earlier—Editor in the second book, which deals with words - i.e., with etymology, morphology, semantics and syntax- the author gives examples of nouns denoting personal class of beings which take verbs with neuter endings (suutra 58), and one of the examples is *paal varai deyvam* which may be translated as "the deity that allots the shares." It is undoubtedly a derivative name, but there is no direct literary evidence for the derivation.

But then some light is thrown on this problem by what the ancient works on poetics have to say on the theme of the heroism of hunter tribes[4] and by the poems in *Puranaanuuru* ("the heroic four hundred") devoted to that theme[5] as well as by the twelfth section (*Veettuva vari*) of *Silappadikaaram*. They tell us of how hunter tribes go to war with shepherd tribes, seize their cows and dispose of them. *Paathiidu* (sharing) is the name given to the allotment of cows to the first group warriors, spies and fortune-tellers—while *kodai*[6] (giving) is the name given to the distribution of the shares of the booty to the second group—ironsmiths, drummers, minstrels and female dancers, who had contributed to the expedition, though not as much as the first group.

The *Puranaanuuru* poems on hunters' heroism make it clear that though the three great kingdoms had for long consolidated themselves in the river valleys there

were independent hunter tribes in hilly tracts and sovereign shepherd tribes in pastoral regions. *Silappadikaaram,* which provides an imaginative rendering of the Sangam age, provides for itself an opportunity to describe the life of the hunters while describing the journey of the hero and the heroine from their native city to Madurai. When they are resting near the temple of the Mother Goddess, Saalini (the woman who pronounces oracles under the influence of the deity) becomes divinely inspired, dances at the "community site where the hunters used to dine together" and demands sacrifice to appease the goddess. The author's reference to the dining together is noteworthy. It provides a valuable clue to the life these folk led.

On hearing the warning of Saalini, the people gather and worship the goddess. In the course of their supplication they draw her attention to the cows seized in expeditions filling in the open spaces in front of the huts of ironsmiths, drummers, minstrels, spies, fortune-tellers, toddy-suppliers and old man and women—i.e., all those who are entitled to *paathiidu* and *kodai.* In as much as the hunters bent upon propitiating the indignant goddess lay stress on their strict adherence to the principles of sharing their gain, it is clear that they consider the principles of allotment as her sacred injunction. It is as if the Mother Goddess was here the *paal varai deyvam* (deity of allotment). One is led to infer that the concept of the Apportioner Divine arose as divine validation of the egalitarian sharing that was the mode of distribution in the tribes of food gatherers and hunters living in conditions of what may be called primitive communism[7].

Comparative anthropology enables us to understand the institution of allotment better. It is interesting to note that the Greeks of the older times had their own goddesses of allotment. These deities they called *Moerae* or *moirai.* The basic meaning of the singular *moera* or *moira* is a 'share' or 'portion'.[8]

Professor George Thomson has made an illuminating analysis of how the ancient law of division gave rise to the conception of the three goddesses of sharing.[9] He refers to Plutarch's remark that in ancient times when meals were administered in common (the old word for a meal itself meant a 'division') by Lachesis (the name of one of three goddesses) everything was decently and liberally arranged. (One is reminded of the common dining in the hunters' hamlet in *Silappadikaaram.*)

Plutarch goes on to say, Thomson points out, that the equality of the common meal was destroyed in course of time by the growth of luxury (i.e., by the rise and growth of private property).

Thomson also demonstrates how the law of sharing was applied to booty, a share of the spoils of war being allotted to each warrior (a custom similar to, though not identical with, the distribution of the seized cows by the hunters among themselves spoken of in Sangam literature). He also points out that in the early stages of agriculture the land was distributed by lot among tribes which again subdivided

the allotments among clans (not individuals.)[10] Of course, with the growth of private property, Thomson poins out, the use of the lot became increasingly restricted and the conception of the *moirai* was modified accordingly. They became the goddesses who determine for each man his lot in life. It was said that the thread of life was spun on Clotho's spindle, measured by the rod of Lachesis and snipped by the third goddess Atropos's shears. It is thus clear that the law of division—the mode of distribution in primitive communism—persisted, though in more or less modified form, up to the earlier phases of pastoral and agricultural periods.

It would be appropriate here to remark on two minor Vedic deities *Bhaga* and *Amsa*. Summing up the evidence, Macdonnell points out that *amsa* is almost synonymous with *bhaga*, expressing both the concrete sense of 'share' or 'portion' and that of 'apportioner'. He adds that in the Rigveda Amsa appears as a god only thrice while one whole hymn (VII.41) is primarily devoted to the praise of Bhaga and his name occurs over sixty times elsewhere. "He is regularly conceived in the Vedic hymns", Macdonnel continues, "as a distributor of wealth". But, as he himself points out, Bhaga in the sense of 'dispenser' appears to be used more than twenty times attributively, in several cases with the name of Savithri.[11] The whole point is that Amsa and Bhaga do not appear as the only custodians of the ancient principle of communism. Professor Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya quotes a number of verses from the Rig Veda to show that Indra, Agni, Soma, Savitri and others are invoked as apportioners and specifically solicited for shares of wealth.[12] There are also verses which speak of the sharing of cows (in the Rig Veda the word *gavisti*, the desire for cow, meant war) seized in the wars[13], reminding us of the similar practices in ancient Tamilnad and Greece, already referred to. The *aksha-suukta* (X, 34) of the Rig Veda provides implied evidence that when the Rigvedic people took to agriculture the divisions of land were distributed among clans by the method of casting lot.[14]

Inasmuch as *uuzh* or *paal* connoted order or regularity, it may also be com pared with the concept of *rita* in Rigveda. It was the term for the cosmic order- and the moral order. Varuna was its guardian, not, be it noted, its architect. *Rita* was the impersonal cosmic principle adherence to which enabled the ancient sages says Vasishtha, to rejoice in the company of the gods as well as be of one mind and strive together[15]. Distance lends enchantment, hence the romantic idealization of the moral effulgence of the *rita* in the days gone by. It is clear that the morality of the *rita* represented the norms of the collective life of the days of old. That is why Sunahseepa and Kutsa bemoan the fall of the rita.[16]

The legend of Sunahseepa[17] throws a flood of light on the breakdown of the collective life and the rise of greed and avarice. Varuna has now become so degenerate as to demand, in return for the bestowal of a son on Harischandra, the self-same son as sacrifice. Here is Ajigartha ready to sell away his son Sunahseepa as

substitute sacrifice for a hundred cows. When none of the sacrificial priests would tie Sunahseepa to the sacrificial post, Ajigartha binds his son for another hundred cows. For another hundred cows he offers to slaughter his son. The resultant greed of the institution of private property is evident in the conduct of the brahmin seer. No wonder that Sunahseepa prays for help to the ancient vedic divinities.

With the rise of an acquisitive social system while the *moiri* lost their social functions and became goddesses who determined each man's lot in life in the Veic society the institution of Bhaaga (share) vanished and *rita* collapsed. But, in the Tamil land *Paal* or *uuzh* came to fulfil new needs.

The influence of the conception of *Paal varai deyvam* was so strong that when the literary conventions of love came to be evolved the role of this divinity in love was extolled. According to *Tolkaappiyam* (Book 3, suutra 93), the hero and heroine of a love-poem meet and fall in love at first sight because of the grace of the deity Paal. Maanickavaasakar too says in his poetics of love (*Thirukkoovaiyaar*,) that the hero would praise the deity for having blessed him with an excellent lady-love.

When kingship came to stay in river-valley civilizations, hereditary monarchy was thought of as an institution validated by *uuzh* or *paal*. So *Pattinappaalai* (line 227) speaks of Karikaala Chola's ascending the throne in conformity with *uuzh*. Nalankilli Chola refers to hereditary monarchy as the gift of *paal* (*Puranaa nuuru*, 75). Kingship is god-given, but the king is not divine. But if he wields the sceptre righteously and protects his subjects, says Valluvar, he will be looked up to as a god among men (388). The cosmic principle will protect the legitimate monarch by ensuring timely and adequate rains and plentiful harvest, only if he protects the people (542, 545). If he rules with a rod of iron and institutes a regime of terror he will perish forthwith (563).[18]

The theory behind this is not difficult to grasp. When a prince turns tyrant he defies the divinity that ensures order in the cosmos. So the divinity rebels. The heavens do not send seasonal rains (559). Cows cease giving milk and the Brahmins forget the Vedas (560). Furthermore, the righteous indignation of the sages, who partake of divinity, will destroy him (899). Of course, Valluvar does not recognize the historical right of the common people to rise in revolt against tyrants. But he had a viable and touching faith in the infallible encompassing of the ruin of even unwitting wrong-doers, princes or others, by the cosmic principle of divinely validated righteousness (204).

Valluvar lived at a time when private property had already become institutionalized and the rich few co-existed with the miserable many in the society. Again, he did not question the legitimacy of the affluence of the few. For him, it ws the grace of *uuzh* which made them wealthy. The self-same *uuzh* enjoined on them

to share what they had with the have-nots. If they chose to defy it they would come to grief, be it noted, not at the hands of the suffering people incensed to fury but at the hands of *uuzh*. It is only a clear understanding of this mystic conception of *uuzh* that would enable us to make sense out of the chapter on *uuzh*.

Another point may also be mentioned here. In the chapter on *uuzh* the poet speaks of it as an all-powerful force against which all the resourcefulness of its victim will be of no avail (380). But, in the chapter on manual labour (62) he says that he who does not drift but toils with unflagging enthusiasm will overcome *uuzh* and force it to turn its back and flee (620). But the contradiction between the two couplets is more apparent than real. Not content with vivifying ethical maxims applicable to one and all in a number of chapters, Valluvar offers appropriate guidelines in other chapters to different sections of people like the ascetic, the king, the minister, the miserly rich man, the peasant, etc. The chapter on manual labour speaks to the working people[19] while the *uuzh* chapter is addressed to the rich. Once we grasp this truth, we will realize that the charge of inconsistency against Valluvar cannot hold water.

How do we know that the *uuzh* chapter is addressed to the rich? The internal evidence itself proves it, as we shall now see. The poet says that fortunes are made and unmade not by the instrumental causes of effort or laziness and wisdom or folly but by the first cause, namely benevolence or malevolence of *uuzh*, for the instrumental causes operate at the bidding of the first cause (371-3). Speaking of wisdom, the poet asserts that the *uuzh* which confers luminous wisdom and the *uuzh* which confers wealth are worlds apart and never meet (374). If it is asked how then some people become millionaries, the poet can only reply that it is exclusively dependent on *uuzh*: even appropriate, timely, energetic actions fail to bring in wealth if *uuzh* does not favour the doer; even if time and place are against the doer and his efforts are halting he will get more wealth than he dreams of if *uuzh* is favourable (375). So it is that the rich man must abide by the dictates of *uuzh*; if he does not pay heed to them he cannot enjoy the riches he has amassed (377). For, even his herculean efforts to overcome *uuzh* will prove futile because there is nothing mightier than *uuzh* (380).

It is true that Valluvar does not in this chapter explicitly state what he has in mind when he speaks of the dictates of *uuzh* (377). But, we know that sharing is the dictate of *uuzh* or *paal varai deyvam*. Indeed, that is the duty which *Kural* extols more than anything else. The chapter on family life insists that the householder will always thrive if he, shunning sin, shares his bread with the needy (44). In the chapter on charity or gift it is said that hunger dare not touch the man who is accustomed to sharing his food with others (227). In the chapter on non-killing the poet proclaims that the protection of the needy by sharing one's food with them is of all the virtues codified in ethical works the virtue *par excellence* (322). Last

but not the least, the lover of Book III (which deals in a romantic vein with love in a series of dramatic situations) says that the bliss of union with his lady-love, which *excels* the bliss of Vaikunta (Vishnu's Heaven), *equals* the joy of sharing one's food with the indigent (1107).

Therefore one may infer that it is this meritorious duty which *uuzh* has ordained for the rich. If anyone tries to defy it, Valluvar warns in the last couplet (380) of *uuzh* chapter, his effort will prove vain and he will come to grief at the hands of *uuzh*.

But, inasmuch as the chapter on manual labour is addressed to the toiling people, Valluvar seeks to promote self-confidence in them by speaking of the immense power of manly exertion. "Be not depressed by difficulties", says he, "for exertion will bear fuirt" (611). Even the common people should lend a helping hand to those in need, but they cannot do it unless they earn the wherewithal. Hence he compares the liberality of the lazy to the pretended manliness of the sword-flaunting eunuch (614). Whoever spurns pleasure and works at his job with a dedication will have the means to relieve the distress of his kith and kin and prove a pillar of support to them (615). Work will produce wealth but laziness will lead to destitution (616). Hence he adds that it is Lakshmi's elder sister, the malign goddess of misfortune, that will consort with the indolent, while Lakshmi, the benign goddess of prosperity, will fraternize with the industrious toiler (617).

The whole point in these couplets is that unlike the wealthy who can, with their unearned income, live in comfort, protect their kinsmen and render aid to the indigent, the common man can fulfil these duties only if he exerts himself for earning the means to do them.

Having rammed home that point, the poet proceeds to speak of the impact of *uuzh* on the toiler in the last three couplets of the chapter. To quote the first of them:

> It is no blot on his escutcheon if a man is out of favour with *Pori* ; but it is a positive disgrace if he deliberately chooses to be indolent (618).

(*Pori* is another synonym of *uuzh*).

Since the poet says that it is no shame for a person to be frowned on by *uuzh*, we have here a confirmation of our thesis that *uuzh* does not refer to the fruits of deeds done in previous births—for if it does man must own responsibility for the ill turn done by *uuzh*. Inasmuch as the ways of *uuzh* are inscrutable, the labourer should not, on the score of its malevolence, harbour any feelings of guilt. He need only be vigilant that he is not guilty of wanton neglect of exertion. For what matters is his own work :

> Whatever the deity (*uuzh*) may do to thwart him, his bodily exertion will bring in his own reward. (619)

This does not mean that while contending against *uuzh* his success will only be partial. For

> Those who know no delay or dejection in their exertion
> will force *uuzh* to flee. (620)

Only the cynical will remark that all this is sentimental drivel. What Valluvar lays stress on is that at all events the working people cannot afford to let themselves sink in the "Slough of Despond." For instance, even in conditions of utter drought (which Valluvar would attribute to the frown of *uuzh*) the peasant cannot wring his hands in despair. He has to gird himself, dig the well deeper and deeper and bring the "waters of life" from even the nethermost depths. It is by this perseverance that he overcomes the malignity of *uuzh* as manifested in the failure of rains.

So, we may sum up the discussion thus :

1. Valluvar's concept of *uuzh* has nothing to do with the doctrine of *karma*, which states that the soul experiences in this birth the fruits of its deeds in former births.

2. Valluvar's *uuzh* is identical with the *Paal varai Deyvam* (Apportioning Deity) of pre-historic primitive communism in Tamilnad. There is enough evidence about the counterparts of this deity in similar socio-economic conditions in Greek literature and in Rig Veda.

3. The role of *uuzh* in the acquisitive society of later times is a variant of its role in the earlier collective life.

It is an all-pervasive cosmic principle. It enjoins on the rich to share their food with the poor. Just as it visits deterrent punishment on tyrannical monarchs it destroys the affluent who live only for themselves. Toilers need not be depressed or frightened if *uuzh* turns hostile to them. Their patient toil can sweep away the roadblocks *uuzh* throws in their way.

NOTES

1. V.V.S. Aiyar, *The Kural*, 4th edn. (Madras, 1961), pp. xxvi—xxviii.
2. Dr. T.P. Meenakshisundaran, *The Philosophy of Valluvar* (Madurai, 1969), pp. 44-47
3. *Silappadikaaram :* 7 : 52(4) ; 10 :4 ; 16 : 217 ; 20 : 59

4. i. *Purapporul Venbaa Maalai*, "Vetchip padalam" ; ii. Tolkaappiyam, Book III, 58. Though the first work was written in the Middle Ages, its poetics on themes of heroism, state-affairs and the like (called *Purattinai* in Tamil) represents an older tradition and throws greater light on the ancient poems collected in *Puranaanuuru* (The Heroic Four Hundred).
5. *Puranaanuuru* : 257-58 ; 262 ; 267 ; 297.
6. *Kodai* has come to mean 'gift, donation'. But the ironsmiths, drummers and others who receive *kodai* have an inalienable right to shares in what the community acquires. It is also relevant to point out that the noun *kodai* is derived from the verb *kodu* (which still has the general meaning of 'give') and that *Tolkaappiyam* (Book I, Suutra 447) prescribes that this verb is used when one asks something of another of equal rank. That clinches the agument that the recipients of *Kodai* are equals of the rest of the community.
7. On Primitive Communism, see Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* (Moscow, 1970) III, "The origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" (by F. Engels), pp. 204-334.
8. Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths*, Revised ed. (Penguin Books, 1960) I, pp. 48-49.
9. Thomson, G., *Aeschylus and Athens*, 2nd ed. (London, 1941), pp. 38-44.
10. It may be inferred that there was periodical re-distribution of lands. For distribution of land among Jewish tribes (not individuals) see the Old Testament : Numbers 26 : 55-56 ; Joshua 18 : 6 ; Micah 2 : 5.
11. Macdonell, A.A., *Vedic Mythology* (Strassburg, 1897), pp. 45-46. Quoted by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, *Lokayata* (Delhi, 1959), pp. 572, 573.
12. *Lokayata*, pp. 571-72.
13. Rig Veda I. 102.4 ; I, 103.6 ; 112 ; V. 42.5 ; VII. 56.21.
14. The apparent ambiguity of the *Suukta* is discussed in *Lokayata* on the basis of the interpretation of the *Anukramani*, pp. 579-82.
15. Wilson H.H. *Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, Vol. IV (Poona, 1927), VII. 4-5, p. 218. (Wilson translates *rita* as truth).
16. For instance, here is Wilson's translation (Book I, Poona 1925. pp. 30-31) of a verse addressed to Varuna by Sunahseepa (I.24.9): Keep afar from us NIRRITI, with unfriendly looks, and liberate us from whatever sin we may have committed.

    (*Nirriti* means 'the fall from the *rita*'.) Kutsa cries in agony (I. 105.5, 6 ; I. 105.15. .Professor Chattopadhyaya's translation in *Lokayata*, p. 640) :
    All these gods, who are in the three spheres,
    where is the *rita* of yours gone ? ..
    Where, O gods, is the holding of the *rita*,
    where is the watchfulness of Varuna ? ..
    We ask of Varuna .... let the rita be born anew
    (*navyah jayatam ritam*)....

17. Keith, A.B., *Rig-Veda Brahmanas* (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 209-309. *Lokayata*, pp. 636-39.
18. Compare Manu (7.14, 17) : *Danda* is *Dharma* incarnate, the true ruler, and the protector of the people ; and when the king departs from *Dharma*, *danda* will destroy him and his kin (7, 28).
19. As our analysis of chapter 62 makes it clear, all the internal evidence points to the meaning 'manual labour' that we have given to *Aalvinai.* It is strange that this chapter which should belong to the section dealing with citizens finds itself in the section dealing with the monarch.

THE CONCEPT OF DESTINY IN EARLY TAMIL LITERATURE

Professor K. KAILASAPATHY

In his introductor note on the chapter on *Ul*, 'Fate', in *Tirukkuraly* (*Kural*), Perimelalakar, the renowned commentator, makes the following gloss : "*Ul, pal, murai, unmai, teyvam, niyati* and *viti* are synonyms". In other words the seven words he enumerates are synonymous with one another.[1] It is however observable that some of the seven words are not of Tamil origin and were not in vogue at all times.[2] At some point in time these words came to mean among other things 'destiny' or 'fate'. Historically speaking *ul* and *pal* occur in the earliest strata of Tamil poetry while the other words begin to appear in relatively later works such as the Eighteen Kilkkanakku Poems, the Saiva and Vaishnava Hymns and the Epics. By the time of the Epics like Kampan's *Ramayanam*, *viti* was the most common word for fate.

The word *pal* occurs in Purananuru (PN) meaning milk, part, side, place, portion, nature, land, caste and fate.[3] The Tamil Lexicon lists the following meanings to the word : part, portion, share, section, fraction, dividing, apportioning, moiety, middle, side, line, point of the compass, quarter, place, region, location, situation, quality, property, condition, nature, state, right, title, classification of nouns and verbs, fitness, fate, destiny and milk.[4] It is clear from this that the word basically connotes the sense of 'part' portion or share. This is further strengthened by the fact that in other Dravidian languages too the word (*pal*) has the same connotation :

For instance in Malayalam, part : in Kota, portion, division ;
In Toda, share, sub-division of partrilineal sib ;
in Kannada, division, part, portion, share ;
in Kodagu, to divide, distribute ;
in Tulu, share, portion, part, division ;
in Telugu, lot, division ; in Parji, portion.[5]

Another Tamil word that has similar meaning is *paku* to be split, divided, separate, to distribute, apportion, classify, give, cut into pieces.[6] The concept of share occurs frequently in Sangam poems. The poets often speak about the division or more often the distribution of food, booty, catch, and other things. For instance, in a poem in *Akananuru* (AN) the poet describes the sandy beach where fishermen divide (and share) the heap of fish.[7] The poem clearly suggests distribution of equal shares of fish among the fisherfolk.[8] The word used is *pakukkum*, dividing, sharing.

Likewise another poet refers to the division of *Ayilai* fish in the seaside village of little huts.[9] The poets also speak of the division of booty, especially cattle. As is well-known, cattle-capture and cattle recovery are common themes treated in the early Tamil heroic poems and constant reference is made to dividing the cattle after a raid.[10] For instance in AN : 97, the poet speaks of the warriors stealing the cattle at night from fortified places and dividing it. The phenomenon is so common that *Tolkappiyam*, the earliest known grammatical work, has a technical term for it : *patitu*, "theme describing the apportioning of cows captured from an enemy among the soldiers."[11]

Although medieval commentators dramatised the theme as the noble and generous act of a chieftain or king, a careful reading of the poems and the contexts in which the act of apportioning of cattle is described would leave no doubt as to the spontaneous nature of the division. It would appear to be the natural thing known to the warriors. It was part of their way of life. Such apportioning of catch, booty and other material things, reflects the collective distribution of wealth in early societies.

Perhaps the most significant division is of food in primitive tribal societies. This again is found in early Tamil poems, although such references in the earliest strata of the poems themselves seem to allude to bygone times. For instance, in PN 46 the poet speaks of the forefathers of two princes " who shared their food". The fact that the poet sings of the "noble tradition of sharing food" implies a thing of the past.[12] In another poem a minor chieftain is praised for sharing his food with others.[13] Here again the word *pakukkum*, sharing is used. The same idea is expressed in some later works by the word *kuttun*, 'jointly eating'. In *Cilapatikaram*, the hunters who are referred to as "ancient-tribe", are said to eat their common meal in the village common ground. As it was with catch and booty, so it was with food : *kuttun* was common meal. This was another reflection of regular collective distribution found in ancient societies all over the world. George Thomson has discussed this point with copious ethnological examples and convincingly demonstrated that the "method of division orginated in primitive tribal society, where the result of joint work, common property, is distributed among the members of the tribal collective." The concept of dividing or sharing the food equally is idealised in the *Kural* which uses the phrase *pattun*, sharing one's food with others.

The *Kural*, a didactic work with Jaina leanings this is open to questlon—Editor and belonging to the post-Sangam period, puts it thus :

> "He who shares his meal with others in dread of committing sin will never suffer from want" (44)

The word *pattu*, 'having divided' is derived from the verb *paku*. It has, by usage, come to mean many things. It means dividing, sharing, share, half, moiety,

and fixed payments of grain out of the gross produce of a village.[14] This is very significant. Properly analysed it would elucidate many aspects of land tenure in early society. It is well known that there was no private ownership of land in ancient times and even much later land was divided for use, not for ownership.

George Thomson in his analysis of the ancient Greek law of division has this to say :

> It may therefore be concluded that in its application to food, booty and land, the idea of *Moira* reflects the collective distribution of wealth through three successive stages in the evolution of tribal society. Oldest of all was the distribution of food, which goes back to the hunting period. Next came the distribution of chattels and inanimate movables acquired by warfare, which was a development of hunting ; and last, the division of land for the purpose of agriculture.
>
> The use of the lot was, of course, a guarantee of equality. The goods were divided as equally as possible, and then the portions were distributed by a process which, since it lay outside human control, was impartial. And for the same reason it was regarded as magical, as an appeal to the *moirai* or spirits of the Lot, who determined each man's portion. With the growth of private property, the use of the lot became increasingly restricted, and the popular conception of the *moirai* was modified accordingly. They became the goddesses who determined for each man his lot in life.
>
> Besides these divisions of wealth, the *moira* was also applied to divisions of function. Here again we find traces of a social order which had vanished from the real world reflected in the ideal world of the Olympus.[15]

What is to be noted here is that while *paku* and *pal* are etymologically connected and used interchangeably, *paku* being a verbal form denotes more often the act of dividing and sharing ; *pal* is a noun and denotes portion, moiety, share, etc. Its varied use in early literary works and the grammars bears out the predominance of the concept of division and share and through it the notion of equality.

It is of interest to note that the word *pal* which basically denoted portion or lot, in terms of material things, such as food, booty, catch, land etc., came to be construed as something defined and determined. As Thomson says, "it was regarded as magical, as an appeal to the *moirai* or spirits of the Lot, who determined each man's portion". In primitive society where everything was equally divided, each person's lot or share was inviolable. And hence it was sacred and divine ; dividing or sharing was natural. We see the process of the word *pal*, acquiring the sense of being determined by the addition of a verb to it : the verb *varai*, besides meaning to write, draw, inscribe etc., also means to fix, appoint and to limit.[16] As a noun *varai* means limit,

boundary, measure and extent. This word in the sense of fixing or limiting is used in conjunction with pal to mean that portion of a thing which is limited or fixed or determined. The word *varai* both in its verbal and nominal forms has rich and varied uses in literary and grammatical works. For instance in *Çilappatikaram*[17] the phrase *varai porul* means the acquisition or earning by legitimate means. In *Kural* (150) the phrase *aran varaiyan* means he who does not make virtue his own. In *Malaipatukatam*, one of the earliest literary works, we get the phrase *varainta nal*, meaning the days apportioned (to a person). In other words the phrase signifies the period of time a person is destined to live.[18] In these instances we see the semantic extensions of the word *varai*. The grammarians by virtue of their need for precision and definition have used both the words i.e., *pal* and *varai* in a manner that shows us the mutual fusion of the meaning of the two words. In *Tolkappiyam* we come across the phrase *palvaraikilavi*[19] 'word denoting a fraction or portion'. Literally the phrase means, "the word that defines the portion". The author uses the phrase to denote fractions of numbers and measures. Thus we see that the word *pal* means a portion and the word *varai* used along with it helps to fix or determine the amount or nature of the portion. This is crucial for a full understanding of the concept of destiny. The phrase *palvarai kilavi* is very much in the world of objects and things. From the physical world it had been absorbed into the mental world. Sociology of cognition and knowledge has demonstrated again and again that the material meaning of every word has actually preceded the mental meaning. One need not labour the point. Commenting on the *moirai* Thomson said :

> The functions of the *Moirai* were not confined to birth. They were also associated with re-birth, with marriage and with death. In myth, it was the *Moirai* who attended at the bridal bed of Zeus and Hera.[20]

In many early Tamil poems the function of *pal* is associated with love, marriage, well-being and death. A few instances may be cited. A theme in traditional love poetry is *arattotu nirral*, "revealing by successive steps to the parents of the heroine her secret union". This is also enumerated in *Tolkappiyam*. A sub-theme under this is called *talaippatu* 'chance occurrence', i.e., lovers meeting by chance.[21] Although it appears as a chance occurrence it is said that fate brings them together. Thus a poem in *Kuruntokai* (366) speaks of *pal varaintamaittal*, union determined by destiny. Here again we see the occurrence of the word *varai*, to determine, fix, etc. In another poem fate is praised as beneficent because it had united a boy and girl. The meaning is clear : the union had been possible by the irresistible force or fate. Similar ideas are found in other poems too.[22] As much as it is praised for its beneficial aspects at times it is also referred to disparagingly : *aranil pal*, evil destiny, is an expresssion found in *Ainkurunuru*.[23] The belief that destiny brings together a well-matched man and woman is enunciated by Tolkappiyar.[24] He says that they are united by the command of fate, *palatu anai*. Likewise *Purapporul*

venpa malai,[25] a grammatical treatise dealing with the heroic themes, refers to *pal-mullai*,[26] 'theme of a lover who has married his lady-love praising the destiny that brought them together'. The *sutra* that defines the theme and the illustrative verse cited therein portray *pal* as the God responsible for such dispensation.

This idea is elaborated in the commentary on *Iraiyanar Akapporul* where the contexts of sexual union are described.[27] The commentary, a later work ascribable to about 7 century A.D. uses the word *Paanmai,* in the sense of fitness and propriety. The word is derived from *paal* by the addition of the particle *mai* (*paal+mai*) which expresses an abstract quality or condition. *Paanmai* means nature, equality, property, state, division, portion, class, fitness, propriety, order, regularity and fruit of good deeds.[28] Explaining minutely the nature of the (sexual) desire that unites them, the commentator on *Kalaviyal* says, "This desire is in the order of things and unites them in physical union": *paanmai* means the natural, inevitable order of things.[29] We can observe the gradual extension of the connotation of the word *paal.* In the *Kural*, again a post-Sangam work, we come across the use of three other derivatives from *paal* : *palatu*, *pala* and *parru* signifying that which is befitting or appropriate.[30] The meaning of these words have the force of injunction.

We shall next adduce a few instances illustrating the function of *paal* in other situations. Like love and marriage, even ideal friendship is attributed to destiny. In a poem lamenting the tragic death of the munificent chieftain Pari, Kapilar expresses the wish that destiny would enable him to live in friendship with Pari in his next birth as he had lived in this life. The poet uses the epithet *uyarnta*, 'exalted', to qualify destiny.[31] We may cite an instance of *pal* being used in connection with the life span of a person. In *Maturaikkanci* and *Malaipatukatam* the phrase *varaintanal*, 'fixed days' denotes the life-time alloted to a person. We have already seen earlier how the verb base *varai* has been used with *pal*. In a gloss on the phrase *varainta nal*, Naccinarkkiniyar, the celebrated commentator, (circa 14 C.A D.) made the following perceptive remark : "Fixed days means the life time apportioned by the god of destiny". He refers to *palvarai teyvam*.[32]

We have discussed some cases where *pal* occurs in conection with love, marriage, friendship and death. It remains to show its use in connecion with inheritance and land. In a statement attributed to the Cola prince Nalankilli, reference is made to "the right of inheritance granted by destiny". (*pal tara vanta pala viral tayam*)[33] An interesting example of the use of the word in inscriptions may also be noted. The Velvikkuti plates of Pantiyan Netuncataiyan (circa 770 A.D.) mention the grant of the village Velvikkuti to a family of Brahmins by an earlier Pantiyan king named Mutukutumi Peruvaluti.[34] During the reign of the Kalabhras this charity was disestablished but was restored to the descendants of the original grantees by Netuncataiyan.[35] In the words of the descendants of the original beneficiaries, "the village of Velvikkuti was granted by your forefathers who never failed to observe propriety

and order." The phrase used in the inscription is *pal murai*, literally 'the order of destiny'. We should translate it as 'natural order' or 'natural constitution'. The phrase occurs twice in the plates.[36]

It has been argued that the word *pal* initially meant portion, share, land, lot division, etc., and later connoted the superior force or god that ensured such dispensations. This is clear from the fact that *pal* meaning god came into vogue In later works, especially in the grammatical treatises ; Perhaps the locus classicus for this is to be found in a *sutra* in *Tolkappiyam* which lists a number of nouns denoting personal class of beings, including men, gods and demons. The treatise enumerates the following : Time, world, soul, body, god that fixes the shares (destiny), god of good and evil, demon, Sun, Moon, goddess of words (Muse) etc.[37] The expression used here is significant. *Pal varai teyvam* literally means 'portion determining god'. The evolution of the concept is complete here. From the primitive meaning of a portion, share, lot, etc., *pal* had undergone a semantic evolution to mean the god that apportions the lot of persons. The notion of a Divisor, i.e., the spirit or god deciding the lot for every mortal[38] is crystallized in a verse in *Kural.*

> *vakuttan vakutta vakaiyallal koti*
> *tokuttarkkum tuyttal aritu.*

> "Even the man who hath amassed ten millions cannot enjoy his riches except as the Ordainer hath ordained".

The word *vakkuttan*, a verbal noun in the form of a finite verb, is derived from the verb *vaku*, 'to separate, divide, apportion, distribute, allot, assign' etc. Literally the word means 'Divisor'. The commentators explain the word by its synonyms *ul* and *teyvam*.[39]

Thus we see that from a natural social practice, *pal* had become a divine dispensation. With the concept of a 'god of apportioning' there had grown *pari passu*, other concepts too. The commentators have made this very clear. In a gloss on *pal varai teyvam*, Naccinarkkiniyar says thus: "The author says 'the god that apportions' since it regulates the two classes of moral actions, good and evil which are the causes of happiness and sorrow".[40] It may be pointed out that by the time Tolkappiyar describes 'the god that apportions', the intellectual and moral *milieu* had changed. Professor N. Subrahmanian says :

> Careful students of Tamil History will notice that there is a great difference between the culture and civilization of the Sangam age and those of the imperial Pallava and subsequent ages ; the difference is noticed not only in the normal changes which occur and are inevitable but in the very quality of the way of the life of the people. The secular-minded, commercial, worldly Tamil of

the Sangam age is transformed into one given to devotion and other-worldliness. The robust optimism of the Sangam Tamil and the heroic urges in him fade away yielding place to a philosophically justified pessimism.[41]

From optimism to pessimism : one might ask whence this transformation. The real causes are to be found in the economic and social conditions of the two periods. In primitive-tribal-society *pal* was the equal share or portion of a member of that socially integrated organic body. Since the division was equal and considered to be natural, there was 'robust optimism'. But with the rise of private property and the emergence of the state, there arose inequality and the dissolution of tribal life. "Division was originally a matter for all the members of a collective."[42] In the state where the force of private property reigned supreme, the very concept of division itself had receded to the background. Prevailing inequalities and disparities had to be explained away. *Pal* was not only share of food, booty, catch etc. but also misfortune, evil, suffering and death. In such a situation there naturally arises pessimism. The Hindu concept of *viti,* the Jaina oriented *ul*, the Ajivaka concept of *niyati*—all of these intrinsically connected to the basic idea of *karma*-flooded Tamil literary, grammatical and ethical works.[43] They speak of "philosophically justified pessimism". Suffering itself became apportioned by *pal.*

As Borecky aptly says in the context of the Greek evidence,[44] "fate imagined as a share, lot falling to man or allotted to him by some higher power", was referred to by the expression *pal varai teyvam.* The real had become metaphorical. The *Kural* exemplifies this great transformation. Although *pal* occurs in it, henceforth it would be *ul* and *aram* that would be the key words. No better example for the "philosophically justified pessimism" can be found than an aphorism in the *Kural.* In the chapter entitled "Emphasis on the Potency of Virtue" is found the following stanza.

Arattarituvena venta civikai
poruttano turntan itai.[45]

"Why search for the fruits of *Dharma* ?
Behold the one in the palanquin and the palanquin-bearer"

The commentary is revealing :

> "The obvious fact that some persons have the good fortune to be carried in a palanquin by other persons who have to toil along the path with the load of the palanquin on their shoulders, would make it distinctly clear what the result of virtuous conduct would be, because the experience of these two individuals is but the result of their former conduct in a past birth ; one by his good deed is able to obtain the happiness of riding in a palanquin and the other because of the lack of it is condemned to work hard by having to carry the palanquin."[46]

That the concept of the existence of inequality permeates through the entire *Kural* and is accepted as such philosophically is too self evident to need further proof or arguments. However one more verse may be cited.

> *Ilar palar akiya karanam norpar*
> *cilar palar nolatavar*[47]

> "The have-nots in the world are many. The reason for this is plain. Those that do penance are few. Many don't perform penance."[48]

At this point Tamil literature began to speak of "both fate as well as many of man's qualities as a portion, share, lot that fell to him or was assigned to him by god and also as a result of his own deeds".[49] *Pal* which symbolised social equality and guaranteed it in early society was transformed into a justification for inequality and an indicator for individual salvation.

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1. Kural. Ch. 38. Valluvar himself uses the two words *ul* and *pal* interchangeably an in this chapter. In verse 619 he uses the word *teyvam* as a synonym.
2. The word *niyati* is not found in Sangam works.
3. See Subramoniam, V.I., *Index of Purananuru*, Trivandrum, 1962. pp. 448 ff.
4. MTL, s.v.V,p. 2625.
5. Burrow, T., and Emeneau, M.B., *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Oxford, 1961. s.v. 3371, p. 274.
6. MTL, s.v. IV, p. 2384.
7. AN 10 : 12
8. Cf. Thomson, G., *Aeschylus and Athens*, London, 1946. p. 430. "It is still used by fishermen in Ireland and elsewhere to divide the catch". Also, Briffault, R., *The Mothers*, London, 1927. Vol. II, p. 495. "Among the Eskimos, the hunter has no personal right to his catch, it is divided among all the inhabitants of the village".
9. AN 70 : 4
10. Kailasapathy, K., *Tamil Heroic Poetry*, Oxford, 1968. p. 23 and *passim*.
11. *Tol. Puratt.* 58 ; also *Nama -Deepa-Nighantu*, Madras, 1930. V. 741 ; On Tol. and its relationship to the heroic poems see Kailasapathy op. cit. pp. 48-52.
12. It may be noted that the main body of poems in the Sangam corpus reflect the Heroic Age when earlier tribal and communal societies are broken up with the rise of new chieftaincies under princes. Private property is the basis of social and economic relationships. We only hear an occasional echo of the earlier times—see Kailasapathy, op. cit., p. 73.

13. PN 13.
14. Besides the *Kural*, Epics like *Manimekalai* and *Civakacintamani* speak of this in ideal terms. Of course in later ages it was not the collective distribution but the obligation of the householder to share his meal with his forefathers, gods, guests and relatives. See *Kural* Ch. 5; *Manimekalai* ch. 16 ; *Cilappatikaram* ch. 12 : 10 ; also Kailasapathy, K., *Samookaviyalum Ilakkiyamum* Madras, 1979. pp. 88-100.
15. Thomson, op. cit., 3rd edn. 1966. p. 41.
16. MTL, s.v. VI, p. 3524.
17. 10:51
18. The epics are full of epigrammatic expressions describing the time measured out to every person. e.g. Civakacintamani, 213; see Jagannathan, K.V.; *Tirukkural* (Critical edition) Coimbatore 1963. pp. 259-262.
19. *Tol. Elut.* 165.
20. Thomson, op. cit. p. 47.
21. Tol. Porul. 206 : see also PN 70 : 18 ; *Kuruntokai* 229.
22. This idea of destiny bringing together lovers naturally finds a central place in *kovai* poems which began to be composed from about 7 C.A.D. The *kovai* is a kind of long poem usually comprising 400 verses dealing with love themes in the form of a story. For a useful discussion on this subject see Zvelebil, K.V., *Tamil Literature*, Wiesbaden, 1974.pp. 202-204.
23. 110 : 5
24. Kailasapathy, *Tamil Heroic Poetry*, p. 11.
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28. The word is widely used in post-Sangam works ; see *Manimekalai, passim.*
29. *Kalaviyal*, commentary on sutra 2. Here again *pal* and *ul* are used interchangeably.
30. For a brief but perspicuous discussion on these words see Sathiam, T.S. *Elil Nanku*, Madas. 1979. pp. 30-40.
31. PN 236 : 12. Cf. PN 267.
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33. PN 75 : 2.
34. There are five poems on this King in PN. 6, 9, 12, 15, 64.

35. For a short discussion on this subject see Subrahmanian, N., *History of Tamilnad*, Madras, 1976. p. 131.
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38. For comparative instances from Greek see Borecky, B., *Survivals of Some Tribal Ideas in Çlassical Greek*, Prague 1965. p. 12. Also the sources cited therein.
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48. Chakravarti, op. cit., p. 147.
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VALLUVAR'S CONCEPT OF KNOWLEDGE AND ITS RELEVANCE TO MODERN EDUCATION

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1.0. Education is a subject to which the ancient Tamil thinkers, comparable to their Greek counterparts, attached great importance. Valluvar, the greatest Tamil thinker, whose date is not later than the fifth century A.D. has enunciated his doctrines on education in his didactic work, the *Tirukkural*. In the second section of his work, four chapters in the sub-section on statecraft deal with education inclusive of the one on the concept of knowledge. Certain couplets in the other sections also deal with aspects of knowledge incidentally.

1.1. The successful functioning of the state is contingent upon the education of the ruler and the ruled. Like Plato (427 B.C. – 347 B.C.) Valluvar too recognized this fact. In his ideal state, he aimed to evolve an educated society administered by an educated governing class – the trained ruler and his executives.[1] In Plato's ideal state, the.management of its affairs was, similarly, aimed to be in the hands of an educated guardian class, the philosopher–king and the military.

1.2. But Plato advocated a system of caste in which the guardians are likened to gold, the military to silver and the working classes to brass and iron by virtues of their birth.[2] In his *Republic*, Plato has dealt with the education of the monarch and the military. But no mention has been made of the education of the industrial class. This is a serious defect in his ideal state and is attributable to his aristocratic prejudices. He has, however, partially rectified this defect in the *Laws*, the work of his old age.

1.3. On the contrary, as a matter of principle, Valluvar advocated universal education. To him numeracy and literacy, aspects of basic education, are the eyes of all citizens of his ideal state[3]. This concept of education is attributable to his universality of outlook and freedom from prejudice of caste, equality of all by birth[4]

2.0. "Education is", said A.N. Whitehead, "the acquisition of the art of utilization of knowledge.[5]- The concept of knowledge is, therefore, central to the study of education. Hence a study of Valluvar's concept of knowledge would contribute to a better understanding of his principles of education and particularly to its relevance to modern education.

2.1. The aims of education enunciated by educationists fall under two major categories; the immediate and the ultimate aims. Advocates of the former who do not generally subscribe to idealism in education are primarily concerned with the immediate outcome of the educational process while the advocates of the latter are mainly concerned with the ultimate results at the end of the long educational process or even later.

2.2. To Valluvar the ultimate aim of education is spiritual awakening through self-realisation achieved by a process of elimination of the superfluous and transitory from the core of reality and truth.[6] To him this life on earth is a preparation for eternity. He believed, as did John Amos Comenius (1592-1670) later, that "the ultimate end of man is eternal happiness with God."[7]

2.3. To Plato the early inculcation of the ideals of truth, beauty and goodness leading to a philosophic outlook later in life is the ultimate aim of education.[8] He too advocated the process of elimination in the pursuit of truth.

2.4. Of the immediate aims of education, Valluvar has recognized, among others, the intellectual excellence of the individual and the relevance of knowledge to this end.[9]

2.5. Aristotle (384 – 322 B.C.) too enunciated intellectual excellence and its by-product knowledge for its own sake as an aim of education. But he claimed it to be the ultimate aim of education[10]. On the contrary, to Valluvar, knowledge was neither an end in itself nor intellectual excellence an ultimate end. He conceived of knowledge as a means to an end.[11]

3.0. A discussion of Valluvar's concept of knowledge is centred on his definition of it. There are certain difficulties in the formulation of a definition as pointed out by Ogden and Richards. Of the four difficulties discussed by them, the third one is related to the ad hoc nature of all definitions. "They are relevant to the purpose or situation", observed Ogden and Richards, "and consequently are applicable only over a restricted field or universe of discourse.[12] To overcome this difficulty they suggested the statement of the fundamental relationships between the starting points and the referents in a definition and recognized similarity, causation, space and time in this regard.[13] Definitions conforming to the above suggestion would be useful to any study involving logical processes of thought and hence are applicable to that of Valluvar's concept of knowledge also.

3.1. In the chapter on knowledge Valluvar has formulated five definitions of knowledge applying the principle of causation to his definitions. Leading one towards the ideal of good, discerning the real purpose of expressions, simplicity of expression and the grasp of recondite ideas, the development of an objective outlook and the adherence to a noble conduct are, in his view, the effects caused by

knowledge.[14] A functional approach is seen here in his application of the cause and effect relationship to the definition of knowledge.

3.2. To him, knowledge is a light or rather a lamp and the learned are the enlightened ones.[15] The rays of the lamp of knowledge dispel all forms of darkness and shed multi-faceted illumination. In educational terms, the building up of a value-system, the development of the skills of expression and comprehension, the development of attitudes, and the formation of character are the outcome of purposeful learning that is implied in his definitions.

3.3. It is obvious from Valluvar's definitions of knowledge that, like A. N. Whitehead, he advocated applied knowledge rather than pure knowledge, consistent with his view that knowledge is a means to an end. In his view it is the means to security in life, the inner fortress that guards one against ruin.[16] It is the source of the power not only to produce and preserve wealth but also to build it anew after destruction.[17]

4.0. The characteristics of knowledge can be deduced from Valluvar's treatment of knowledge. Specialization and comprehensiveness in education that are advocated by him are related to the dimensions of depth and breadth of knowledge. The welfare of mankind serves, in his view, as the link between the above aspects of education.[18]

4.1. In the discussion of knowledge in his *Theaetatus,* Plato has differentiated between knowledge and belief. While knowledge is the outcome of instruction, belief is the result of many ways and means such as propaganda. Unlike knowledge, belief is a state of mind. Comparable to Plato, Valluvar too did not subscribe to the view that knowledge is correct belief. To Valluvar, knowledge is the product of the searching mind.[19] Hence, in his view, penetration is a characteristic of knowledge and a penetrative mind is the sign of learning in depth.

4.2. Knowledge is not static nor stagnant but dynamic and growing comparable to the increasing flow of water from the springs of its source.[20] Learning in depth plays a major role in its growth and dynamism. Old ideas become outmoded and give birth to new ones. This is the outcome of the dynamism of knowledge and symbolizes its newness or novelty. Valluvar has recognized the newness of knowledge when he said that whenever one knows something new one is aware of his earlier ignorance.[21] This novelty is the characteristic of inventive knowledge which contributes to the development of the individual, the society and the world at large.

5.0. Knowledge like anything else has its structure. The concept of structure denotes the various parts of an object and the relationship between them

as exemplified by the structure of a molecule which is composed of atoms. Identification of the parts of the whole is different from the knowledge of the relationship between the parts or objects. A knowledge of the structure of a molecule need not contribute to an understanding of the reaction between two molecules.

5.1. The concept of the structure of knowledge is analogous to the above concept of structure. Different views exist among educationists as to the structure of knowledge. Bloom views knowledge as a composite of twelve parts ranging from the knowledge of specifics to the knowledge of concepts and structures.[22]

5.2. Brudy, Smith and Barnett have applied the principle of utility to their structure of knowledge and have recognized the skill to repeat an action, the skill to find relationships, the skill to utilize something and the skill to comprehend as its components.[23]

5.3. Unlike the modern educationists whose treatment of the structure of knowledge is utilitarian and practical, Valluvar has applied the criterion of the means of acquisition to his treatment of it. According to him, knowledge comprises formal knowledge acquired through the formal study of books, informal knowledge acquired through occasional listening to the learned and natural knowledge or wisdom acquired through experience. Formal and informal knowledge are treated as artificial knowledge by the commentators.

5.4. Formal knowledge acquired through formal education is built on numeracy and literacy, the mental eyes of man. Valluvar has enunciated the principle of discrimination applicable to the choice of books in this regard.[24] He did not, however, actually select the books for study. But the commentators have made certain general observations with special reference to the education of the monarch and the military.

5.5. Informal knowledge is valuable and of great significance particularly to those who have missed the benefits of formal education. The storehouse of informal knowledge built over the years by listening to the noble would, as Valluvar has observed, be of great help in difficult times comparable to the support of a staff on slippery grounds.[25]

5.6. Natural knowledge acquired through sensory experiences has its own value and would, according to Valluvar, supersede formal knowledge.[26] But in association with formal and informal knowledge its utility and effectiveness are greatly enhanced. Those equipped with them have few challenging tasks before them.[27]

5.7. Valluvar subscribes to the view that fate plays a decisive role in the expansion or otherwise of knowledge. Constructive fate would, in his view, contribute to the increase of knowledge through sustained human effort. On the

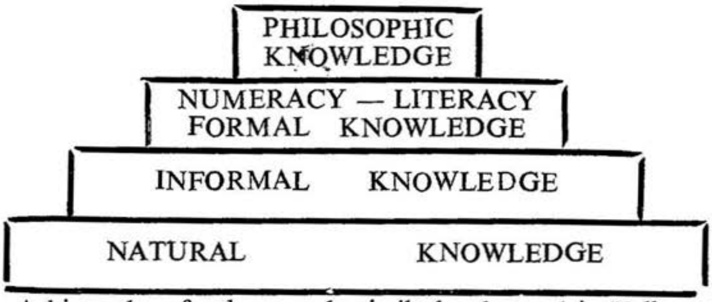
contrary, destructive fate would give birth to laziness and cause foolishness.[28] The application of the theory of fate to the acquisition of knowledge is a serious defect in Valluvar's concept of knowledge for it undermines human effort and self-confidence. This is attributable to the domination of fatalism in Indian thought for a long time and its impact on Valluvar's thought.*

5.8. The three-fold divisions of knowledge discussed so far are secular and represent comparatively lower forms. The highest form of knowledge is that which is concerned with the realization of the eternal truth. It is the knowledge of eternity or philosophic knowledge that can be acquired through Socratic discussion, critical inquiry and meditation.

5.9. Philosophical knowledge is neither wholly artificial nor natural. It is partly artificial and partly natural and at times intuitive as seen from the life of saint Ramakrishna.

6.0. Valluvar's views on the structure of knowledge are comparable to Maslow's theory of needs with reference to their hierarchical organization. Maslow, the social psychologist has classified human needs into higher and lower or basic needs. The satisfaction of the basic needs like food and water gradually lead to the higher needs culminating in self-actualization. If the basic needs are not met generally the higher needs would not arise.

6.1. Similarly in the structure of knowledge also a hierarchical build ranging from natural knowledge to philosophical knowledge can be seen. The following diagram represents Valluvar's structure of knowledge.



7.0. A hierarchy of values can be similarly observed in Valluvar's views on the uses of knowledge. The lower form of the uses of knowledge is utilizing it for personal security against adversities. The higher forms of the uses of knowledge are two-fold; sympathy for others and spiritual awakening. Sympathy for

*This conclusion is not warranted by the text; cf: the famous English lines, 'There is a tide in the affairs of men which taken at the ebb leads on to fortune'—Editor.

others includes abstinence from doing harm to others and treating others like oneself. Spiritual awakening involves knowledge of virtues, perception of eternal values and the realization of eternal happiness with God.[29]

7.1. A similarity of thought can be seen between Valluvar on the one hand and Gentile, Horne and Butler on the other in this regard. Particular mention must be made of Horne's arrangement of the "educational objectives of the individual in terms of a hierarchy of values, arranged according to the extent to which each value contributes to the realisation of man's absolute goal."[29]

8.0. The basis of Valluvar's concept of knowledge and principles of education is his general philosophy. The similarities of thought between him and the idealists would suggest that Valluvar too subscribed to idealism. But his general philosophy is, in fact, eclecticism and the welfare of mankind or good life is the central theme of his philosophy. This has not only been commended by ancient Tamil poets and commentators like *Kalladar* and *Parimelalakar* and modern scholars like Professor T. M. P. Mahadevan but also been declared by Valluvar himself.[30] It is interesting to note that in the West also particularly in Greece eclecticism was prevalent in or about Valluvar's time.

9.0. The measurement of knowledge is a modern concept. Hence Valluvar has, understandably, not constructed a battery of tests for educational measurement. However two ideas in his concept of knowledge serve as basic principles applicable to the measurement of knowledge.

9.1. The skills of effectively simple expression and facilities of comprehension which have been recognized by Valluvar as signs of intellectual excellence are central to the measurement of knowledge. In fact the measurement of knowledge is the measurement of certain skills or human abilities that accrue through learning. Valluvar has, incidentally recognized cognition and comprehension the educational objectives specified by Guilford and Bloom as criteria for the measurement of knowledge.

10.0. To what extent are Valluvar's views on knowledge relevant to the practice of education in modern times? How can they be translated into an educational programme? These are questions worthy of deliberation.

10.1. Universal education has not been achieved in many developing countries despite the many educational plans and programmes drawn up by national and international agencies of education. Hence Valluvar's ideal of universal education is still relevant and remains to be fulfilled throughout the world.

10.2. Secondly, the content of education in many countries has completely neglected the spiritual development of the individual. To ensure the all round development of the individual Valluvar's ideas on the spiritual development of the

individual have to be accommodated suitably in a comprehensive educational programme.

10.3. Thirdly, Valluvar's views on intensive and extensive learning, specialization and comprehensiveness in education are still valid and have to be applied in the process of curriculum development.

10.4. Fourthly, Valluvar's concept of informal knowledge is relevant to non-formal education and applicable to the development of suitable educational programmes to that end.

10.5. Finally, Valluvar's functional and utilitarian approaches to the study of knowledge and education are relevant to the solution of modern educational problems. They suggest a practical as well as social orientation to the development of an educational system pertinent to the evolution of an educated society and an ideal state.

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SOME PROBLEMS IN UNDERSTANDING TIRUKKUTALH

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INTRODUCTION

TirukkuTalh is a great and popular work. It has been translated into a large number of languages.[1] No doubt it is the pride of the Tamils. But it is regrettable to note that this popular work has not been properly understood by the Tamils themselves. There are some problems in understanding this great work. This article attempts to point out some of these problems.

1. The Problem of naming

The first problem is the name of the work itself. The popular name of this work in these days is *tirukkuTalh.* This term means *the sacred short poem. tiru* means sacred. *KuTalh* is a type of Venhpa metre consisting of two lines only. It means "short Venhpa poem". This indicates that this work is a great literary feat by Tiruvalhlhuvar into which he compressed great ideas in the small span of a poem. This feat was appreciated by the Tamil scholars since one thousand years ago. This is clear from a small collected work called *tiruvalhlhuva maalai* meaning "a garland of tiruvalhlhuvar".[2] The subject matter, dealt with by tiruvalhlhuvar in the work, is not indicated by this name. The real greatness of *tirukkuTalh* lies very much in the subject matter of the work. They are the primary aims of human life. The original name of the work seems to be *Muppaal.* The tiruvalhlhuva Maalai speaks of this work as *Muppaal* on a larger number of occasions.[3] This term *muppaal* means the "three parts". The three parts, dealt with in this work, are *ATam, Porulh* and *Inpam.* Therefore the term "Muppaal", indicating the aims of life, is the appropriate name to this great work. What is important in regard to tirukkuTalh is these Purushaarthas; not the metrical feat. We miss this significance when this work ie referred to as *tirukkuTalh* by which our attention is drawn to the metrical acrobatics.

2. The Problem of tiruvalhlhuva Maalai

Muppaal has been held in high esteem since its appearance some two thousand years ago. *Cilappatikaaram* and *Manhimeekalai* sang in praise of Muppaal. The author of *Manhimeekalai* CaattaNaar described Valhlhuvar as "Poyyil PulavaN" meaning 'a scholar who was flawless'.[4] Perhaps CaattaNaar took Valhlhuvar as a Buddhist. Jain authors of the medieval age took him as a jain saint. Camaya

tivaakara MuNivar, commentator of neelakeeci, a jain work, claimed Muppaal as "em Oottu", meaning 'our scripture' i.e., a jain work.[5] After the fall of Jainism and Buddhism in Tamilnadu came the Vedic religions. These religions claimed Muppaal as their own. Pseudo-history was spun around Valhlhuvar in which he was projected as a Vedic scholar. tiruvalhlhuva Maalai, a small work of about fifty *Venhpa* stanzas, was composed in praise of Muppaal. The names of the Sangam poets were given as authors of stanzas! In this work Muppaal was equated with the Vedas and the Gita.[6] These are religious works. But Muppaal is not a religious work, even though there are some religious ideas in it. Two impressions were created by this psuedo poem. One was that Muppaal was a religious book. The other was that it was the Vedic religious work.[7] Both these impressions became obstacles in understanding this great non-religious work.

This non-religious nature of Muppaal was correctly perceived by some ancient scholars and commentators.[8] For example Kallaadar's statement may be cited: "Valhlhuvar, who dealt with the substance (of life) having talked about the mundanity, not the way of the religious peoples' thinking".

The chaos and confusion, created by the tiruvalhlhuva Maalai, were so much that the real social and ethical significance of Muppaal, was not properly understood. But the service of this tiruvalhlhuva Maalai in establishing the greatness of Muppaal and tiruvalhlhuvar is not at all denied here. Yet the greatness was attributed only because of this supposed religiosity of Muppaal.

3. The Problem of Simplification of the concepts of Muppaal

Muppaal is generally considered and described as an ethical work. Ethics is equated with ATam which is righteousness. The first part of Muppaal deals with ATam. The second part deals with politics and society. The third part deals with the beauty of married life. Therefore, describing Muppaal as an ethical work is simplification of the work beyond recognition. This description is inadequate and insufficient. The subject matter of Muppaal is large, wide and numerous.[9] Because of this inadequate description we miss the fact that politics and society interested Valhlhuvar much and he contributed significantly to the study of politics and sociologv also.

There is also another kind of simplification in describing Muppaal. According to this description ATam is *Iital*; i.e. giving; giving is *taaNa;* i.e., charity. Porulh is earning money by virtuous means. INpam is that life in which the lover and the lady-love, having united in mind, became helpful to each other.[10] But even a cursory look at Muppaal reveals that ATam is not simply charity; but a virtuous and righteous life of an individual throughout his life span in all aspects. In the same way porulh is not simply earning money. It is a vast subject covering the whole of society and politics.[11] Therefore this over-simplification prevents us from comprehending the magnitude of Muppaal.

4. The Problem of Commentators

There are many commentators for Muppaal, old and new. The tradition points out ten of the past age. The chief among them is the famous ParimeelaLakar. The commentators were deeply religious people following various religions. The problem is that they were not able to see Muppaal without the colour of their religion. The jain commentators saw tiruvalhlhuvar as a jain and the orthodox Hindus saw him as a Hindu and so on. But it is clear that tiruvalhlhuvar cannot be assigned to any particular religion. He is above these religions but he speaks religiously and many of his ideas are fundamental to many religions.

ParimeelaLakar went further and saw all the ideas of Varnashrama Dharma in Muppaal. But this is doubtful. Therefore in order to understand Muppaal correctly one must avoid reading it with commentaries.

5. The Problem of means and ends

There is a concept of "Purushaarthas" in Indian thought. In Tamil it is called *UTutipporulh.* In the earlier concept, the "Purushaarthas" were three and in the later and medieval concept they were four. These were called in Sanskrit respectively *trivarga* and *chaturvarga.* In Tamil they were *Muppaal* and *NaaTpaal.* This concept of UTutipporulh is fundamental to the Hindu thought. We see in tiruvalhlhuvar's Muppaal only the three UTutipporulh. It is significant that the fourth UTutipporulh *Mooksha* is conspicuous by its absence. This is an important fact in understanding tiruvalhlhuvar's work. Because Hindu thought considers Mooksha as vital. According to the Hindu thought Mooksha is the paramount aim and the rest Dharma, Artha and Kaama are only the means to Mooksha. Therefore importance is not given to the first three UTutipporulh. Consequently the worldly life, which ATam, Porulh and INpam exalt, was looked down by the Hindu thought. If the concept of Mooksha[12] was not thought of, the other concepts ATam, Porulh, INpam automatically would have become important aims themselves. That means that the worldly life became important. If so, what about the tiruvalhlhuvar's Muppaal in which the fourth UTutipporulh is absent? It is obvious and indisputable that tiruvalhlhuvar emphasises the worldly life in clear terms.[13] Not only this emphasis. We are not able to see any such ideal as ATam, Porulh, INpam being the means and ViiDu being the sole aim of human life. That is why the 20th century philosopher Dr. Albert Schweitzer lauded the Muppaal of tiruvalhlhuvar. He saw in Muppaal great emphasis on life-affirmation.[14]

But the problem is that this aspect of tirukkuTalh is not recognized fully and properly. The commentators of Muppaal are responsible for the distortion of emphasis. Throughout the history of Hindu thought there was hesitation and reluctance on the part of Hinduism to accept the importance of ATam, Porulh and INpam.[15] It always introduced the idea of relative importance of UTutipporulh.

But with tiruvalhlhuvar we do not see any hesitation and we are sure that he accords equel importance to the UTutipporulh. In ancient India including Tamilnaadu there were many schools of thought with differing emphasis on this wordly life. Perhaps tiruvalhlhuvar belonged to one of the schools of mundane philosophy. Therefore this problem of relative importance and the consequent ideas of means and ends must be removed for the correct understanding of tiruvalhlhuvar's work.

6. The Problem of Paayiram

The next problem in understanding Muppaal is the presence of the *Paayiram* as first four chapters in Muppaal. Scholars like V.O. Chidambaram, who edited Muppaal with Manhakkudavar's commentary, spoke about the differences between the Paayiram couplets and the rest of the chapters of Muppaal.[16] It is obvious that different emphasis are laid in Paayiram and in other chapters. We see more religiosity and other-worldliness in Paayiram than in other chapters. (For example Paayiram spoke in praise of a personal god, which is absent in the whole work). It may be noted that ATam and renunciation are singled out in Paayiram for special treatment which is not balanced in emphasis. We must remember that ATam, Porulh and INpam are the worldly subjects. Therefore the tone of the paayiram is not in accordance with that of the rest of the book. We must admit at present that the genuineness of Paayiram is not accepted unquestionably. And we must also remember that there is hardly any work of reputation in India, in which inter-polation was absent. It must further be noted that the Paayiram of Muppaal is not in accordance with the definition of Paayiram found in grammatical texts.

7. The Problem of the Study in Comparison

A study of the Indian literatures and the schools of various religious thought reveal that the concept of UTutipporulh is pan-Indian in character like the concept of transmigration of souls and rebirth. Indologists, like Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, point out that the concept of Purushaarthas belongs to the common stock of Indian heritage. But as already pointed out, in the orthodox Hindu thought there was a hesitation in accepting the trivarga in toto. But the ancient Tamil tradition upheld the Muppaal as valuable aims of life. The consistent emphasis by the Tamils on the ATam, Porulh and INpam was in accordance with the material and social life of the ancient Tamils as revealed by *AKam* and *PuTam* poetries of Sangam age. We see only this tradition of the Tamils in the great work of tiruvalhlhuvar. It is highly interesting and surprising to note that Muppaal of tiruvalhlhuvar is the only work dealing with the whole concept of ATam, Porulh, INpam in the whole of India since the beginning. Tiruvalhlhuvar is the only author who authored one work with these three UIutiporulh in the whole of India. That is, there is no single work by a single author dealing with all the three UTutipporulh in the whole of India. This is the uniqueness of tiruvalhlhuvar. This uniqueness is possible because of the Tamil tradition whch might be responsible for the emergence of

the UTutipporulh concept itself. Therefore in the pan-Indian background we see the greatness and uniqueness of Muppaal clearly. There must be a definite contribution of tiruvalhlhuvar to the stock of Indian thought through the concept of UTutipporulh. A lack of knowledge of the cross-currents of Indian thought should not prevent us from understanding the uniqueness and greatness of tiruvalhlhuvar. A thorough comparative study of ancient Indian literatures is necessary to understand tiruvalhlhuvar fully.

These are some of the problems which prevent us from understanding the great Tamil classic Muppaal in all its aspects properly and completely. No doubt further research is necessary to establish some of the points dealt with in this article.

FOOTNOTES

(The problems raised by the author are imaginary: Editor.)

1. Dr. K. D. Thirunavukkarasu compiled one *Bibliography on Tirukkural* and published it in *First All India Tirukkural Seminar Papers*, 1972, University of Madras. He has cited about 100 Translations of tirukkuTalh into Indian, Asian and European languages, numbering about 25.

3. The tiruvalhlhuva Maalai uses the term Muppaal in twelve places and other terms like KuTalh in lesser number of places.

14. "What a difference between the Kural and the Laws of Manu, which orginated some four centuries before it! In the latter, under the dominance of the Brahmanic spirit, world and life affirmation is still just tolerated alongside world and life negation. In the Kural world life negation is only like a distant cloud in the sky. In 250 maxims- – they form the concluding part of the work - earthly love is lauded."

    "Maxims about joy in activity, such as one would not expect from Indian lips, bear witness to the strength of the world and life affirmation present in the Kural".

    (Albert Schweitzer, Indian Thought and Its Development, Wilco P.H. 1960, pages 201 & 202)

15. Once upon a time when the great war between the Kauravas and the Pandavas had ended in the total destruction of the Kauravas and when Drona's son Asvatthaman, goaded on by the great God Siva, and to avenge his father's blood, had butchered the victorious Pandava hosts as they lay besottedly asleep, the five Pandava brothers sat down with the wise Vidura and discussed which of the three legitimate pursuits of man was the highest. Was it dharma, artha, or kama – righteousness, wealth, or pleasure? (MBh, 12-167) Vidura opened the discussion and said that dharma was manifestly man's highest goal on earth: it was by dharma that the sages of old entered into Brahman, and it is on dharma that the three worlds are based; by dharma

did the gods become gods, and by dharma is wealth itself acquired. And by dharma we must understand mastery of the Veda, asceticism (tapas), renunciation, faith, sacrifices, self-control, and self-improvement. From this wholly orthodox point of view Arjuna ventured to diverge, putting in a strong claim for the supremacy of wealth of which, he said, righteousness and pleasure were but the two wings. The two youngest brothers who were twins preferred to compromise. Dharma, they said, should be pursued in the first instance, then wealth should be acquired in accordance with dharma, and last of all should men's thoughts turn to pleasure. Bhima, however, who was second to Yudhishthira in age though far below him in virtue – for he was violent, gluttonous, and cruel – thought differently. Satisfaction of desire (Kama), he boldly declared, was the first duty of man. Speaking in the spirit of the Vedic hymn that saw in desire the source and orgin of all things (pp. 41-42), he said that without the desire to achieve, all achievement is impossible. How had the great sages of old won through to liberation? They had desired it and through the fervour of their desire they had won the prize. Desire is the secret of all success, whether material or spiritual, and only a hypocrite would deny it.

(R. C. Zaehner, Hinduism, pages 114 & 115, Oxford 1975)

2. தினையளவு போதாச் சிறுபுன்னீர் நீண்ட
பனையளவு காட்டும் படித்தான்- மனையளகு
வள்ளைக் குறங்கும் வளநாம; வள்ளுவனார்
வெள்ளைக் குறட்பா விரி. (திருவள்ளுவமாலை, 5)

மாலுங் குறளாய் வளந்திரண்டு மாணடியான்
ஞால முழுது நயந்தளந்தான்- வாலறிவன்
வள்ளுவருந் தங்குறள்வெண் பாவடியால் வைத்தா
ருள்ளுவவெல் லாமளந்தா ரோர்ந்து; (திருவள்ளுவமாலை, 6)

4. தெய்வந் தொழாஅள் கொழுநற் றொழுதெழுவாள்
பெய்யெனப் பெய்யும் பெருமழை என்றஅப்
பொய்யில் புலவன் பொருளுரை தேறாய்
—மணிமேகலை, சிறை, 59-61.

5. சமயதிவாகர வாமன முனிவர் என்பவர், சமணப் பெரும் புலவர்.
அவர், 'நீலகேசி தெருட்டு 'என்னும் நூலுக்கு இயற்றிய உரையில்
'உய்யக் கொள்வன் எனச் சொல்லி உள்ளத்தால்
கையிற் காட்டல் கரவுள தாமெனின்
பொய்சி தைத்தென்? சொல்லிப் பெயர்ந்துரை
பொய்யுரைத்திலன் என்றல் பொருந்துமோ?,
என்னும் மொக்கல வாதச் சருக்கம் 60-ஆம் செய்யுளுரையில்,

''ஒருத்தனை அவ்வாறு ரக்ஷிக்க வேண்டுமானால், எமக்குக் கை காட்டியும் நிலம் காட்டியும் வஞ்சனையாற் சொல்ல வேண்டு வதில்லை. என்னை?

'பொய்மையும்' வாய்மை இடத்த புரை தீர்ந்த
நன்மை பயக்கும் எனின்?

என்பது எம் ஒத்து ஆதலான்'' எனவும், மேற்படி சருக்கம் 87-ஆம் செய்யுள் உரையில்,

''உற்றநோய் நோன்றல் உயிர்க்குறுகண் செய்யாமை
அற்றே தவத்திற் குரு'

என்பது எம் ஒத்து ஆதலின், 'பொய்யுரைத்தலும் அறமாம்,' எனக் கூறியிருப்பதுங் கருதற் பாலன. (-மே. வி. வேணுகோபாலப் பிள்ளை, ஆதிபகவன் யார்? திருக்குறள் மூலமும் கட்டுரைகளும், ஜைன இளைஞர் மன்றம்).

6. சாற்றிய பல்கலையுந் தப்பா வருமறையும்
போற்றி யுரைத்த பொருளெல்லாந் - தோற்றவே
முப்பான் மொழிந்த முதற்பா வலரொப்பா
ரெப்பா வலரினு மில். (திருவள்ளுவமாலை, 18)
உப்பக்க நோக்கி யுபகேசி தோண்மணந்தா
னுத்தர மாமதுரைக் கச்சென்ப — விப்பக்க
மாதானு பங்கி மறுவில் புலச்செந்நாப்
போதார் புனற்கடற் கச்சு. (திருவள்ளுவ மாலை, 21)

7. வேதப் பொருளை விரகால் விரித்துலகோர்
ஓதத் தமிழா லுரைசெய்தார் — ஆதலால்
உள்ளுந ருள்ளும் பொருளெல்லாம் உண்டென்ப
வள்ளுவர் வாய்மொழி மாட்டு. (திருவள்ளுவமாலை, 42)
ஆரியமுஞ் செந்தமிழும் ஆராய்ந் திதனினிது
சீரியதென் றொன்றைச் செப்பரிதால் — ஆரியம்
வேத முடைத்துத் தமிழ்திரு வள்ளுவனார்
ஓது குறட்பா வுடைத்து. (திருவள்ளுவமாலை, 43)

8. ஒன்றே பொருளெனின் வேறென்ப வேறெனி
னன்றென்ப வாறு சமயத்தார் — நன்றென
வெப்பா லவரு மியைபவே வள்ளுவனார்
முப்பான் மொழிந்த மொழி. (திருவள்ளுவமாலை, 9)
சமயக் கணக்கர் மதிவழி கூறாது
உலகியல் கூறிப் பொருளிது வென்ற
வள்ளுவன் (கல்லாடம்)

9. எல்லாப் பொருளும் இதன்பா லுள இதன்பால்
இல்லாத எப்பொருளும் இல்லையாற் — சொல்லாற்
பரந்தபா வாலென் பயன்வள் ளுவனார்
சுரந்தபா வையத் துணை. (திருவள்ளுவமாலை, 29)
எப்பொருளும் யாரும் இயல்பி னறிவுறச்
செப்பிய வள்ளுவர் தாஞ் செப்பவரும் — முப்பாற்குப்

பாரதஞ்சீ ராம கதைமனுப் பண்டைமற்ற
நேர்வனமற் றில்லை நிகர். (திருவள்ளுவமாலை, 30)

10. ஈதல் அறம்; தீவினைவிட்டு ஈட்டல்பொருள்; எஞ்ஞான்றும்
காதல் இருவர் கருத் தொருமித்(து) — ஆதரவு
பட்டதே இன்பம் பரனைநினைந்(து) இம்மூன்றும்
விட்டதே பேரின்ப வீடு. (ஔவையார், நல்வழி)

11. படைகுடி கூழ் அமைச்சு நட்புஅரண் ஆறும்
உடையான் அரசருள் ஏறு (குறள், 381)
என்னும் குறட்பாவின் விரிவே பொருட்பால் என்பதால் இக்கருத்து தெளிவாகிறது.

12. ''அஃதாவது அம்முனிவரான் உணர்த்தப்பட்ட அம் மூன்றனுள், ஏனைப் பொருளும் இன்பமும் போலாது, அறன் இம்மை மறுமை வீடென்னும் மூன்றனையும் பயத்தலான், அவற்றின் வலியுடைத்து என்பது கூறுதல். அதிகாரமுறைமையும் இதனானே விளங்கும்.
''சிறப்புடை மரபிற் பொருளும் இன்பமும், அறத்து வழிப்படூஉந் தோற்றம் போல'' என்றார் பிறரும்''.
(பரிமேலழகர், அறன்வலியுறுத்தல் - முன்னுரை)
''இவற்றுள், அறம் இம்மைப்பயன், மறுமைப்பயன், வீடு என்னும் மூன்றையும், பொருள் இம்மைப்பயன் மறுமைப்பயன் என்னும் இரண்டையும், இன்பம் இம்மைப்பயன் ஒன்றையும் தருவதாம்''.
(கோ. வடிவேலு செட்டியார், திருக்குறள் உரைப்பாயிரம் அடிக்குறிப்பு, பக். 2.)

13. அறத்தாற்றின் இல்வாழ்க்கை ஆற்றின் புறத்தாற்றின்
போய்ஒய்ப் பெறுவது எவன்? (குறள், 46)
வையத்துள் வாழ்வாங்கு வாழ்பவன் வானுறையும்
தெய்வத்துள் வைக்கப் படும். (குறள். 50)
தாம்வீழ்வார் மென்தோள் துயிலின் இனிதுகொல்
தாமரைக் கண்ணான் உலகு (குறள், 1103)
தெய்வத்தான் ஆகா தெனினும் முயற்சிதன்
மெய்வருத்தக் கூலி தரும். (குறள், 619)

16. ''திருக்குறட் சுவடிகளில் பாயிரத்தின் முதல் மூன்று அதிகாரங்களாகக் காணப்படும், 'கடவுள் வாழ்த்து,' 'வான் சிறப்பு',' 'நீத்தார் பெருமை' என்னும் மூன்று அதிகாரப் பாக்களும் திருவள்ளுவரால் இயற்றப்பட்டவையல்லவென்றும், அவை திருவள்ளுவர் காலத்திற்குப் பிற்காலமும் முந்திய உரையாசிரியர்கள் காலத்திற்கு முற்காலமுமாகிய இடைக்காலத்துப் புலவர் ஒருவரால் பாடிச் சேர்க்கப்பட்டவை யென்றும் யான் கருதுகிறேன். அவ்வாறு யான் கருதுவதற்குரிய காரணங்களிற் சில:-
(1) இம்மூன்று அதிகாரங்களிலும் காணப்படும் பாக்கள் நூலின் பாக்களைப் போலச் சொற் செறிவும் பொருட் செறிவும் உடையன

அல்ல. (2) இப்பாக்களிற் பலவற்றின் பொருள்கள் பலதடைகளுக்கு இடம் கொடுக்கின்றன. (3) ''மெய்யுணர்தல்'', ''துறவு'' என்னும் அதிகாரங்கள் நூலின்கண் இருக்கின்றமையால், ''கடவுள் வாழ்த்து'', ''நீத்தார் பெருமை'' என்னும் அதிகாரங்களைப் பாயிரத்தில் கூறவேண்டுவதில்லை. (4) ''மெய்யுணர்த'' லில் கடவுளுக்குக் கூறியுள்ள இலக்கணங்களையும் ஒப்பிட்டுப் பார்த்தால், இரண்டு அதிகாரங்களையும் இயற்றியவர் இருவரல்லர் என்பது நன்றாக விளங்கும்,. அவ்வாறே, ''துற'' வின் பாக்களையும், ''நீத்தார் பெருமை'' யின் பாக்களையும் ஒப்பிட்டுப் பார்த்தால், அவ்விரண்டு அதிகாரங்களையும் இயற்றியவர் ஒருவரல்லர் என்பது நன்றாக விளங்கும். மழையைச் ''சிறப்பிற்றணிப்பாருமில்லை, வறப்பிற்றருவாருமில்'' லாகையால் ''வான்சிறப்'' பைக் கூறுதலால் பயன் ஒன்றும் இல்லை.''

—திருவள்ளுவநாயனார் திருக்குறளும்
விருத்தியுரையும், அறப்பால், வ. உ. சி.
பக். 2—3.

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT TAMIL NADU

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THE ANCIENT TAMILS WITH MODERN CONCEPTS

Amadou Mahtar M'Bow,[1] the illustrious Director - General of UNESCO, stated: "Education should be regarded as a prime factor in Development". It would also be relevant here, to point out that the ancient Tamils did develop a concept of International Understanding and Co-operation as revealed by the pithy and powerful lines 'Every country is my native land and every man my kinsman'.[2] In fact, the ancient Tamils had established cordial international relationship with several countries when they sailed abroad to sell commodities which were specially sought for from Tamil Nadu.

The modern concept that Education is a major and vital input of development, is reflected in many an ancient Tamil literature. The importance of education as lever of development is interwoven in the philosophical background of the Tamil literature of the hoary past. Thiruvalluvar, the great sage of ancient Tamil Nadu, states in Thirukkural: 'The precious undecaying wealth of man is his learning; All other riches are no wealth at all.'[3]

The concept of education as wealth or investment is lucidly implied in this short verse. This reflects the argument of Vaizey and Debeau Vais:[4] "Expenditure on education is to be thought of as an investment - investment in mankind - the returns on education both individually and socially are at least as high as those in physical capital." Franklin says, "An investment in knowledge always pays the best interest."

Based on the objectives which are comparable to modern concepts, education in ancient Tamil Nadu was provided under democratic principles with methods and techniques appropriate for the period but still quite modern in approach.

TEACHING AND LEARNING PROCESS

Oral communication

Even the earliest sources of historical information provide evidence that from very early times the tradition of teaching and learning had been continuously in vogue in Tamil Nadu. Tolkappiyam, the earliest extant work in Tamil literature which

can be ascribed to third century B.C., speaks of young men leaving their homes for centres of learning. Here they spent a few years before they were declared learned and then returned home. It is well known that most studies were transmitted orally from generation to generation and in that case education was not necessarily associated with literacy. Learning by rote and memorising were given great prominence and even after literacy became common, those pre-literature habits persisted. But reading and writing was also in practice as referred to in Tolkappiam. Due to poor availability of writing aids, memory did play a large part and dictionaries had to be got by heart as a necessary preliminary to a study of grammar. Yet writing was commonly practised. The stylus (in Tamil எழுத்தாணி, literally 'a writing nail') was used to write on dried palm leaves, cut to shape, bound together by a thick twine and written on both sides. Care required to practise this kind of writing developed calligraphy almost as an art. But still as it was a laborious process, economy in expression was insisted upon and practised. It was also combined with intelligibility. Therefore, the teacher and the taught set about the complementary jobs of teaching and learning mostly by oral communication.

The Teacher Pupil ratio

The earliest centres of learning were simple private gatherings of learned men and their disciples usually in the residence of the former. The preceptor is highly extolled and even equated with God Himself.[5] In ancient days, institutionalisation of education was naturally unknown and would have been rejected even if known, for they thought the ratio of pupils to teachers was best maintained by a very small number of disciples to establish personal rapport between the two. The modern concept of individualizing or personalizing instruction was in vogue in those days. The monasteries had their own disciplines and techniques. There was a well-developed system of education in which attention was paid to both the intellect and to the hand.

Teachers

The members of the Cankam played the combined role of teachers, authors, court-poets and citizens, and it is likely that the membership of the Cankam was an honour and not a specially paid appointment. The Cankam seems to have transacted different types of academic work. Individually each member taught a few pupils purely as a matter of handing over a legacy to the generation succeeding theirs. The teachers were from different-castes and social groups. Teachership was what mattered, not the caste of the teacher. There was no hereditary principle in vogue, nor a doctrine of monopoly according to which only one caste had the right to teach. It is true that in some instances a succession of teachers is found among certain families on a hereditary principle, but it is not the result of any right which such families enjoyed, but a happy accident. Merit, not birth, counted.

The place of language and medium

The first place was provided to the language which was the medium of knowledge. Tamil was used in the Tamil country; it was the *lingua franca* of the country and it played the major role. Tamil had developed a rich heritage of literature of the highest standard. A liberal education in Tamil in those days was a study of available literature whose content was adequate intellectual material for an integrated wholesome personality. A sound scholarship in Tamil was indispensable for every person in all the occupations. The text-books in respect of each occupation were in Tamil. These works were in poetic form, obviously for the reason that poetry was more easy to memorise than prose.

The role of Tamil Cankam in Education

The Tamil Cankam of yore was an academy of scholars rather than an association of critics. The members of the Cankam were themselves poets, scholars and teachers of highest calibre.[6] Each of the luminaries of the Cankam was first a scholar-teacher and then only a critic.[7] That the Cankam played the part of an approving body cannot be disputed. The scholars who constituted the Cankam were fully qualified to adjudge any literary work and play the critic also. The Cankam was the best institutionalised approach to learning and research. The members of the Cankam were full-time teachers and pursuers of research. It is probable that it was a large organisation like a University with departments for all branches of literature founded on a non-denominational basis, judging from the religions and castes of the authors, and the diversity of the subjects treated in the Cankam poem.[8]

As a body, these members received works from scholars with a view to evaluating them and considering their fitness for the award of the approval and recognition of the Cankam. The approval of the Cankam was the measure of top scholarship; and it is clear that only a few of the works presented were rated good enough for the Cankam's approval which was given over the years to the works of 449 poets.[9]

Democratisation of Education

Education was widespread and not confined to particular communities or levels of society. The list of Cankam poets is enough to show that people of all ranks in life took to Education with avidity; but it must be presumed that at any moment the number of formally educated literates was a respected but small minority; for a great majority of the people learned and practised their profession, art or craft in a hereditary way within the family. Example rather than precept played a significant role in this kind of craft education. There was no ban on anyone reaching a high level of attainment.

There are, no doubt, a few teachers with designations indicative of spiritual eminence, like 'Gnani' and 'Bodhiyar'[10] but the majority of the teachers were involved in secular instruction. It is not to suggest that moral or religious values had no place in their teaching. As education was integrated with life, the themes of instruction had a vital bearing on life; and a moral life was promoted more by living it than by teaching it. Some teachers did bring up moral values in their instruction; but it was by way of supplementing the discipline enjoined on studentship in the Gurukula system.

The Cankam age was the age of the individual teachers but *Kulapatis* who maintained large Gurukulams were not entirely unknown. We have mention of at least one Kulapati among Cankam luminaries.[11] One significant aspect of the Gurukula system of the Tamils was, where the father was qualified he became his children's teacher, though in a few instances, there was an unbroken succession of discipleship on a hereditary basis. The greatness of Nakkirar as a teacher consists in the unbroken succession of discipleship extending to ten generations which he created.[12] We are not able to say from the evidence available who the direct disciples were besides his own son, Kiran Korranar. There are a few instances in which the succession of teachership and discipleship remains unbroken for centuries. The unique example is that of the preceptorial lineage commencing from Madurai Kanakayanar and possibly going beyond the time of Musiri Aririyar Nilakantanar.

EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES

Development of human personalities

Education is often mentioned in ancient Tamil literature as necessary for the development of human personality; it is pointed out that while even rulers are respected only in their lands the learned are respected wherever they go. 'All lands and towns the learned hail; to learn life long why fail' says Tiruvalluvar.[13] The modern concept of life-long education is stressed in this couplet. Tirukkural speaks of the efficacy of education and in three chapters mentions the virtues of being educated, the handicap of having no education and learning by listening to wise men.[14] A Pandiyan king asserted that even by assuming an attitude of utter humility, it is desirable to pursue education.[15] Thus it is evident that the ancient Tamil society looked upon education as a means to refinement needed for civilised men. The existence of the Tamil Cankam in Madurai is the most significant testimony to the association of the learned for the purpose of academic collaboration.

EDUCATION CENTRES

Institutionalisation in education

The Pallava period in the history of Tamil Nadu (7th to the 9th century A.D.) introduced an element of institutionalisation in education. We hear of the

'Ghatika' or the 'College' in Kanchipuram where presumably Sanskrit and Tamil studies were imparted. In the Chola period we hear of a vast educational institution of the scale of Nalanda being organised and run in a place called Ennayiram; similar schools did exist elsewhere too though on a more modest scale.

Temples of learning

With the advent of the vast temple complex in the Chola period, the educational and other literary activities came to be located in the spacious halls in the temples and we hear of royal endowments for such institutions and arrangements being made to keep teachers and the taught above want. But the curriculum, consistent with tradition and the requirements of the times, was limited to the study of grammar, logic, poetry and religious texts and a few more things like Arithmetic. 'The numerals and the letters are the two eyes of enlightened ones' says the 'Kural'.[16]

Clear indications of astronomical education are available in the literature. Astronomy is here distinguished from Astrology, the science of prediction. This would have helped the ancient Tamils in their worldwide voyages in ships laden with pearls and spices. Foreign trade helps to increase the national wealth. 'Purananuru' has plenty of references to astronomical knowledge.[17] A few teachers of astronomy of the Cankam age could be identified by *Kaniyan* prefix. The chief among them was Kaniyan punkunranar. Another was Kudalur Kilar.

Educational Tradition

This educational process never slowed down but was found to serve as a firm base on which the modern educational system comprising vast centralised coaching and examining institutions have been developed. In every other walk of life, there has been no break in the educational tradition in Tamil Nadu. The educational tradition of the Tamils was highly democratic. There was no class or creed difference. Women were given due opportunities. When one looks at the ancient educational tradition of the Tamils one has to consider them as 'ancient moderns'.

The Cankam age was both individual and collective intellectual activity, cosmopolitan in its organization and endowed with the fullest academic freedom. If Tamil education of the Cankam age has anything significant to offer to educational thinking in general, it is the concept of academic freedom. One wonders if there had been any other institution similar to this in other parts of the world enjoying uninhibited freedom of the mind. The subject of enquiry or discussion was not dictated by the patron, the king. It could be grammar or religion or treatment of nature or practically anything which the scholars chose to dwell upon. Its composition was not only non-denominational but also most democratic. Scholarship was the only criterion. If we should study the antecedents and ancestry of those

that produced literary works under the auspices of the Cankam we should be convinced that every economic level was represented from the peasant to the prince. We have artisans among the scholars, we have traders , we have professional men like physicians, we have agriculturists, we have women, we have poets with special physical characteristics, we have kings – all of them united into an intellectual fraternity.

Conclusion

Tamil Nadu has an Educational Tradition from time immemorial. The three illustrious TAMIL ACADEMIES (Cankam) were active in developing and disseminating scholarly attitudes and erudition among the people.

Bacon says, 'Knowledge is Power' and Thiruvalluvar reiterated this aspect two thousand years ago. Thirukkural says 'Wisdom is a weapon to ward off destruction; it is an inner fortress which enemies cannot destroy."

அறிவுஅற்றம் காக்கும் கருவி செறுவார்க்கும்
உள்ளழிக்க லாகா அரண்.

Adiveerarama Pandian (1564–1603 A.D.), the author of '*Vetri Verkkai*' stresses the importance of education: 'One should learn even if he has to beg'.

கற்கை நன்றே கற்கை நன்றே
பிச்சை புகினும் கற்கை நன்றே.

The ancient Tamils gave so much of importance to education, because they considered that 'the Learned possess everything.'[18]

''அறிவுடையார் எல்லாம் உடையார்''

Thus the Tamils of that age come under the classification of Ancient Moderns.

FOOTNOTES

1. Amadou Mahtar M'Bow: 'Statement to the meeting of Senior Officials of Ministry of Education', 8 September 1975. p. 9.
2. Kaniyan Poongunranar: Puram 192, ''யாதும் ஊரே யாவரும் கேளிர்''
3. Thirukkural: Kural 400, கேடில் விழுச்செல்வம் கல்வி ஒருவற்கு மாடல்ல மற்றையவை.
4. Vaisey and Debeau Vais: 'Investment in Human Resources', 1961. p. 38.
5. Verri Verkai: எழுத்தறிவித்தவன் இறைவன் ஆகும்.
6. In fact, some of them distinguished themselves by presenting master-pieces, e.g. Tolkappiyar presented the *Tolkappiyam*.

7. It is likely that there were two classes of scholars associated with the Cankam. The first class might have consisted of scholars who were also members of the Cankam. The second class must have consisted of members who were not official members but whose works received the *imprimatur* of the Cankam.
8. This is implied by the diversity of the themes and the denominal differences of the authors.
9. 'Cankap-pulavar akara varicai', Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society Ltd., Madras – 1.
10. Odal Gnaniyar and Ilam Bodhiyar: Odal Gnaniyar may mean one expert in the art of teaching. Ilam Bodhiyar may mean the young genius or the teacher of the young.
11. Large institutions were unsuited to the temperament of the Tamils, because they believed in the telling influence of the individual teacher which cannot be had in a mass set-up.
12. '*Iraiyanar Akaporul – Sutra* 1' (commentary).
13. Kural 397: யாதானும் நாடாமால் ஊராமால் என்னொருவன் சாந்து ணையும் கல்லா தவாறு.
14. Chaps. 40, 41 and 42.
15. Puram 18:
16. Kural 392: எண்ணென்ப ஏனை எழுத்தென்ப இவ்விரண்டும் கண்ணென்ப வாழும் உயிர்க்கு.
17. Puram 229 for instance. A lot of astronomical information has been compressed in this verse.
18. Thirukkural: Kural 480.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN AS DEPICTED IN ANCIENT TAMIL LITERATURE

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Introduction

Literature is perhaps the weakest of the sources of history. The poetic hyperbole, a common feature in any literature, the Tamilian practice of depicting life on traditional lines, and the fact that any literature cannot present scenes as true to life and as minutely as a historical survey, make clear the limitations of literature as a source of social history.

Nevertheless, being the major source available, the social history of the ancient Tamils is inferred mostly through the Sangam Literature, the most ancient of Tamil Literature.

Based upon the existing views about the history of Tamil Literature, *Pattuppaaddu* and *Edduttokai* are taken as the primary sources of study, and the status of women and children in ancient Tamilnad is inferred from these two anthologies.

Children

Children were most welcome. They were considered sources of happiness in this world and essential for the solace of the departed souls dwelling in the other world. Abortion was considered a crime. In contrast to the modern practice of birth-control, it was ordained that the married couple must be together, during the fertile period.

Though there is no specific reference to infer that the birth of a female child was unwanted, yet it is significant in Akam Literature, references are made mostly about a male child. In Akam Literature, we meet quite often the only child - a male child - serving as a go-between and a listener to his mother's woes. The child was named after the paternal grand-parents.

Playthings like *kilukiluppai* (rattle) and a small chariot drawn by string are referred to. Ornaments such as *pulippaltaali* and *kinhkinhi* are spoken of. *Kalittokai* gives a detailed account of the golden ornaments worn by children.

It is inferred that the babies were breast-fed for a comparatively longer period than later ages. The practice of breast-feeding the babies through the foster-mother was also in vogue.

Regarding the education of children very little is known since learning is mentioned only in a very general sense. We get several references on the value of education-the king preferring a learned scholar of a low caste to a non-scholar of a higher caste, the importance of education etc. In fact, one of the separations spoken of by Tolkaappiyar is, the separation for the sake of learning. This shows that learning continued even after marriage and this practice proves the great regard the ancient Tamils had for education. Nevertheless, it is to be regretted that no specific reference is made as to the mode of learning, the subjects learnt in the school etc. The most general statement made is that one has to learn through thick or thin by helping the teacher in times of need, by giving money and by being humble and obedient. But the place of study or other related things remain a mystery. Hence one is left to wonder about the place where the hero of the Akam poems went to study, leaving the young wife to suffer the pangs of separation. There is no mention about his study-materials.

Men were expected to learn and master the hereditary profession. The educational system of the ancient Tamils seem to be mostly job-oriented. However, the facts that the hero in the Akam songs can be portrayed as leaving his wife to pursue his studies, that the king listening to the learned scholars, and the reference to books of several branches of study, prove that apart from learning the profession through their fathers, men in those days also had the opportunity to learn other subjects of interest and value. What those subjects were and how they were learnt are not known.

We have reference also about illiterate boys spending their time idly in playing games.

Still-birth is spoken of but the rate of infant mortality is not known.

Women Childhood

There is no definite positive welcome to the female child as seen in the modern poet Baarati DasaN's poems, and no decrying of the birth of a girl, yet, the silence is significant since a male child is openly praised and welcomed.

Childhood is not portrayed in Sangam Literature minutely and hence a detailed description of a girl's childhood is not possible. We come across the names of women poets, but nothing is known about their schooling and educational pattern. From the Akam Literature we gather that the young girls spent their time in playing games and guarding the fields ready for harvest. We can only surmise that a few of the girls had their learning within the four walls of their homes, before marriage. The opportunity to learn even after marriage is not spoken of as in the case of men.

Career-women and spinsters are not mentioned. The Sanskrit texts state that women were to learn the sixtyfour arts useful for the efficient management of the home and a happy married life, but the Tamil Literature does not mention any such situation. Specialisation in vocal as well as instrumental music, dancing, histrionics etc. and exhibition of talents in public, are to be seen only among women of a few sects-paadiNi, ViTali, kinhaimakalh etc. Although fine arts were not a taboo for women of other sects, no heroine is portrayed as indulging in music or dance or giving a public concert.

Dress and Ornaments

The high quality and texture of the dresses worn by women are spoken of. Colouring the yarn was also known to them. However it is puzzling to note that dresses made of leaves were also in vogue simultaneously. The hero is found extending the dress made of leaves as a love-token, to his lady-love. This is simply a conventional symbolic expression of love. Women actually wore such dresses, probably on special occasions such as the *Tunhangaikkuuttu*.

Flowers formed the major part and played a prominent role in the decoration of women. Several ornaments made of gold and other precious stones are also mentioned.

Pastime

Since formal education, as seen in modern days, seems not to have been in practice, naturally adolescent girls must have had a lot of time in their hands with nothing specific to do but to wait for the right man. They had sheltered areas to play. Small girls used to play building sand-houses (only to be destroyed by the boys of their own age either by stampeding or by rolling their playcart over them); nursing dolls, playing the domestic role with other maidens, chasing the crabs on the sea-shore etc. Young girls had their bath in the water-falls and swam in water reservoirs, plucked flowers and wore them into garlands, and played on the swing.

Occupation

Not all the time was spent in idle play. Watching over the fields from birds and animals was an important occupation for adolescent girls. This doubt helped their parents, but also gave them an opportunity and an ideal place to go out of their homes and meet their lovers during day-time.

We find women pedlars undertaking barter trade.

Married women naturally had the household chores to attend to. We see them busy with cooking and serving, playing host, looking after the children etc.

Physical beauty

As it is to be expected in any literature, the physical beauty of women is depicted in detail. The complexion is termed maamai. It is note-worthy that for every part of the body the poets give appropriate similes drawn from nature. Comparing the tresses to the black sand on the river bed, and the feet to the dog's tongue are similes worth-mentioning.

Various sects

Some sort of division between the people existed in the ancient Tamil society. The basis for the divisions is not clear-cut since some sects are differentiated on professional basis and some others by birth.. Some sects were considered higher and some lower. But details regarding them are not to be found. This general condition applies to women too. We hear of viTali, kinhaimakalh, nulhimakalh, eyiTTiyar, kuTamakalh, paLaiyar makalhir, aranthai makalhir, kodicci, panhamakalh etc. Among these eyiTTiyar, kuTamakalh, nulhaimakalh and kodicci are sects named after the geographical regions they lived in. Paanmakalh, kinhiaimakalh etc. are names given after the musical arts they practised. Those who possessed a home and had a living of their own and lived a static life must have been considered high, in contrast with the others who led more or less the life of a vagabond, roaming about and depending upon the philanthropy of others for their living.

Women Deities

Women-deities and celestial women are referred to in ancient Tamil Literature. The deities are the creation of man's faith in God. But the women who are spoken of as celestial are quite puzzling.

Demoness

Not only deities but also demons are spoken of in Sangam literature as belonging to the fair sex. Devils in general with no distinction of sex are also mentioned. Among ghosts appearing in the battle-field and eating the flesh of the dead warriors, females are also mentioned. The introduction makes one wonder why this sex division.

Teenage

Teenage girls had no burdens or problems. Since we have no reference about the life of a poor girl, we meet only teenagers coming from well-to-do families. We find them refusing to take the food offered, being coaxed to eat, and fussed about by the mother and foster-mother. However, problems arise once a teenager falls in love with a man.

The circumstances were such that boys and girls could easily come across each other and fall in love at first sight. No specific reference as to age is mentioned.

However, we are made to understand it was very early. Since *cilappatikaaram* says that Kannaki was twelve and Kovalan was sixteen when they were married, we can accept that as the respective ages of the male and the female of the early period.

Love-life

Once they fell in love with each other, they met in secret, during day as well as night, and we understand that physical intimacy was not shunned. Hence arranged marriage must have come into effect only later. It would have been a common practice among the youngsters to select each other's mate, with of course a few exceptions. We find that dating was also in practice.

It is noteworthy that this self-choice was widely objected to by the society ; we find the society disapproving the meeting of the lovers. The youngsters try to keep it secret with the help of the friend. But once the mother or the foster mother got suspicious, the heroine was kept under 'house arrest'.

Human psychology being the same we find most of the heroes least interested in marriage and not worried about the gossip. The maid had to coax him, threaten him and corner him in order to make him take the initiative. We find the girl ashamed and worried to death, but nonetheless, not willing to let down the image of her lover in the eyes of others. Her mental struggle is pathetic.,

Elopement

When the chances of getting married became remote the girl decided to elope with her lover. In Sangam Literature the term used to denote elopement is quite decent and actually means approval of the conduct of lovers. The current term used in Tamilnad refers to the lady as having run away from home. The fact that this term is used only for the lady and leaves out the other culprit makes the status of women quite precarious. But the Sangam poetry uses the Tamil term *Udanpookku* meaning 'leaving together'. This not only makes both of them equally shoulder the responsibility of taking such a decision, but also implies that they have taken a right decision. They decide to live together; when opposition comes they join hands to face the hurdles.

The eloped girl either came back and got married at her home or went to her lover's place and got married. We find the mother standing wonder-struck at her daughter's courage in leaving her beloved ones and going with a stranger. The foster-mother goes in search of the daughter. The reaction of the girl differs from individual to individual and the poems that render the emotions of the eloping girl are quite interesting.

Marriage

Though we infer from *Tolkappiyam*, that the practice of conducting a marriage ceremony for the sake of public announcement is of a later origin, yet, in Sangam poetry we find that marriage is considered essential for the couple to start living together in society as husband and wife. As for the qualifications of the bride (though *Tolkappiyam* speaks of ten aspects in which the bride and the groom must be equal) physical beauty and family background were the deciding factors, the former from the point of view of the man, the latter from that of his family.

Normally the groom's family approached the bride's and requested the girl's hand in marriage. However, conflicts arose whenever the bride's parents refused for reasons of their own to give their daughter to that man, or, when the daughter's wish was to marry a different person of her own choice. Poems belonging to the *tuTai MakadpaaTkaanci* speak of the conflict and the possible consequences under such circumstances. The girl, with the help of her maid, eloped and got married. In all probability there might have been a few cases in which, for various reasons (lack of courage on the part of lovers, mastery over the situation by the girl's family, etc.), a marriage of compulsion might have been conducted. However, there is very little evidence for such tragedies. In fact, even the *Kalittokai* poems which to a certain extent deviate from the ancient poetic tradition in character delineation and also portray a comparatively truer-to-life picture of human emotions, dare not picture an unfaithful lover. *Neitalkali* poems which clearly portray the picture of the bereaved lady-love, come to a sudden and unconvincing end speaking of the lover's return and the lady-love's happiness. It is obvious, as it had been pointed out by Dr. Rm. Periakaruppan that, not willing to go against the tradition of depicting an ideal and faithful lover of courage and integrity the poet must have ended the poems in such an artificial and unconvincing manner.

Regarding the marriage ceremony we have only very few references in Sangam poetry. The theory extended by critics is that as a token, married women removed their anklets and wore flowers on their hair-do. The term *cilampu KaLi NooNpU* is considered as denoting the marriage ceremony. But the idea that girls started wearing flowers after marriage, needs further study since unmarried girls are also found to adorn their hair-do with flowers.

We can conclude that in ancient Tamilnad, marriages were conducted on an auspicious day when several elder married women stood around and blessed the couple, and that the removal of anklets was considered a symbol of a married woman.

In this context, a particular type of marriage referred to in *KaliTTokai* poems needs mention. In the *Mullaikkali* poems we come across the custom of giving away the girl as a bride to the person who was capable of subduing the bull. What is

now called *jallikkaddu* was in ancient days termed as *eeTutaLuval.* This shows that bravery was the most desired qualification for the bridegroom. This resembles aasuram- one of the eight types of marriages in vogue in North India in the past. Since *Mullaikkali* poems praise Madurai and the Paandiya Kings, and since Madurai was considered the seat of the Tamil Language and Literature one can expect the customs prevalent there to be purely Tamilian. Hence, one is left to wonder whether this form of marriage was the true Tamilian type and the other types seen in other anthologies were not truly Tamilian. The fact that chivalry was most praised in ancient Tamilnad, supports the aforesaid view.

Married Life

Polyandry, adultery, disloyalty to husband, ex-marital relations with another's spouse or any such amoral ways of living are not spoken of in ancient Tamil poetry. Whether they were totally absent in the life of women or whether their mention as avoided in literature, is not known. The status of married women, as perceived in Sangam poetry, is full of pathos.

No doubt she was the queen at home. Since the home life as presented in the Akam Literature consisted only of the hero, the heroine, the maid, the prostitute and those related to the love-life, we are not able to find whether joint family system was in vogue. Nevertheless, the right to run the home as she desired, and the duty of playing the host were the wife's.

She did not have an absolute status because we see the husband was allowed to remarry, to have mistresses and to visit prostitutes. There is no mention of divorce and the wife was helpless as she had to welcome him, accept him, whatever be his drawbacks and weaknesses.

Prostitution

The thorn in the rose-bed was the widely prevalent prostitution. It is obvious that this custom that created problems in the marital life was not praised but condemned by the righteous. However it was not branded as a crime. Though we do not know whether it was legalised or approved by the throne and constituted one of the sources of revenue to the kingdom, (as seen in the case of North India) yet, it was not considered illegal. Brothels are not mentioned but certain parts and streets of the cities were solely treated as the residential areas for prostitutes.

The fact that the hero took the mistress or the prostitute out to indulge in play and dance, shows that the public accepted it as an inevitable evil.

In the ancient days, throughout India, enjoyment of sex for its own sake was not wholly approved. In North India, the writers were of the view that sexual union between couples should occur only for reproduction. Non–fertile days were to be

avoided and the fertile period was to be made full use of. In Tamilnad, though the people seem to have shared this opinion, they were not as rigid as the former. Only the couple were instructed to make it a point to be together during the fertile period. We find the maid reminding the heroine that she was wasting away the time and that she must get rid of her sulky mood and welcome her husband.

If this had been the case, it is clear that probably sexual union during the days other than the fertile period might have been unwelcome for married women of royal birth and the man who needed pleasure might have sought the company of the prostitute. Probably the woman's need was totally ignored and the patriarchal society leaned heavily upon prostitution as an inevitable evil caused by its own taboos. The fact that women were not supposed to give open expression to their desires, is an additional evidence since this inhibition over the natural, basic, biological instinct makes the wife all the more unattractive in contrast to the prostitute who has not only no such inhibitions but is also well-versed in the art.

Probably these two factors were the basis for the widespread prostitution in the Sangam period. It is surprising that in the conflict between the wedded and the non-wedded companions, at times the latter gets the upper hand and talks provokingly and is quite sure of herself.

Polygamy

For obvious reasons - either because of a sterile first wife or because of a newly-formed affair - the man was permitted to remarry. The reaction of women to this, differs according to the individual. We find the first wife cordially welcoming the second. We also meet with the wife full of scorn for her rival. This socially approved polygamy makes the status of women more pathetic than in the present day when it is atleast legally disallowed.

Widowhood

The chance to live a happy married life was given to women only once. If fate snatched away her pleasure she was doomed until death. The widow had to live a secluded life of utter simplicity. Weaving helped them to earn their livelihood. The practice to be seen in the later ages, that of shunning the presence of a widow as inauspicious is not seen. But tonsure, removal of ornaments etc. and an austere life are mentioned. It was a state dreaded by women and yet the custom of *Sati* was rare in those days.

Property rights

We do not know whether the wife was considered legal heir to her husband's property or whether she received a portion of her parents' property. She seems to have been economically dependent upon men.

Old age

We find poets lamenting over the loss of youth and self-pitying over the oncoming of old age. But to know the life of old women there is not ample evidence in the Literature.

Religious life

Apart from a common faith in God and worship of various deities, women priests or saints are not seen. Only after the spread of Jainism and Buddhism, nuns dedicating their lives for the religious cause are found.

Conclusion

Taking literature alone into consideration, the status of women and children in ancient Tamilnad as seen in literature has been portrayed in this paper. This is only an introduction to the subject - a stimulant for deep study. A comparative study of women in North India and in other nations during the same periods could bring to light certain common factors as well as individual characteristics.

SOME ASPECTS OF MUSIC IN NATURE

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The modern historians are more interested in the social aspect of a country than in its regal dynasties or wars. Arts and crafts naturally play a major role in social life. This short thesis examines the society in the Cankam age which is considered as the Golden age of the Tamils in all aspects. An attempt has been made to bring together the relevant references to the art of music.

It is a philosophical concept that the dynamic world rests on the aspects of "nada" or sound. The English poet Byron says:

There's music in the sighing of a reed
There's music in the gushing of a rill
There's music in all things, if men had ears
Their earth is but an echo of the spheres.

No place in this universe can be found without the feature of sound, since it is a theory that the movement of matter inevitably produces sound. Percy C.Buck also says "All sound is the result of something vibrating i.e. oscillating to and fro".

The sound waves set in motion by a vibrating body differ in length, in amplitude and in form, so that the agreeableness of sound depends on the nature of the sounding body, on the pitch of the notes and on the energy of the sound waves, says T. N. Siquerra.

To the ancient Tamils, love was their creed, heroism their inborn trait, humanity their community, and above all, Nature their endearing mother.

Man tries to listen to melody, the beauty of music in nature. Man, on seeing the projections of his art-experience in the outside world, comes to believe that the Nature gives forth music in birds and beetles.

Cuckoos are singing birds, generally jubilant during the early summer. These are described in the Cankam works as singing melodiously, seated on the mango trees in the cold grove. It is natural for cuckoos to taste the pollen dust of mango flowers. The sweet voice of the birds intensifies the happy company of lovers. The Poet in the Narrinai attaches significance to the cuckoo's call and the crying of its mate in reply and tries to read a message there, commanding the lovers to unite.

The sweet sound of the cuckoo generally aggravated the pangs of separation of the lady love from the lover.

Parrot is a beautiful bird, green in colour with a red curved mouth and sweet voice. In *Pattina-p-palai* the speeches of women are compared to the parrot's budding speech. In *Narrinai* it is said that a hero said to himself that the parrots also recognised the melodious voice of his sweetheart who was guarding the *tinai* field. From the above reference to the parrots it can be seen that they are also considered musical birds. The cry of parrots resembles the sound of the musical instrument called *vayir*. Generally the Vedas are chanted through the medium of music. As stated in *Perumpanarru-p-patai* that the parrots in the colony of brahmins were chanting vedic hymns, it is clear that the poet should have in mind the musical voice of the parrots.

Vanampati (skylark) is a singing bird. It is supposed to live on the rain drops available. From the grass haunts it flies up to dizzy heights from where it becomes scarcely visible and is sustained on fast vibrating wings. It pours forth a flood of spirited music for rains. Moved by the pathetic tone of the vanampati, even clouds shower some rain drops. *Pattina-p-palai* says that the river Kaveri would not create an atmosphere for any water scarcity even though there was a failure of monsoons, to let the vanampati cry for the rains.

In dealing with the musical birds it should be borne in mind that the birds are provided by nature with the syrinx as the musical organ, just as man has his larynx as a musical organ. It would be appropriate to think that Nature had musical sounds in her falling showers of rain and running waters, in insects and birds etc., to inspire men for the creation of this fine art of music. In the Cankam literature, even animals and creatures are described with musical sensitiveness.

Acunam is a fabulous animal which is attracted by pleasant music like yal. Any sound which produces unpleasant reaction like that of a drum drives it to death. In *Narrinai* 244 an *acunam* is described as listening to the pleasant music of beetles in a hilly region. In its 304th verse, the poet compares the hunters' stratagem of using both yal and drum for attracting and killing the poor creature, *acunam*.

In *Narrinai* there is a fine imagery of a poet in which the colour changing chameleon got tired while climbing up the ya tree during the hot summer, and luckily could hear the *yal* music of the Panas on their way; the influence of the music on the chameleon gave it a new vigour to climb up the Ya tree.

In *Ainkurunuru* 171, the musical sound of *mulavu* mingling wth the sound of waves is heard all along the shores of Tonti.

Poet Nakkirar hears the musical sound of waterfalls accompanying the melodious sound of musical instruments at Palamutir colai.

In the 17th ode of Paripatal, the poet exquisitely describes the divine nature of Tirupparankunram and the various musical sounds heard there as nature's music, accompanying the varieties of melodious musical instruments played by the deft musicians.

Music in the life of the Tamils plays an important role. Instruments of music like the yal moulded the life of Tamils and intensified the love of the lovers. *Murasu* evoked the spirit of the warrior. Lovers during their separation were reminded of their ladies by the sounds of birds and other sounds in nature. Poets made use of the sounds of nature to kindle the love emotion in the hearts of lovers and in the readers.

SILAMBAM FENCING : AN ANCIENT TAMIL MARTIAL ART/SPORT DOWN THROUGH THE HISTORY FROM BEYOND THE MYSTIC CULTURE OF THE SANGAM ERA

Dr. J. DAVID MANUEL RAJ

The purpose of this paper is to trace the history of the origin and development of Silambam Fencing, a self-defence sport of Tamil Nadu, India. The weapon is a regulation size flexible cane made of bamboo and known as Silambam.

Introduction : The Dravidians

The contemporary Silambam Fencing technique, customs and traditions may be a composite of many patterns of skills advocated by thousands of exponents of this combat since the dawn of Dravidian Civilization in India. This combat sport might be as old as man himself.

It could be well presumed that the intermingling of Dravidians, with races of countries far and near might have given fillip to this sport.

According to Haeckel,

> "Naval Island was the cradle of human civilization. In the first deluge.... the sea to the North of Vindhya became dry and the Himalayas emerged. At the time of the second deluge, a large portion of the Tamilaham with Muthur or old town, called at later times Madurai, as its capital and ruled by Pandya, was submerged. The inhabitants of this civilized regions, many of whom were lost in the sea, took to sea in their crafts and some pressed northward beyond the Vindhya mountains".

The deluges make one presume that much Tamil literature including the literature of Silambam Fencing which were mainly recorded in palm leaves might have been destroyed. Also, it makes one suppose that Dravidians could have spread out north of the Vindhya mountains, from the South.

Prehistoric South India—The Wielding of Club

Among Tamilians, there lingers still a tradition as follows :

> *"கல் தோன்றி மண் தோன்ருக் காலத்தே சிலம்பொடு*
> *முன் தோன்றி மூத்த குடி"*

According to the above tradition, the Tamil civilization dates back to the pre-historic period of the Stone Age ; when there existed mainly rocks and very little soil. Naturally, their weapons for self-defence and attack might have been made out of stones, bones of animals and staves of wood to start with.

Rajagopalan, an Indian historian, adds :

"The early tools of man — in South India—must have been river pebbles and blocks of wood and bone. But only the stone tools have escaped the ravages of time, for wood is a material. the life of which is very short in the climate of our country. The Indian termites (white ants) have a partiality for wood. We can be fairly certain that the early men who lived in this country wielded wooden weapons. They must have been akin to the wooden weapons which the Indian gods wield to this day ; — a big sized mace with a long handle and a heavy globular head — ending in a sharp point. We can infer that one of the weapons of our earliest ancestors was a club with which they smashed the heads of their human or animal foes. The point on the club was for the purpose of forcing the enemy when he was at too close quarters for the effective wielding of the club.[1]"

Silambam in the Paleolithic and Neolithic Periods in South India for self-defence against animal and human foes

"Stick-play with the use of bamboo (known by the name of *Silambam* in Tamil) and wood-drills as they are practised in India to-day are predominantly a primitive method of defence and attack. The forests of India abounded with bamboo, right from primitive times and the paleolithic and neolithic men found it quite handy and useful as a weapon for defence and attack against their animal and human enemies.[2]"

"It is quite probable that our ancestors of those far off days used spears made of hard wood. The head of a hard long stick can be sharpened by grinding against rock or burnt so as to end in a sharp point. A plentiful supply of hard wood was easily available to him in the South Indian jungles.[3]"

The above sharp Silambam staff got a Tamil name *Vel.* Vel was useful for the hunters of Tamil Nadu.

Srinivasa Iyengar substantiates further the antiquity of Silambam of Tamil Nadu by stating :

"The stone age is still very much with us. In our villages shooting stones from slings is still widely used, both as a volley to disperse a crowd and as an artillery preparation for burglary. Single stick (with wand of the male

bamboo) is still played and experts in single stick use it as a means of offense and defence.[4]"

The Encyclopaedia of Military History from 3500 B.C. to the present records as follows : "Weapons fall into two major categories ; shock and missile. The original shock was the pre-historic man's club ; the first missile weapon was the rock that he hurled at hunted prey or human enemy...... In some regions the rock gradually was displaced by a light club or throwing stick, which in turn evolved into darts, javelin and then boomerang. The club was modified in a number of other ways. The stick-action counterpart of the javelin was the heavy pike, or thrusting spear. The basic club itself took on a variety of forms, of which the American Indian tomahawk is an axe like example, while clubs with sharpened edges became stone-age prototypes of sword.[5]"

It is no wonder that *silambam* staff was used both as a pike and a wielding *Vel* with a sharp end depending on the exigencies in which the primitive people were placed in.

The Pancha (Five) Dravidian Regions, Dravidian Languages and the kinds of Terminology used for Silambam Fencing

According to Dr. Caldwell, Tamil is the forerunner of all Dravidian languages. It is interesting to note that 'Silambam' is an onomatopoeic Tamil word or term from the swishing sound produced when an elastic cane staff or a staff of soft or hard wood, fairly uniform in cross section and a length of which is little less than that of the performer, is brandished with power and vigour and hit against another in the process of the play or duel. Such a nomenclature is sanctioned by the rules of derivation of nominals in Tamil Grammar.

It is interesting to note that Silambam is called now 'Neduvadi' in Malayalam ; it is now known as 'Katta Samu' (in Telugu), a system of staff fencing prevalent in Andhra State. In Kanarese, Silambam is known as 'Dhandha Varisai'. In Hindi as well as in Karnataka State, the same is popularly known as 'Lathi' whereas in Gujarat and in certain pockets of Maratha Provinces, which formed ancient Dravida Nadu, the same is identified as 'Dal Lakadi' ; Kalaripayat' is a system of physical culture in the Kerala State. 'Kalari' in Tamil means a place set up for combats. 'Payat' in Tamil denotes the training one gets in Silambam fencing under the Kalaripayat system is remembered as 'Kettukari'. A review of the above terminologies as well as an etymological research will drive home the point that the above terminologies of the different Indian languages have roots in Tamil and that terminology 'Silambam' is the ancient one that prevails still in the present Tamil Nadu also.

Silambam - One of the Sixtyfour Arts of Ancient Tamilians

Silambam is recorded as one of the sixtyfour arts of the ancient Tamilaham. The ancient kingdoms of the Sangam era are all reported to have been the patrons of sixtyfour arts including the Silambam fencing, an unique ancient martial art.

Is Sage Agasthiar, the originator or Pioneer of Silambam?

Sage Agasthiar is supposed to have been the originator or the pioneer of sixtyfour arts including Silambam.

A few fragments of Silambam literature and folklore supposed to have come down from the time of Agasthiar or his pupils known by the name Agasthiar or Siddhar are in possession of the writer of this paper. This traditional Silambam literature can be traced back to seven generations of a Silambam expert. The forefathers of the above Silambam expert mght have received the literature several centuries, nay-millennium ago from the school of Agasthiar or Siddhar, the Tamil medical man.

Out of the sixtyfour ancient arts of Dravidians, Silambam, Varmam (knowledge of nerve manipulation at minute vulnerable points of the human body) and Tamil medicine seem to be allied subjects, especially Siddhar or sages or bone setters akin to the modern osteopath (who were well versed in Silambam fencing) once called Agasthiar in Tamil.

One may come to this logical conclusion, as such is the case at the present day. One reason Silambam, Varmam and the Siddhar medical system remained a secret was the fact that a Silambam fencer with a minute knowledge of varmam and indigenous medicine may either turn out to be dangerous in injuring enemies or prove a versatile remedial doctor.

According to tradition, the ancient kings of Dravida Nadu recruited youngmen to the army called "Thandu Padai" who wielded the staves (silambam sticks) with such an accuracy as to stick the end of the staves exactly on the minute vulnerable spots of an enemy. Such a delicate feat of marksmanship was intended to throw an enemy completely out of action and then to capture him once subjugated: the enemies were given remedial treatment to make them free from the effects.

Tamil literature abounds with references to Sage Agasthiyar serving as a consultant to Kulasekara Pandya, a King of the Pandya dynasty, who reigned during the Tamil era called "Thuvabara Yugam" having South Madurai as his capital. Kulasekara Pandyan belongs to the Second Sangam era of Tamil Nadu.

It is reported in Tamil literature that Pothia Malai, a wooded mountain in the Western Ghat range having seven beautiful waterfalls at Courtalam, was the celebrated abode of Sage Agasthiyar and his pupils, the pioneers in the field of many Dravidian arts including Silambam.

Tamil Nadu pre-dated Greece in Valour, Trade and Culture

At the time when Rome and Athens were yet in the womb of a far-off future, and Troy and Mycene were in an embryonic stage, Tamil Nadu had been training her young men in valour, trade and culture. The princes of the Chera, Chola and Pandya dynasties had been testing their mettle in warfare, including Silambam fencing, and telling their children stories, myths and legends akin to those about the Greek heroes and Gods. Tamil Nadu was comparable to Greece, in culture, trade and valour. The above statement could be substantiated by the following quotation:

> "Before the Aryans migrated (2000 B.C.) into India, there had been living in the country people whose urban civilization continued to be a marvel of the world."[6]

The list of recreational activities of Tamils of that period include hunting, wrestling, sword fighting, silambam fighting, chariot racing, elephant fighting, bull fighting, juggling with balls, ball games, swings, kadai-bird hunting and lamb fighting. *Peria Vikramathithan Kathai* gives an account of one young Tamil prince by name Kantharooban, seven years of age, practising Silambam fencing, swordsmanship, horse and elephant riding.

Tolkappiyam is the earliest literature existing on Tamil Grammar. According to historians, this literature on Tamil Grammar is more than 2,300 years old. In response to an interview with the investigator, Pulavar N. Ramanathan, Principal, Ramasamy Tamil College, Karaikudi, Tamil Nadu has given the following reference on Silambam from a Tamil work:

Senavarayar, a Tamil Scholar, while interpreting the 81st stanza in *col adhikaram* of *Tolkappiam* which is supposed to have been written by one of the twelve pupils of Agasthiyar before the Christian era (at least 350 B.C.) used the following line in Tamil:[7]

"தட்டுப்புடைக்கண் வந்தான்"

Senavarayar belongs to the 13th century. Hence, he concludes that in a work that was written roughly 780 years ago, there is a mention of the place

"Silambakoodam" (which is akin to the Palesta of ancient Greece) where the art of Silambam attack and defence were practised. This reference indicates that Silambam fencing might have reached its zenith much earlier than the migration of Aryans into North India (2000 B.C.).

Puraporul Venba Malai, a Tamil literature, abounds in with references to the mode of warfare, valour and exploits of ancient Chera, Chola and Pandya kings. These three dynasties had infantry men besides cavalry, and corps of elephants and chariots. The infantry men were well-versed in wielding Silambam or vel which had sharp metal fittings at one end.

Thiruvilayadal Puranam, another Tamil work, depicts the Silambam staff as one of the vital attacking weapons of the infantry of those ancient days.

There is no denying the fact that the Egyptians, Hebrews and other Westerners including King David's (King Solomon's father) valiant men might have been influenced by the Dravidian culture as they traded with them.

On December 17, 1976, the writer visited the British Museum, London. In Glass Case No. 5487 in the Egyptian Gallery, he saw a "fighting stick". This short stick, approximately four feet in length, was fitted at one end with a wooden hook which is termed as the "hand grip". The following is the information provided inside the Glass Case:

> "Sticks of this kind were used by Egyptian fighting troops from the XVII Dynasty (after 1500 B.C.). They were employed in close combat in conjunction with light shields."

The Egyptians might have seen Dravidians wielding staves during their trade negotiations with them. The ancient Silambam staff differs from the Egyptian stick mentioned above in length. Moreover, the Silambam staff does not have any handle. It seems that Egyptian soldiers of 1500 B.C. used only one end of the short staff whereas ancient Tamil warriors used a long staff, the length of which is usually a little less than that of the height of the warrior wielding it and used both ends of the staff. The Tamil warriors learnt to use both ends of the staves with consummate skill on the battle fields.

Rajagopalan, dealing with effective weapons of the pre-historic India, points out the following: "The head of a hard, long stick – Silambam Staff – can be sharpened by grinding against rock or burnt so as to end in a sharp point. A plentiful supply of hard wood was easily available to him – the primitive man – in the South Indian jungles"[8].

Here again, we come across a reference to a long stick used by primitive Dravidians of bygone days as against a short stick used by Egyptians in close combat

in 1500 B.C. Tamil Kings patronised the Silambam cult besides many other martial arts such as Wrestling and Swordsmanship.

Statements recorded in the old Testament of the Bible, such as:

> Elhaman, the son of Jaareoregin, a Bethlehemite, slew the brother of Goliath, the Hittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam.[9]

and also:

> The Egyptain had a spear in his hand, but he (Benaiah, the son of a valiant man of Kabzeal) went down to him with a staff, and plucked the spear out of the Egyptian's hand, and slew him with his own spear.[10]

transport the reader to the valiant days of staff, spear duelling and physical prowess of the thirty valiant men of King David of Biblical history dating back to 1000 B.C. The clever use of one's staff to lock an enemy's weapon, thus making him incapable of fighting and then taking possession of his weapon, is one of the traditional techniques of Silambam Fencing.

Ancient coded Palm Leaf Inscriptions to keep Silambam Fencing a zealously guarded secret Art of Attack and Defence

Ancient Tamil poets, writers and literary men 'like sage Agasthiyar, his pupils and religious writers preserved their contributions mainly in palm leaves. Chera, Chola and Pandya Kings preserved their records on palmyrah leaves, stones and metal (copper) sheets. It seems that many of the techniques of Silambam fencing were coded in Tamil by ancient exponents of this art. Unless the expert teacher who knows the secret Tamil codes on palm leaves is still alive, and willing to help, it will be difficult for the researcher even to guess their meanings

The valiant Soldiers of the Elephant Corps of the Hindu King Porus wielded lance against the cavalry corps of Alexander the Great, even while retreating (326 B.C.)

King Porus of North India was vanquished on the banks of the Hydaspes by Alexander the Great, and his Macedonian soldiers in 326 B.C. Indian soldiers excelled in wielding staves, lances and swords not only on the ground but also on horseback.

There is a historical evidence which illustrates the wielding of the lance by Indian soldiers on elephant back. An extraordinary silver decadrachm, now in the British Museum (pl. 1, 16) belongs to Alexander's own time, and it [records the historical events of his invasion of the Punjab in 326 B.C.[11]

Head, – the historian – sees in the standing figure, a representation of Alexander, as Zeus, while he puts forward the interesting suggestion that

the lance is being wielded not by the horse-man, but by the rearmost of the two elephant riders and that consequently the scene depicted, is the retreat of Porus and his pursuit by Taxiles, exactly as recorded by Arrian.[12]

, This drives home the belief that as early as 326 B.C. Indian soldiers in the North also had specialized in wielding weapons like lances, even while they were riding elephants.

At the beginning of the Christian era, Silambam fencing might have been practised throughout the length and breadth of India. No doubt, it might have been taken to other countries far and near.

The Historical Development of Silambam Fencing from the birth of Christ to the twentieth century

According to a priest, Heexas,

"the Jews who settled down around Kerala during the first century A.D. marvelled to see the Dravidian culture, chivalric spirit and their nimble movement in Silambam Fencing"[13].

During the period of Paranjothi, the great commander of Narasimha varma, there also lived Nedumaran, a Pandya King who trounced Vikramadithyan I, a Northern King at Neiveli. *Kalingathu Parani* describes how Karunakaran, the commander of King Kulothunga Cholan, vanquished a Kalinga King of the North. It is mentioned that the main weapons of Kulothunga Cholan were swords, bows and vel. Vel is nothing but a Silambam staff with spikes or blades fixed at one end.

"In south India, the period 815 to 1200 A.D.witnessed the rise of the Cholas to an Imperial position. The founder of the Chola dynasty was Vijayalaya, who made Tanjore his capital. Raja Raja and Rajendra were the two greatest rulers of the dynasty. The great Brahadiswara temple in Tanjore was built by Raja Raja. Towards the close of his reign, he conquerred Maldives (Maldive Islands)."

Tanjore, like Madurai, is said to be a city noted for its Silambam experts.

"Rajendra, who succeeded Raja Raja maintained friendly relations with Sri Vijaya, the maritime empire of Sumatra. But his "Dig-vijaya' across the seas, led to a breach with Sri Vijaya. Rajendra's capture of the capital of Sri Vijaya (Palembang in Sumatra) and of Kadaram (Keda on the West coast of Malaya) was a great event."[14]

The imperial age of the Cholas (850–1275 A.D.) was the golden Age of Tamil culture and Silambam is said to have been a popular martial art along with other martial arts.

The muslim period of India falls into two main divisions which end with the year 1826 A.D. (with the rule passing through the hands of seven dynasties). Mohammad Bin Tuglak (1325-1351 A.D.) was perhaps the most striking figure of this medieval Indian history. During his days, a strong Hindu State was organised south of the Krishna river to offer a united front against Muslim advance. This was the kingdom of Vijayanagar. "....A series of sculptures on the walls of Vijayanagara represent a popular game known as "Kolattam" or stick-play, yet a favourite with rural woman-folk in South India."[15] "Gladiatorial combats were frequent occurrences and were patronised by the Kings of Vijayanagara."[16]

Silambam experts of the present time are of the opinion that these Kings patronised Silambam fencing also because the Kings of Vijayanagara opened many *Garadi* meaning "Silambakkudam" a gymnasium to practice silambam technique. *Garadi* or *Karadi Attam* or "Katta Samu" in Andhra State is described as Silambam Fencing.

The skill and bravery attained through combats including Silambam might have been the cause for this Hindu kingdom being able to withstand and successfully resist the Muslim incursions into South India under the command of King Alauddin Kilji in the early 14th century.

During the time of Krishna Deva Raya, it was at the summit of its glory. After the battle of Talikotta, (1565 A.D.), Vijayanagar lost its power.

Shivaji who had by then occupied several fortresses including a fort at Trichy in Tamil Nadu met the Muslim challenge. The Sultan of Bijapur and Emperor Aurangazeb failed to crush his power. Lathi (staff fencing) was one of the combatives which attracted Marattas in general and Shivaji in particular, according to oral traditions.

Ziegenbalg and Fabricius rendering the new and old Testaments of the Holy Bible in Tamil at Tranquebar in 1715 A.D. and 1782 A.D. respectively, used the word "Silambam" in translating both the words "fight" and "play". This indicates that by that period in history, Silambam had become a well established combat activity in Tamil Nadu, including the small town called Tranquebar. The Christian missionaries at Tranquebar might have been familiar with this martial art (Silambam).

The British and French powers started dominating in Tamil Nadu and India at large during this period. Maratha power was put to an end with its defeat at the third battle of Panipat (1761 A.D.) by the British forces.

The royal patronage of Silambam was taken over by Zamindars and Palayakars in later times. At this time of history (1766 A.D.), Kattabomman, a valiant

chief of Panchalamkurichi, resisted the British forces and vanquished them at many a battle because of his skilful warriors trained mainly in swordsmanship and Silambam fencing.

But his fortress fell only because of the cannon balls fired on his fort by the British warriors.

The following verse speaks about the way in which Bahadur Vellai, the Commander of Kattabomman fought against British forces (in one of the skirmishes) using his skill on Silambam fencing:

''கட்டுக் கட்டென சிலம்ப வரிசைகள்
தட்டிவிட்டான் அங்கே பாதர் வெள்ளை''[17]

The British rule put a ban on the practice of self-defence activities by the Indian populace: "The stringent regulations governing the possession of fire-arms and lethal weapons and hesitation to encourage physical activities and arts of self-defence on a nation wide scale by the British in India illustrate this known policy of a ruling bureaucracy."[18]

We can thus draw the conclusion that Silambam fencing, along with other self-defence arts, was banned in the Nineteenth Century. There is an oral tradition that in spite of such a ban, the natives practised Silambam using sugar-canes and when caught pretended to eat the sugar cane.

India became Independent on August 15, 1947. Since then, many worthwhile forms of sports native to the soil were, as they still are, being resurrected and incorporated into the content of Physical Education in India. Silambam is one of the sports resurrected by the writer of this article since Independence.

To conclude: Silambam Fencing seems to have its origin in prehistoric times. The originators seem to be either the Dravidian tribes of prehistoric times in South India or the Pandya Kings or the Agasthiyar sponsored by Pandya Kings to get into the science of sixtyfour arts (including Silambam). Agasthiar might have contributed to these arts. Siddhar, the disciples of Agasthiar from Pothigai Malai (Courtalam mountain Ranges in Tirunelveli District) seem to have spread the techniques of this martial art along with Varmam (nerve manipulation) and indigenous Tamil Medicine.

It is confirmed that Chera, Chola and Pandya Kings had patronised Silambam along with sixtythree other arts prevalent in the past.

Also, it can be said that ancient Tamilian palm leaf writings on Silambam Fencing and other subjects might have been lost in the three recorded deluges that swept the shores on the three boundaries of the ancient Dravidian kingdom.

It is clear, moreover, that the natural elements, such as floods, and external pressures, such as foreign invaders like Aryans, and the yoke of the caste systems they introduced, the British political ban, fights involving gun powder, the thundering fiery cannon balls, and the Imperial powers failed to crush the art of Silambam Fencing, which flowered and flourished as a martial art of ancient warfare, which was enjoyed as a delicate display sport in temple festivals or in Dravidian ceremonies and which was contested as a competitive sport in ancient Silambakkudams.

FOOTNOTES

1. (K. Rajagopalan, *A Brief History of Physical Education in India*, Delhi: Army Publishers, 1962, p. 1.)
2. *Ibid.*, pp 14-15
3. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 16
5. R. Ernest Dupuy and Trevor N. Dupuy, *The Encyclopaedia of Military History*, New York: Harper and Row, 1817, p. 2.
6. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and G. Srinivasachari, *India: A Historical Survey*, Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1966, p. 7.
7. Pulavar Ramanathan, Principal, Ramaswamy Tamil College, Karaikudi.
8. Rajagopalan, *A Brief History of Physical Education in India*, Delhi: Army Publishers, 1962, p. 3.
9. (Old Testament (English). King James version 2 Samuel 21:19.
10. *Ibid.*, 2 Samuel 23: 21.
11. E. J. Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922, p. 389.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 389-390.
13. Letter from M. M. Arumugam, Silambam Instructor (Agriculturist) Alananoor Post, Thiruvaram, April 7, 1977.
14. Sastri, *India: A Historical Survey*, p. 31.
15. *Ibid.*
16. K. Rajagopalan, *A Brief History of Physical Education in India*, Delhi: Army Publishers, 1962. p. 192.
17. Durgadoss S. K. Swamy and S. Valithunairaman, *Veerapandia Kattabomman*, Madras: Prema Publishing Company, 1958, p. 254.
18. Rajagopalan, A Brief History of physical Education in India, Delhi: Army Publishers, 1962, p.155

ILANADU AND THE TAMIL SANGHAMS

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Ilanadu was closely connected with the Tamil Sangham from the very beginnings. The seat of the first Tamil Sangham was Ten-Madurai. At that time, Ilanadu and Pandinadu formed part of what was known as the Lemuria Continent. Ilanadu was represented in the first Sangham by Muranjiyur Mudinagarayar. This Mudinagarayar is claimed to have been a king of Jaffna.[1]

Nagas who produced a number of Sangham poets, about fifteen in number in the third Sangham, seem to have occupied parts of Tamil Nadu and Ilanadu, specially Jaffna from pre-historic times. The occupation of Jaffna by the Nagas is proved by a reference to Nagadipa, which forms part of Jaffna, in the Mahavamsa, a Ceylonese Chronicle. There is also reference to Nagadipa in Manimekhalai. It is not known what the original language of the Nagas was. Some are of opinion that it was Elu. According to Father Gnanaprakasar, the Sinhalese language has developed from it.[2]

As a result of the deluge, which swallowed Ten Madurai, Ilanadu was separated from the main-land. It was, perhaps, as a result of this deluge, that the works of the first Sangham have not survived. Then Kapatapuram became the seat of the second Sangham. A number of works seem to have been produced during this period, but only Tolkappiyam has survived.[3]

Kapatapuram itself was deluged by the sea. Then Vata Madurai, the present Madurai, became the capital of the Pandiyan kingdom and also the seat of the third Sangham. We are on firm ground as regards the third Sangham is concerned. We have not only a list of poets but also their works. Several poets from Ilanadu participated in the activities of the third Sangham. Ilattu Putantevanar was one of them. There are seven verses composed by him in Ahananuru Natrinai and Kurunthohai. Ilanaganar, probably a ruler of Jaffna, and Nilakantanar of Musiri were two poets of Ilanadu, who listened to the exposition of Iraiyanar Ahapporul Urai.[4]

How some usages found in old Tamil have been well-preserved in Ilanadu is brought out in the following passage taken from the History of Ceylon published by the Ceylon University. "The antiquity of Tamil in Ceylon is borne out by the fact that some words of the Sangham period are still in common use among the peasantry of Jaffna, though they have fallen into disuse in South India, the original

home of the Tamil language; such words as *Aitu* and *Atar* are cases in point. Moreover some usages found in old Tamil, which have completely disappeared from popular speech in South India are still current in Jaffna. The medial demonstrative U (உ) which is exemplified in words like utu (உது) and *uvan* (உவன்) and the interrogative termination "e" occuring in words like *vantare* (வந்தாரே) are now unknown in South India, except among scholars well-versed in literature. An endearing expression used in addressing a female child as *mahane* (son), which is mentioned in Tolkappiam, the grammar of the Sangham age, is met with in ordinary usage among the people of Jaffna."[5]

The Jaffna Kingdom

After the lapse of a few centuries, the credit for reviving the Sangham tradition goes to the Ariyachakravarthies, who established an independent Tamil Kingdom in Jaffna in the 13th Century.[6]

There was a great deal of literary activity as a result of the patronage given by kings. In this respect, two kings stand out prominently. One was Singai Segarajasekaran (1380 – 1414) and the other was Nallur Pararajasekaran (1478 – 1519). During the reign of Segarajasekaran, a treatise on medicine and Segarajasekara Malai, a work on astrology, were produced. It is not known who the author of Segarajasekaram was. Segarajasekara Malai was written by Somasanma. Though these two books deal with technical subjects, we get a lot of information about the kings who supported them.[7]

It was during the reign of Nallur Pararajasekaran that the Tamil Sangham was set up. It is said that Pararajasekaran's brother Segarajasekharan and nephew Arasakesari were responsible for setting up the Tamil Sangham. These two persons collected valuable manuscripts from Madurai and other places and set up a library at Nallur called Sarasvati Mahal. They invited scholars from Tamil Nadu to participate in the activities of the Sangham. A treatise on medicine called Pararajasekaram was produced during this period. Arasakesari, about whom we have mentioned earlier, translated Kalidasa's Raghuvamsa into Tamil verse.[8]

The Jaffna kingdom came to an end with the capture of Jaffna by the Portuguese in 1621 and with it the Tamil Sangham started by the Tamil kings ceased to exist.

Jaffna Tamil Sangham

There was again a revival of Tamil learning in Jaffna in the latter part of the 19th century. This was due to the work of Arumuka Navalar and the Batticaloa Seminary. The Saiva Prakasa Vidyasalai founded by Arumuka Navalar became a centre of great literary activity. Higher learning in Tamil was imparted in this school. The manager of the school was T. Kailasapillai, a son of Arumuga Navalar's

brother, Thambu. He and some others associated with him felt the need for an Academy to promote Tamil studies and a meeting of scholars to consider the matter, was held on the 12th April 1898 at the Saiva Prakasa Vidyasalai. He then explained the purpose. Mr. Kailasa Pillai, in the course of his address, observed, "Tamil scholars were undergoing great hardship for want of recognition and adequate help. Higher studies in Tamil was undertaken more by Europeans than by the Tamils. The Madras University has not yet taken steps to promote higher studies in Tamil and it may take time to do it. Scholars in Tamil Nadu, who were written to about this project, had given their blessing to it. The best way to promote Tamil Studies was to hold higher examinations - Bala Pandit and Pandit examinations - Tamil and confer titles on the successful candidates."

The meeting decided to set up an academy and appointed a "College of Pandits" consisting of ten members to conduct the affairs of the Sangham. Mr. T. Kailasapillai was elected President and Mr. Vaithilingampillai, Head Master of the Saiva Prakasa Vidyasalai was elected Secretary. The other members of the College were A. Kumaraswamy Pulavar, K. Velpillai, A. Muthuthambipillai, A. A. Chidambarappillai, S. Saravanamuthupillai, S. Erambu Iyer and M. Ganesa Panditar. It was also decided to get examiners from Tamil Nadu for the examinations held by the Sangham.[9]

This Sangham conducted classes for the benefit of the students preparing for the examinations at the Saiva Prakasa Vidyasalai.[10]

Though the Sangham functioned from the citadel of orthodox Saivism - Navalar Vidyasalai - its membership was open to Christians also.

The first examination of the Sangham was held in 1899 and a Convocation was held on 25th April 1899 for awarding titles to the successful candidates. The function was presided over by Mr. K. Kathiravelpillai, popularly known as Wyman Kathiravelpillai, a retired Police Magistrate and a product of the Batticaloa Seminary. He compiled a Tamil Dictionary which was later published by the Madurai Tamil Sangham. Mr. Kailasapillai presented the annual report. In doing so, he stressed on the need to preserve the Tamil language from foreign admixture-from foreign words and foreign idioms. He criticised the practice of some Tamils, who, in framing Tamil sentences and phrases, adopted a style peculiar to English. After the presentation of the report, the chief guest of the evening presented medals to the successful candidates. The figure of Sarasvati and the name of the examination were embossed on the medals. Some scholars spoke commending the work of the Sangham. Nevins Selvadurai, Principal of Jaffna Hindu College, made a suggestion that the curriculam should be broad-based to include some study of service.

When Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy visited Jaffna in 1906, the Jaffna Tamil Sangham organised a reception in his honour and conferred the title of "Vidya Vinodan" in recognition of his services to the cause of Indian Art and Culture.[12]

In 1913, the Madras Government set up a committee under the Chairmanship of Rev. Chandler to prepare a Tamil Lexicon. The committee prepared a sample copy of the proposed dictionary and circulated it among scholars and organisations interested in the subject. One copy was sent to the Jaffna Tamil Sangham and the Sangham requested Kumaraswamy Pulavar, who had by then established a reputation as an Etymologist to submit a report on the proposals. Pulavar submitted a learned criticism on the proposals and the report was sent to Rev. Chandler.

Rev. Chandler was so impressed with the report that he came all the way to Jaffna and discussed it with the members and invited Kumaraswamy Pulavar to go to Madras and serve on the editorial board but he declined.[13]

Madurai Tamil Sangham

In India with the decline of the Tamil kingdoms, the Vijayanagara Empire came into existence. The Vijayanagara emperors and the Nayak Kings, who succeeded them, being foreigners, did not evince much interest in the study of Tamil. The neglect of Tamil continued even after British occupation. In these troublous times, the Saiva Mutts kept the flickering lamp of Tamil learning burning. There were no Maharajahs in Tamil Nadu as in Mysore and Travancore. There were a few Zamindars and they did their best to foster Tamil learning within their limited resources. One of them was Pandithurai Devar, Zamindar of Palavanatam. His father Ponnusamy Devar was also a patron of Tamil learning. He got Arumuka Navalar of Jaffna to edit and publish Tirukkovaiyar and Tirukkural with the commentaries of Perasiriar and Parimelalakar respectively, and Sethupuranam.[14]

Pandithurai Devar with the help of leading Tamil scholars founded the Madurai Tamil Sangham in 1901.[15] The Jaffna Tamil Sangham, which was founded in 1898, served as a model for this Sangham. Pandithurai Devar, who was elected the first President got the constitution, syllabuses and examination regulations of the Jaffna Tamil Sangham from A. Muthuthambipillai, who had lived in Tamil Nadu for some time and who was a founder member of the Jaffna Tamil Sangham.[16] Devar invited Chunnakam Kumaraswamy Pulavar to serve in the board of examiners and to contribute articles to the Madurai Tamil Sangham Journal, *Sentamil*.[17] Others who served as examiners from Jaffna were Messrs. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, the historian and Na. Kathirvelpillai. Kumaraswamy Pulavar began contributing articles to *Sentamil* in 1902 and continued to do so till his death in 1922. In all he wrote more than a hundred articles dealing with various aspects of Tamil Literature and Grammar. They were greatly appreciated by scholars in Tamil Nadu.[18] A. Muthuthambipillai also contributed articles from 1902 till his death in 1917.

As pointed out earlier, V. Kanakasabhai Pillai was closely connected with the Sangham as an examiner. He also contributed articles connected with Tamil History to *Sentamil*. He had the distinction of presiding over the Annual Sessions of the Madurai Tamil Sangham held in 1905. On his premature death *Sentamil* published a critical appreciation of his contribution to historical research with special reference to his work, *Tamils* 1800 *years ago*.[19]

Another regular contributor to *Sentamil* from the beginning was Vidwan S. Ganesa Iyer of Jaffna. He had studied the epics like *Cintamani*, *Kamba Ramayanam* and *puranams* like *Kandapuranam* and *Periyapuranam* under Vidvasiromani N. S. Ponnambalam Pillai, a nephew of Arumuka Navalar. In his day, Ponnambalam Pillai had no equal as a commentator on the Tamil classics in South India or Ceylon. He drew large crowds wherever he went to expound the classics. His students assiduously took down notes as he expounded them. Ponnambalam Pillai's notes on *Periyapuranam* were serialised in the *Sentamil* by G. Sathasivam Pillai, Editor, *Nagalochani* from 4th Volume.[20]

Ganesa Iyer led the way for textual cricism of *Kamba Ramayanam* by giving correct readings of it in a series of articles in *Sentamil*.[21] He also wrote a series of articles on various aspects of *Tolkappiam* which were later incorporated in his edition of *Tolkappiyam* as appendices.

Swami Vipulananda, then S. Mailvahanam, was the first to pass the Pandit examination of the Madurai Tamil Sangham from Sri Lanka. He passed it in 1916.[22]

He was followed by two ladies Kamalasini and Balambikai both from Pt. Pedro. It may be mentioned that their teacher was also a lady, Parvathi Ammaiyar belonging to an illustrious family of poets and scholars. These ladies were reminders of the women poets of the Sangham Age. S. Ganapathipillai of Madduvil passed this Pandit examination in 1924. The contributions of Swami Vipulananda and Pandit S. Ganapathipillai to Tamil studies deserve special mention.

Swami Vipulananda passed the B.Sc., examination of the London University in 1920. His knowledge of science enabled him to make a distinct contribution to the teaching of science through the Tamil medium. Special mention may be made of two articles "The wealth of the West" and "The Light of Science" which he wrote to *Sentamil* in 1922.[23] He delivered a lecture on the Tamil drama at an Annual Session of the Madurai Tamil Sangham under the Presidentship of Dr. Swaminatha Iyer. At the request of the Secretary, T. C. Srinivasa Iyengar, he expanded his lecture into a series of articles in *Sentamil* (1924 & 1925) and these were published in book form under the title *Matangachulamani* in 1926 as the 51st publication of the Sangham.[24]

Ganapathipillai was a teacher in Tamil at the Saiva Training College for teachers for a number of years and was able to impart a sound knowledge of Tamil to hundreds of teachers. Apart from this, he conducted a Kaviya Patasalai on his own for purposes of imparting a sound knowledge of the Tamil classics and grammar. Three of his students from this school passed the Pandit examinations of the Madurai Tamil Sangham. He was in great demand as a speaker at many literary and religious conferences. Last year the University of Sri Lanka conferred an honorary degree (D. Litt) in recognition of his services to Tamil learning. This was the first time that a Tamil Pandit was honoured in this manner in Sri Lanka. Though past the age of eighty, he is as active as ever in the pursuit of knowledge.[25]

Golden Jubilee Celebration of the Sangham

The Golden Jubilee of the Madurai Tamil Sangham in May 1956 gave due importance to all the three aspects of Tamil – Literature, Music and Drama. The dynamic President of the celebrations Committee, P. T. Rajan, brought together scholars from various parts of Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka to participate in the celebrations. Dr. S. Natesan, Sir Kandiah Vaithianathan and Kalai Pulavar K. Navaratnam represented Sri Lanka at these celebrations.

Most of the work done by institutions like the Madurai Tamil Sangham has been taken over by the Departments of Tamil set up in the various Universities and colleges. The first University to create a Chair for Tamil was Annamalai and the Madurai Tamil Sangham may take justifiable pride in the fact that the first Professor of Tamil, Swami Vipulananda was a Pandit of the Madurai Tamil Sangham. Though a number of Universities are carrying on advanced studies in Tamil, yet there is room for organisations like the Madurai Tamil Sangham. These Sanghams can become centres of Tamil research and specialise in the intensive studies of the Tamil Classics and Grammar. This has been the age-long functions of the Pandits and needs to be preserved.

FOOTNOTES

1. South India & Ceylon – K. K. Pillai – University of Madras – see Chapter IV, Ceylon and Tamil Sanghams – pages 37 & 38.
2. Ibid – See Footnotes 1, 2 and 3 on page 36 and Tamil Culture Vol. I No. 2 page 132.
3. Madurai Tamil Sangham Golden Jubilee Number, 1956 – page 20.
4. South India & Ceylon – K. K. Pillai – page 37.
5. History of Ceylon – Vol. I – Part I – Colombo University Press – page 43.
6. Eelanadu Tamil Kavithai Kalanjiam – Dr. A Sathasivam – Sahitiya Mandalam 135, Dhamapala Mawatha, Colombo 7. – page 9

7. Ibid – pages 17 & 18.
8. Ibid – pages 50 & 51.
9. Hindu Organ, May 4, 1898 – Full account of the inaugural meeting is found on page 71.
10. Hindu Organ, June 22, 1898 – page 82.
11. Hindu Organ, March 15, 1899. Account of the first convocation is found on page 60.
12. Kalayogi Ananda Coomaraswamy – S. Ambikaipakan – Ananda Press, Jaffna 1978.
13. Kumaraswamy Pulavar – K. Muthukumaraswamy Pillai, Sri Sanmuganatha Press, Jaffna 1970 – pages 69 & 70.
14. Arumuga Navalar Sarithiram – Kanagaratna Upathiyayar – Thirumagal Press, Chunnakam – Pages 42 & 72.
15. Madurai Tamil Sangham Golden Jubilee Number 1956 – page 23.
16. Navalar Kottam A. Muthuthampipillai – Tellippalai Mahajana College, Tamil Manram – Page 16.
17. Kumaraswamy Pulavar – K. Muthukumaraswamy Pillai – Pages 107 & 108.
18. Ibid – Pages 220, 230 & 231.
19. Senthamil – Vol. 4 – page 123.
20. G. Sathasivam Pillai's first article appeared in Senthamil Vol. IV page 96 and continued in several subsequent volumes.
21. Senthamil – Vol. (2) – Page 50.
22. Adigalar Padiva Malar – Page 157.
23. Ibid – Page 90 (2 &3).
24. Ibid – Page 90 (9).
25. Moonravathu Kan – Kanaga Senthinathan – Varathar Veliedu, Jaffna – 1959. pages 13, 14, 21, 22 & 23.
26. Sentamil – May 1956.

A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF PATINENHKIILK KANHAKKU (EARLY TAMIL ETHICAL BOOKS)

S. SIVAPATHA SUNDARAM

Ethics lend dignity to human behaviour and provide a spiritual flavour to life. Preaching of ethics presupposes a condition where such advice for better behaviour becomes necessary. A community which can take care of itself and its culture has to be at the highest level of civilization when such advice may not be necessary at the moment. Codes of behaviour based on ethical concepts are usually laid down by individuals or groups of individuals who have the qualification to call upon people in general to do certain things or refrain from certain acts. A detailed codification of ethical advice may take the form of mere statements imperative in nature or morals attached to fables, or poetry. Thus didacticism also forms part of literature. The earliest such literature in Tamil was naturally poetry. A proliferation of such didactic poetry containing ethical teachings was prevalent during the period comprising the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Later, down centuries in the history of the Tamils, there were many other didactic works based more or less on the works composed by poets prior to the eighth century. But the significance of the works which came into being following the Cankam period lies in the fact that they were addressed to a people who should have inherited the cultural wealth of an earlier golden era. These works are known as *PatinenhkiiLk anhakku*, the eighteen minor poems, to distinguish them from the major eighteen comprising the ten of *Pattuppaaddu* and the eight of *Edduttokai*. The major eighteen anthologies give a glorious picture of the civilization and culture of the Tamils during the Cankam age.

The terminology *KiiLkkanhakku* has been explained by scholars as relating to the 'lesser' metrical quantity in the compositions of these eighteen works as opposed to the other other eighteen in which the metrical quantity is bigger. Strangely enough these latter works are not referred to as *Meelkanhakku*, presumably because their seniority and their intrinsic higher literary quality were already recognised and acknowledged. While dwelling on this high and low status concept in this literary ranking, one is tempted to hazard a guess that this distinguishing label could have been inspired by the Buddhistic nomenclature *Hinayaana* – little vehicle, as opposed to *Mahayaana* – big vehcle. Some of the *KiiLkanhakku* works are by Jains whereas the so-called Major eighteen were composed much earlier by poets who generally did not subscribe nor conform to the Jain ideals of austerity and whose creative literary talent was far superior.

The splendour of Tamil history reflected in the eighteen major works of the Cankam literature, itself by its very nature, provided inspiration for the production of such creative works of lofty ideals. The political conditions as depicted in this literature relate to the benign reign of a number of rulers who had distinguished themselves as heroes on the battle-field, as administrators of prosperous regions and patrons of art and literature. The Tamilian of today is seldom tired of recalling the legendary days of kings like SengkudduvaN and nedunjceeralaataN in the Ceera line, KarikaalaN the CooLa and nedunjceLiyaN the great PaanhdiyaN and a host of other chieftains known for their heroism. There were also the royal patrons of art and literature who never set a limit to their munificence like Paari and Atikamaan. These rulers have immortalised themselves by their concern for the people in general and the learned scholars in particular. The social and economic conditions of the age were obviously such as to enable the kings and chieftains to be philanthropic under any condition.

The picture which emerges from a study of these pieces of Cankam literature is one of prosperity and good cheer. The society of those days was quite cosmopolitan, deriving its character from the intermingling of cultures. The Tamils of that age are known to have had trade relations with countries as distant as China. A cultural synthesis and a flourishing economy provided a plenitude of the accessories for good living. The commercial wealth of the port cities supplemented by plenty of yield from fertile lands in the interior had assured a continuity in the material necessities of life. There was no dearth of meat and fish as numerous animals roamed the jungles and fishing expeditions were the order of the day. Every type of cereal was in plenty and intoxicants like toddy were found everywhere to cheer the merry makers.

A poetic tinge was given to the conventional classification of the regions into five; this classification known as *Aintinhai* or five-fold division usually supplied the framework for the poems of love and life during the glorious period. The description of the love-lorn maiden yearning for the return of her lover from the arduous voyage he has undertaken for amassing wealth, the adventures of the hero over the different regions he has to traverse providing the themes for the kind of poems known by the appellation *Akam* and the victorious battles waged by the kings and sung by the poets in the works classified as *PuTam* is sometime epic in their vista and appealing to a fulsome imagination. Social integration was quite natural in spite of the fact that the people belonged to various occupational groups since the prosperity prevalent conduced to a harmonious community life. There was rarely any attempt to be critical or agitated about the social distinctions which were part of occupational grouping. The illiterate who indulged in theft along the frontiers, the hunters in the forest, the shepherds who tended the cattle, and the brahmins performing their daily vedic rituals were all living side by side, without any

intercommunal disparity of feelings. The affluence which is the sum total of such idyllic existence where plenty was the normal condition could have lasted for ever provided the factors which led to the prosperity also continued. There seems to have been a gradual decline of the prosperity during which even the calibre of those who were responsible for administration and protection suffered equally.

During the centuries following the Cankam age of glory there was a setback in the standard of life led by the people who should have been the fortunate inheritors of the fabled prosperity earlier. History reveals a wide gap of three centuries during which most of the culture of the previous period became almost extinct. This desolation is attributed to the advent of an alien clan known as Kalabhras who were said to have destroyed everything that was the result of high civilization. That the sum total of the great culture which was the hallmark of the Cankam age should have disappeared so easily at the hands of uncivilised raids probably testifies to the fact that the very advent of the Kalabhras was the result of a kind of decadence that had set in after the satiation provided by the earlier age. However, the fact remains that there was a cultural void when not only was the earlier creative output destroyed but nothing new or as great as that of the past emerged. The indifference and inertia representing the social decay must have been so patent that any visitor from beyond the boundaries of the Tamil country should have been provoked at least to be vocal in his opinion. Some of the visitors who underwent this experience were the Jains who were known for their austerity and strict personal discipline. They took upon themselves the onerous task of making the people aware of the conditions in which they were finding themselves adrift in the social mire. The example of the Jains in composing poetry containing obiter dicta of social behaviour was emulated by some Hindu poets also who added their quota to the compendium of ethical maxims. The Jains themselves had followed the example of the greatest didactic poet of the day, Tiruvalhlhuvar whose immortal work on ethics known as the *KuTal* whch is unmatched for its brevity and terseness of expression. There were isolated attempts in some of the *PuTam* songs too to deal with ethical topics probably reflecting the need for stemming the social decay which had hazy beginnings at that time. But it was given to poets like Tiruvalhlhuvar and others who composed the rest of the eighteen minor works to take a closer look at the prevailing conditions and realise the need for evolving a code of behaviour which would compel the people to look inwards and seek better ways of life apart from the purely emotional one which meant satisfaction of the senses for the time being.

"The history of ethical thought, the social conditions which determined its nature and courses and the analysis of the several strands which have made up its composite texture are of vital importance to a study of our medieval culture and civilization."[1] Opinions differ as to the origin of the ideas expressed in these works. Many of the concepts handled by poets of these works are said to have been borrowed

from Sanskrit smritis, a theory which appears to be somewhat valid when one thinks of the composite nature of the culture which existed earlier as noticed in *Tolkaappiyam* the earliest compendium of Tamil literary thought.

The KuTalh

The *KuTalh*, the immortal work of the prodigious scholar, Tiruvalhlhuvar, expounds fundamental concepts of life which, transcending the limits of time and space, are eternally valid under any social and political condition. Due to the universality of the application of the principles enunciated in the 1330 couplets this work has almost been accepted and applauded as the most successful exercise in ethics. The greatness of this work as compared to the other seventeen in this group of didactic poetry relates to the way in which it reads like the very grammar of life. When the author of the KuTalhenquires, "wantest thou to know what is more galling than penury?" (verse 1041) one is led to wonder about the need for reference to such a condition among people who had tasted the fullness of a good life in the Cankam period. His emphasis on family life in *aTattuppaal*– righteousness–was perhaps the result of his observations of the family of his day which might have begun to lose its original compact nature. In the same way he expatiates upon the aspects of life which contribute to individual discipline, social harmony, and benevolent administration by kings. His stern prohibition of evil acts like killing, lust, theft, meat–eating and the use of intoxicants perhaps bear testimony to the emergence of such anti-social activities in the society where decadence was just setting in. The need for composing a great work like the *KuTalh* provided as good a reason for the authors of the other works in this group to follow in Tiruvalhlhuvar's footsteps and assume the role of monitors of human behaviours. For it is clear that such taboos in *KuTalh* and other works were not part of casual observations made to picture general well being. They are specific prohibitions carrying the force of commandments.

At least ten other works of PatinenhkiiLkkanakku, apart from the kuTalh with its applicability for all time, reveal the real social background of the day which provoked the authors to indulge in advice which was not simply gratuitous. History shows that down the centuries following the post Cankam literature there have been continuous attempts to preach morals whenever poets who could articulate their advice found the social condition ripe enough for such action. What the great savant, Dr. G. U. Pope, said of the work, *Naaladiyaar*, eightyseven years ago would hold good for most of the *kiiLkkanhakku* works: "Pervading these verses there seems to be a strong sense of moral obligation, an earnest aspiration after righteousness, a fervent and unselfish charity and generally a flotiness of aim that are very impressive. I have felt sometimes as if there must be a blessing in store for a people that delight so utterly in compositions thus remarkably expressive of hunger and thirst after righteousness".[2]

naaladiyaar

The influx of the Jains into the Tamil country during this period of social decay lent point to the nature of the teachings they included in their works. A treatise like *naaladiyar*, though it does not mention God at any stage unlike *KuTalh*, lays stress on freedom from rebirth and the bliss of salvation. This seems to be a recurring theme in most of the *kiilkanhakku* works. Like the *KuTalh, naaladiyaar* also emphasises the fact wealth, youth and the body itself are not everlasting. The virtue of getting rid of anger is pointed out to illustrate that the noble minded will ignore the insults of the lowly.(64)

Almost following the pattern of the *KuTalh* the principles enunciated in this work deal with the importance of human dignity. Obviously the qualities stressed were absent in contemporary society. The decay due to affluence might have resulted in many social imbalances leading to selfish hoarding of wealth, vain pursuit of the flesh, quarrels with fellow-beings and exhibition of short temper. While the teachings appear to be general it can be presumed that they stemmed from observed infirmities in the day to day life of the people.

There appears to have been many instances of adultery in a social set up which was intoxicated with material comfort. Although the *KuTalh* deals with the subject of adultery in just ten couplets, mainly among the men of good conduct due to temporary infatuation (chapter 15), *naaladiyaar* treats it with utter vehemence. The consequence of adultery resulting in constant fear under which the adulterer has to live and the social boycott he has to face for stealing a momentary pleasure are emphasised (83, 84),. Prominence is given to learning as the most beautiful aspect of life. Association with the learned adds to the joy of living. The contrast between people of noble birth and those who belong to lower classes is brought out in a number of verses which set out the differences. It is interesting to note that Tiruvalhlhuvar in his time had decreed that birth does not determine the class but it is the occupation (972). But the poets of *naaladiyaar* seem to have noticed that the determination of human nature had come to be regarded as pertaining to birth. Probably the caste system had just taken root and the traditional view of the high-born and the low-born was being depicted.

The chapter on public women brings out their mercenary character and shows how self-interest alone prompts them to take to their profession. It is in keeping with the puritan attitude of the Jains that they should come down heavily on the evil of prostitution which was perhaps one of the unwelcome results of a past affluence.

PaLamoLi naaNuuTu

A slightly different technique is adopted by the author of *PaLamoLi naanuuTu,* MuNtuTai ATaiyaNaar, to convey moral principles to the common people.

Although like *naaladiyaar* it treats of learning, the worthlessness of wealth and others, the unique nature of this work lies in the manner in which the teachings are communicated. Each of the four hundred stanzas makes use of a proverb to drive home even to the average man the truth of the precept sought to be expounded. Proverbs by themselves contain the essence of common sense derived from experience. They represent the sum-total of human knowledge expressed in day to day language. Shorn of any literary embellishment they form part of the accumulated wisdom of the people as a whole and their origin is seldom traceable. As a medium of communication at the lowest level of social intercourse, the proverb has been part of the life of the people from time immemorial as found in reference to it in *Tolkaappiyam* (*Seyyuliyal* 177) and some of the *Akam* songs. (66, Akananuuru). When literary equipment is not generally prevalent among the lowest class of humanity the proverb aids the comprehension of even abstruse ideas. Though its brevity resembles the concise literary pattern of the *KuTalh* it makes use of symbols and thoughts easily identifiable by the common mass. It employs words of common usage so that it forms the basic medium for spreading knowledge among the unlettered – probably the ideal precurser for the present day concept of adult education.

While *KuTalh* and *naaladiyaar* served the literate people very well in expounding codes of behaviour *PaLamoLi naaNuuTu* seems to have felt the need for reaching out to the common man. So much was said to the discredit of the lowly and the unlearned when the noble and the great were expatiated upon by many of *naaladiyar* verses that the object of ridicule, namely the commoner, was obviously left to fend for himself. The need to cleanse the society and uplift the ignorant and illiterate by directing the teachings specifically at him appears to have been the aim of the author of *PaLamoLi.* He probably sensed the lacuna in the wealth of didacticism that came into being for exposing the shortcomings of a decadent set of people. What could have been more effective than the utilisation of expressions and phrases which were already in vogue among the people at large in the form of proverbs? Thus, while *PaLamoLi* follows the poetic pattern of *naaladiyaar*, it is designed to reach out to a great mass of people for the communication of elevating ideas.

Aspects of social etiquette, like the noble ones not embarrassing even those whom they helped when they were found to be guilty of misdemeanour, are expounded through appropriate proverbs. In this case blaming the guilt of such men is likened to milking the cow completely dry (131). The contempt the author expresses towards even Jain ascetics who, having renounced everything, sometimes yield to temptation and consume meat is eloquent in the way such characters are likened to one who, having swum across the vast sea, gets drowned in a puddle dugout by the tender hoof of a calf (342). This reminds one of the biting satire with which the Pallava king Mahendravarman exposes the actions of a monk eating meat hidden

in his alms bowl, in the *Mattavilasa Prahasana*. The depth of decadence suffered by the society of the day is exemplified by the act of even the ascetics straying from the rigid norms.

CiTupanjcamuulam

While in *PaLamoLi* the author uses common proverbs to bring home his ideas of morality, Maakkaariyaasaan, the author of *CiTupanjcamuulam* employs the names of five medicinal roots to illustrate his teachings. Just as the five medicinal roots would relieve the physical ailments the five moral ideas prescribed by the author in each stanza should serve to eradicate the five-fold evils of killing, meat-eating, lying, thieving and anger. The basic moral of the Jain faith relating to non-violence and non-killing is often emphasised in this work. The killer of animals, the dealer in meat as well as the consumer are all described as sinners. He who eats meat is characterised as one eating poison (13). Accumulating knowledge without discrimination is likened to trees which yield fruits without flowering.[13]

The educational system pertaining to this period is reflected in the classification of students into higher and lower groups. Those who were trained in philosophy, logic and works relating to the attainment of salvation are regarded as belonging to a better category, while those who learn the arts like arithmetic, music, painting and other practical crafts were characterised as of lesser calibre (86). Directions are also given to students' behaviour. They should have a tuft, should bathe once a month, should pay obeisance to the teacher before starting on their lessons (30). The student should not yield to temptation of any kind of lust or anger. The teacher will get pained if the students who do not observe the prescribed rules (29). Apparently the traditional view of teacher-student relationship had its importance in that period. Good behaviour on the part of students was considered essential for the pursuit of learning. There should have been cases where the teacher had occasion to admonish the students for lapses. The period during which *CiTupanjcamuulam* was composed must have had its own problems of student behaviour not unlike those of our own times.

The conventional categorisation of chaste women and the wayward is illustrated by the conduct of the respective groups. The chaste wife would run the home commensurate with the economy and the income of the husband. Helping the relations and extending hospitality to guests, they would always respect the husband as a God (43). The wayward woman on the other hand indulged in drinks, lived away from the husband, visited all kinds of houses and spread gossip and rumour among her friends who were also of such loose habits (25). The social conditions depicted by these two classes of women is illustrative of permissiveness resulting from affluence. The evil practice of prostitution breeding a specific class of women for the purpose of satisfying the desires of uncultured men seems to have

been prevalent to an extent when maxims like these in this and other works were required to be recorded in poetry.

Natural calamities like drought should have taken the toll during that period, and this might have impelled the poet Kaariyaasaan to extol the virtues of and importance of social service by way of feeding the needy and coming to the rescue of the destitutes. The philanthropist who shared his food with others was blessed with longevity (79)). Social service like planting shade trees, building roads, digging wells and tanks was considered to be virtuous, leading to ultimate salvation. The Jains had always regarded social service as part of their duty in life (66). The basic humanism of the Jains was responsible for retrieving destitute children born out of wedlock, women in premarital pregnancy and widows. This emphasis on helping the forlorn also provides a glimpse into the social condition of the period when such unfortunate creatures were boycotted by society in general.

The reference to the brahmins and their role in the social life of the period, is stressed relates to their personal conduct. The real brahmin was one who understood the meaning of sacrificial practices he performed; he was also expected to share his food with others. For the brahmin to deserve respect strict norms were laid down (33, 8), which echo the ideas contained in *TirukkuTalh*. The brahmins as an important wing of the society have already established themselves during this period for the Jains to recognise their situation. On the other hand the critical attitude of the Jains towards some of the Hindu religious practices relating to the attainment of salvation like growing matted hair, tonsure and bathing in holy rivers are frowned upon as meaningless (69). Possibly the Jains found that these practices were ordained by self-appointed spiritual teachers who posed as ascetics leading people to salvation. To warn them against such bogus types masquerading as ascetics the author of *CiTupanjcamuulam* quotes the story of the proverbial pious cat adorned with the rosary indulging in practices which mislead the mice – the parable found in the Mahabharata (95). For the protection of woman five male members of the family – husband, father, son, brother and uncle – are entrusted with the responsibility, conforming to the design of the work, *panjcamuulam*, five medicinal objects.(54).

Eelaati

Following the pattern set by *ciTupanjcamuulam* the author of Eelaati, Kanhimeetaaviyaar, adopted six medical ingredients to illustrate the efficacy of the six-fold moral code – virtues likes non-killing, abstinence from meat eating are dealt with at length in a manner similar to *ciTupanjcamuulam*. The positive aspects of abstention from killing, falsehood, greed, association with the dregs of society, eavesdropping, bad language is extolled in almost all the stanzas in this work. There is an interesting section which sets out the steps to be followed by those who would

be reborn as kings; feeding ascetics, students, the poverty stricken, the destitute, chiidren and the elders – and propitiating the dead (35).

While anti-social habits like speaking falsehood, indulging in gossip, being addicted to drink and other allied practices are referred to in most of the didactic works, Eelaati also points to the evil of gambling, fraud, spreading scandal and acting on the words of women. Since the author declares the reward for feeding those who avoid these evil practices would be kingship in the next birth, we can infer the epidemic incidence of the social evils mentioned. Gambling is the result of too much affluence leading to the have-not becoming greedy and the consequences are reflected in fraud and falsehood. The social milieu of the period was fertile enough to breed such weeds. The author does not stop with merely admonishing the people who indulge in those habits. He goes to the extent of setting a prize for helping those who eschew these habits. This bears evidence to the fact that society at that time was riddled with these ills (43).

A state of life with full of wealth and leisure is conducive to the growth of activities leading to pastime and pleasure. Artistic engagements like drama and dance are pursuits for sensuous satisfaction. According to the author of this work drama leads to feud, Vengeance, abuse and ultimate destruction (25).

Another special feature of Eelaati is uncomplimentary reference to women in general. The author does not think highly of the men who listen to women's words. He declares that reward for helping those who refuse to take the advice of women and refrain from lustful association with them would be not only reborn as kings but were greater than those in heaven (20).

Having set out the dos and don'ts of social conduct in Eelaati, Kanhimetaaviyaar, the author, also sought to recall for the benefit of his readers the idyllic pictures of a bygone Cankam age in a work entitled *tinhimaalai nuuTTaimpatu* which deals with the five-fold classification of land and life. The apparent contradiction of a didactic poet speaking in terms of love and natural beauty may perhaps be explained by the inference that having exhausted the almost entire range of advice and admonition the poet might have thought it more appropriate to inculcate the principles of ideal life by resorting to the conventional poetic practice of singing about the ideal state of life.

Four more works included in the group of eighteen also speak of love in its idyllic state. A fifth, *KalhavaLi naarpatu* deals with war and allied activities (*puram*).

Tirikadukam

This is another didactic work patterned on the *CiTupanjcamulam* and *Eelaati* is *Tirikadukam* which makes use of three medicinal items as symbols to explain the

ideals of higher life. This contains about hundred stanzas reflecting the social set-up of the period. This poetic treatise equates the importance of moral conduct in three aspects in every case to the three basic spices which have medicinal content. These spices as connoted by the title of the work are the dry ginger, pepper and long pepper, familiar to every housewife belonging to any strata of society. This work mentions a great variety of morals which reflect the social life of the people in greater detail. The author of this work, Nallaatanaar, is a Hindu and he gives more prominence to the brahmin community and its duties. The greatness of the brahmin who consciously discharges without fail his three-fold duties(34) the tradition of good people who follow the advice of the brahmin who is well versed in the Vedas (2), the laudable tendency of the Vellalas to give respect to the brahmins even when they are close friends and the quality of the brahmin who having mastered the Vedas lives in service for others is considered to be fortunate(70)- all these aspects form the contents of many stanzas of *tirikadukam*, which also touches upon many deeds of charity to be undertaken by those responsible for social welfare. One of the charitable acts stressed is the provision of drinking water to the people through community-wells dug at various places (70),. The need for education available for all by the establishment of schools seems to have been felt by the poet in the light of the social conditions then obtaining(46). The term *palli* meaning an abode of learning so frequently used by the Jains is found in this work of the non-Jain poet who was obviously influenced by the Jain pioneers of didactic literature.

The stress on non-violence in the matter of killing animals for meat (26,36) and the contempt expressed by the poet for the killer also illustrate the Jain influence on the author. The influence of the Jains who preached austerity, non-violence, moral conduct and social service as reflected in this work continues to be visible in a social set-up based on the *varnashrama* pattern wherein the vedic brahmin occupied a very important piace. In keeping with the emphasis on the respective duties of the various social divisions obtaining at that time, this work also sets out the characteristics of the ideal vellala (12) who is traditionally known to give priority to hospitality to guests in the home. The ideal vellalas are also known for their sense of charity without caring for the returns (16). Various other aspects of life in a society wherein the later concept of caste system had taken root are also dealt with in this work.

The ideal domestic life of husband and wife envisaged by the *KuTalh* must have had a set-back in this period. Women not so perfect appeared on the scene and provided reason for the moralist to set out norms of punishment and condemnation. Wife beating appears to have come into existence with the decline of ideals(31). Even a shrew is described here to show the degeneration of family standards (67). A shameless woman and the one who argues with the husband for everything and the

hen-pecked husband are shown up as characters deserving reprimand (81, 99). A gradual increase in the graph of declination in the moral standard of the society in general is discernible in this work much more than what is seen in the earlier works. While the Jain poets restricted themselves with the traditional austere disciplines following the pattern of the *KuTalh* this Hindu author ventured to highlight the many social degradations after the firm entrenchment of the caste system.

naanmanhikkadikai

The author of this work is also a brahmin, a Vaishnava by the name of Vilhampinaakanaar who, like the earlier author of *tirikadukam*, extols the virtues of the brahmin who has already been recognised to have established his position in the society as of noble birth (34). He is always conscious of his duties and is well versed in the vedas and norms of good conduct. In the hierarchical pattern which had already set in, the tiller of the soil, the vellala, claimed the next place to brahmins and is given a respectability and honour. The agricultural profession of the vellala is equated with the sacrificial rites performed by the brahmins in this work(86). The laudatory references to the brahmin community depicting the emergence of determination ofcaste by birth asexpressed in *naanmanhikkadikai* may be taken to be a form of resistance to the spreading Jain influence at the time.

While Jain works of a didactic nature composed during this period speak of austerity in general, works by the Hindus like *tirikadukam* and *naanmanhikkadikai* stress the need for individual behaviour. The author of *naanmanhikkadikai* calls upon man to abjure anger which is an unhealthy expression of emotion that ultimately destroys the man himself. It is like the fire which having been kindled by the bamboo destroys the grove itself. The angry man will not be able to distinguish between good and bad. Losing the capacity for discrimination he behaves like a blind man. Therefore anger should be eschewed completely and one should avoid losing one's temper towards relatives (13).

The author of this work also lays stress on the importance of education, the system of learning which had already come into practice. The manner in which learning is praised by listing the benefits accruing from it like the avoidance of ignorance, the acquisition of good conduct, fame and ultimate salvation leads one to the conclusion that the educational system was well established. This achievement may possibly be credited to the Jains, (their *palli* system) who seem to have been among the first to have felt the need for enlightening a decadent society.

Another distinguishing feature of this work is the importance given to the family, an aspect not stressed by the Jain authors of other didactic works. The home with the wife is the basis for all the prosperity of the land. The absence of a good family would affect the entire fabric of administration by the king, which in turn affects the life of holy men whose presence guarantees plentiful rainfall needed

by the people. A home without a wife is compared to a desolate ruin. The greatness of family life is pointed out by characterising the wife as one who has no better relative than the husband whom she worships in every way (48, 22). It is interesting to note the contrast between the author of *tirikadukam* and this author in projecting the aspects of a family woman. While the former is all angry with the existing situation as he found it and chastised the erring women the latter takes a positive posture and extols the virtues of woman in the family unit. While other works in the *KiiLkanhakku* series stressed mainly the codes of conduct to be followed by individuals comprising the society which was the butt of all admonitions, *naanmanhik kadikai* seems to have discovered the effective role the family can play in ensuring a healthy society.

Innaa naarpatu

Among the four other works which take their name from the number of stanzas they contain, viz. forty each, *Kaar naarpatu* treats of love in the tradition of *aham* poetry and *kalhavaLi naarpatu* of war or *puram* pattern - subjects which were usually depicted in earlier Cankam works. The other two, *Innaa naarpatu* and *Iniyavai naarpatu*, set out aspects of life which are unpleasant and pleasant respectively. As the authors of both these works were Hindus of the orthodox school there are the inevitable references to the brahmins as belonging to the highest caste, and the rigidity of the caste system is patent in the numerous aspects of prohibition and approval listed in the two poems. Among the features enumerated as unpleasant and therefore to be avoided are the maladministration of a tyrant king, the reign of a king without principles and the disqualification of a king who has no heroism to wage war (39). The drunkard is to be regarded as an anti-social element; a poverty stricken man trying to be generous is not recommended. The legendary reports of munificent kings and generous philanthropists of the Cankam age were obviously absent during the time of the didactic works. For any one in a decaying social set-up who attempted to be charitable while he cannot afford it was obviously a presumptuous act, and it is, on this account, shown up as something to be avoided(7).

Amng the other things which were shown to be unpleasant were the brahmins who did not pursue their vedic *dharma*, people of other castes eating in a brahmin's house, dog and fowl being admitted into his house, which bear evidence to the rigidity of the caste system which had taken firm roots by then (22). Here again the negative aspects of the woman in the home is brought out in many verses. The beauty of a wife who possesses no love, the feigned intimacy of a wife who did not agree with the husband, women cheating others, a husband forsaking the wife and a shrew in the home were all declared as being unpleasant and therefore to be avoided (2), The taboos relating to the unpleasant aspect of life were probably

enumerated to emphasise by contrast the permanent values which were in danger of being given up by the society of that period.

Iniyavai Naarpatu

In contrast to the things listed in the foregoing poem *Iniyavai naarpatu* details activities which are pleasant and therefore to be adopted as norms of happy life. Some of the principles recommended as pleasant are the happiness of the home where the wife is perfect, the desirability of becoming an ascetic when the wife is not so perfect, the physical labour of the farmer who tills the land, the greatness of the holy men, gifting gold to brahmins, avoidance of prostitutes and other such positive traits (3, 4).

The general pattern of the poem is the presentation of positive aspects relating to most of the negative aspects set out in the earlier *Innaa naarpatu* almost like a rejoinder. Social service is also stressed in this work, like digging of tanks and establishing parks as well as gifting cow and gold to brahmins (24). Pleasant are some acts of avoidance, like keeping away from women who are likened to poison.

MutumoLikaanjci

The pattern of *PaLamoLi naanooTu* was emulated by the author of this work Maturai KuudalUUr KiLaar, who made use of the sayings of old and wise men to drive home precepts of good conduct. The importance of good conduct and discipline as against mere learning is pointed out as more desirable by the author, who probably found that some elements in contemporary society were masquerading as learned men while they were in fact dubious characters. People are also warned not to disparage the customs of strangers when they do not appear to be in consonance with their own social tradition. Since customs and manners differ from region to region and country to country one should respect the conventions of other people. Obviously there was an element of chauvinism visible among people, which prompted this poet to come out with such wholesome advice. This kind of social behaviour cannot be said to be a product of post-Cankam age alone. It is perhaps in evidence among us even today.

With regard to charity and munificence, the author observes that philanthropy indicates compassion in the giver. No one would blame the poor for not being charitable. Perhaps this was a warning to those who, at the expense of their own economic condition, overstep the limits by parting with all. The author goes a step further and observes elsewhere that speaking truth is much better than philanthropy, a sentiment not expressed by many other poets of this period. Would it be too much to deduce from this that persons who sought to get a good name through charity were not truthful? The unreality of material wealth is illustrated by the poet when he delcares that poverty is not the result of lack of material comforts. Mental satisfaction is the greatest wealth according to him.

aacaarakkovai

This work strikes a different note in that it deals mainly with the conduct of the individual and the rituals he has to perform from dawn to dusk. Any social comment implicit in this work emerges from the behaviour of the individual towards the social set-up in which he is placed. Regarding the rituals relating to the individuals's life the activities are determined on the basis of the good results of such actions.

As the day begins a man is expected to think of what he has to do throughout the day and begin by paying his respects to his parents (4). He is prohibited from coming into contact with the brahmin, the cow, fire and deities while he is unclean(5). In cleansing himself he is told the methods of taking bath, as well as when and where he should bathe. Not less than ten such occasions are detailed for the benefit of the man who is expected to have external cleanliness as well as internal purity(10).

In pointing out the correct way of taking food the Jain practice of eating while standing is not recommended(23). Thus the need for setting out precepts for the guidance of individual and society was felt not only by the Jain poets but also by a Hindu author. Some of the social conventions which are prevalent even today can be seen to have existed during the period of these ethical works from the indications noticed in this poem. While walking giving way to brahmins and ascetics and avoiding to intrude between them are aspects of social etiquette recommended (64, 31).

The dominant role conceded to the brahmin seems to have been well established during this period. He was expected to be treated as an elder and to be consulted before undertaking any auspicious activity (92). Casteism as a principle of social hierarchy has been the main basis on which the individual's behaviour in society is determined. Habits like accosting one from behind, enquiring where one is bound for at the beginning of a journey, sleeping with the head placed towards the north were taboos which have left their relics even today (58, 30). These admonitions directed towards the individual were obviously followed to the letter by people of that period. These rituals permeating through successive generations have left faint echoes even in the present day society. The influence of the Jains was perhaps responsible for some of the puritan prohibitions contained in this poem. Do not stay under the tree in the night (13), do not use the clothes dirtied by others (62), avoid sleeping with the wife while she is in period (42), are some of the advices given which are based on reasons of health.

This work *aacaarakkovai* which we have placed at the last of the series of KiiLkkanhakku works is unique in that it deals not only with the stereotype moral

principles but details the accepted social customs of the day evolved out of intermingling of cultures.

Conclusion

The main emphasis by the poets of these ethical works seems to be for a rejuvenation of a dying society. The three works *tirikadukam*, *ciTupanjcamuulam* and *eelaati*, for example, read like treatises on pharmacopoeia. The implication is obvious, that an unhealthy society taken ill because of overindulgence needs to be treated like a patient and administered the proper medicines.

There is no doubt, observance of the tenets set forth in these eighteen works would have enriched the inner life of the people. The minatory tone which is audible in many of these works testifies to the intensity with which the authors attempted to instil into the hearts of the people the puritan goal that awaited them. The doctrines expounded and stressed for adoption by these poems point to a state of society which was in dire need for a corrective therapy.

A reinterpretation of these ethical works would lead to the emergence of a society which was about to become a victim to its own affluence and sophisticated behaviour. These poems form an important link in the history of Tamil society which existed at the time of the Cankam classics and that which followed when stable kingdoms were founded, and life was made more orderly in the light of larger social obligations in an expanding milieu. It can be concluded that an ordered society which followed took to heart the morals preached by this ethical literature and benefited by it in course of time.

FOOTNOTES

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AGRICULTURE OF THE ANCIENT TAMILS

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Literature is the standing proof of the life and history of any country reflecting the culture, civilisation, arts and the advancement in each sphere. Dravidian civilisation, culture etc. are well evidenced in literature. Tamils had the most advanced art of raising paddy for good yields and the prosperity and merchandise made possible for the ancient Tamils were all the direct result of such advanced farming techniques as evidenced from the Sangam Literature.

Tamils are credited with a rich civilisation even prior to the stone age of other races as evidenced by their arts, sculpture, architecture and other sciences besides the references to advanced farming.

"Unavenappaduvadhu nilathodu niire"

Food is the essence of land and water the guiding principle of the Tamils. Let us examine their farming efficiency under Dryland, Wet land, and Garden land conditions with the help of the mentions in the literature.

A. Dry Land Cultivation

Farming was initiated in the dry lands with crops fed by rain. It can be assumed that each home was surrounded by vacant land bearing such rain-fed crops. This is reflected from the words like *kollai, Ahankan kollai, pun pulam, pazham kollai* or *mudhaiyal bhoomi*". The following may be mentioned :

1. Vithayar kondra mudhaiyal bhoomi
   Edumurai nirappiya eer elai varaghin
   121 of *Nattrinai*
2. Kollai uzhu kozhu weippap palle
   ellaiyu miravu munrinru mazhungi (117-118 Porunaratruppadai).
3. Viththi van nokkum punpula kannakan (18 Purnanooru)
4. Karipuna mayakkiya ahankann kollai (159 Purananooru).

B. Wet Land Cultivation

The method of storing water in fields and raising crops should have arisen by and by and this sort of cultivation is referred to as *Nancei* in Tamil. Paddy was the principal crop raised.

India or China must have been the home of Paddy, according to V. T. Subbiah Mudaliar cited in his book *The Common Cultivated Crops of South India.*

Paddy being the staple food crop of Tamils its advancement in cultivation tells upon the civilisation to some extent. The Tamil Literature cites paddy lands as *cheru, kazhani, aganvayal* etc., all meaning lands under water. A few citations will be noticed:

1. Mayir niraithanna vaarkol vaangukadhir
   Chennel am cheruvin –73 Nattrinai
2. Pull emizh aganvayal oli chennel –14 Kalithokai.
3. Neengaa yanar vaanghughathi kazhani –228 Perumpanatruppadai
4. Nelvilai kazhani padupull oppunar –29 Purananuru.

The method of cultivation cites the mixture of water and soil as a fluid medium for the paddy crop. To arrive at this medium there is mention of an implement exclusively used for *puddling* cited as:

Malangu milir cheruvin thalambu thadinthitta –61 Purananooru

Thalambu was the wetland puddler used. Further to this, there is the reference to the plough drawn by buffaloes:

1. Paisaal Kondra manpadu maruppin
   Kaar eru porudha kann aghal cheruvin –209, 210 Perumpanatruppadai.
2. Malaikandanna nilai punar nilappin
   Perunerpalkoottu erumai uzhava –60 Nattrinai.

Thus it will be seen that there is specific mention of plough coupled to buffaloes in Tamilnadu 2000 years back and will confirm the puddling by a special implement drawn by buffaloes here. This is further confirmed in the book by the UNESCO Publication: Vide – *History of mankind – Cultural and Scientific Development* Vol. V, "The Plough which has originally come from India or China was drawn by one or two buffaloes".

Even the *sowing* of paddy is a slow process of evolution. Originally it is to be derived that the word *vithaippu* only meant sowing by broadcasting. It must have taken several hundred years to arrive at the method of *transplanting*, raising nursery apart. Exclusive sites for nursery called *naatrangal* have been allotted to provide the seedlings for the main field called *kazhani*. The following lines will confirm these derivatives:–

1. Viththidupular....medayertuena –Paripadal.
2. Mudinaru azhuthia nedun cheruvil –Perumpanatruppadai.

In 2 cited above we see the practice of bundling seedlings pulled out from nursery and also the practice of transplanting in marshy puddle by applying pressure on the seedling.

There is also mention in the same period of the *dry sowing* of paddy:

Narukazh kondru kottin vithia kurugathir thorai –286-7 Maduraikkanchi

Thorai was a short duration paddy with shorter earheads sown in dry lands.

Irrigation for paddy crop was both by channels and from wells by employing lifts:

1. Mannuyir yemura malar gnaalam puravindru
   Panneeraal paaipunal paranthu uutti –33 Kalithogai.

Channels leading to the fields from the wells supplied clear transparent water to the crops:

2. Nedunkinatru Vallootru uvari thondi 97, 98 Perumpanatrupadai.

This citation refers to the *wells* delivering fresh water. Cultivation site for paddy was generally river valley and low lying areas to enable *flow irrigation* as seen from the following lines:-

"Porunai manalinum aangan pallur suttriya ka*z*hani
Ellam vilaiyum nellinum palave" –307 Purananooru

This is also read from Oxford Junior Encyclopaedia Vol: VI. Farming (Agrl. History) wherein it is read as "Irrigation was used thousands of years ago inlands lying in river valleys and quite complicated systems of irrigation were developed during the ancient civilisations of Egypt, India and China.

C. Crops on Garden Lands

Ancient Tamils had a via media between the two extremities, namely cultivation of rainfed crops and cultivation of water-soaked irrigated crops like paddy. As and when required irrigation was resorted to for crops like Ginger, Turmeric, Sugarcane, Cotton etc. in the garden lands reserved for these purposes. Besides these many other crops were also raised.

Inji. manjal, paingari, piravum
Palveru tharamodu kal agathu eandi –Maduraikkaanchi.

The cultivation technique also was of a high order and there are references to even the extraction of the juice from Sugarcane employing iron machine for rhe extraction of juice for jaggery-making as read from Sangam literature.

"Karumbin enthiram silaipin ayaladhu –322 Purananuuru

"East Asia" by Alber Kolbu (page 110) states that even thousands of years prior to the European advent into China, the Indians had sent Sugarcane and

Cotton to that country for cultivation and that rice was the principal food of the Chinese by 300 A.D.

Conclusion

Thus it is easy to prove that the Ancient Tamils had a sound knowledge of dry land, wet land and the garden land cultivation practices attaining perfection in each sphere. The citations from Sangam literature amply reveal this perfection in various crop technology as early as 2000 years ago. Hence it can be guessed that dry crops were initiated well ahead of 10,000 years. The dry land type of cultivation culminate in the wet land type around 5000 years ago (Mc Graw & Hill Encyclopedia of Science & Technology Vol. II). From general observation of the various countries and their cropping pattern it is easily seen that thicker population is derived from rice cultivating countries and China has followed up the Indian rice cultivation, India being the Home of Paddy through North India, 2800 years B.C. (New World Encyclopedia – Rice – Vol. II), and this transition therefore must have taken place prior to this period.

Rice in India issued from I.C.A.R. clearly indicates that paddy moved to North India from the South and that the Tamils had perfection in paddy cultivation and various uses of rice even before the advent of the Aryan Civilisation i.e. before 1500 B.C.

The term *arisi* in Tamil, *Orussa* in Greek and *Arruzz* in Arabia again indicate the west-ward movement of paddy from the Tamils. Most probably the crop had entry into west by the Arabs who exchanged horses for the Tamil Kings' export commodities.

The West coast, the Chera Kingdom, had links with Arabs and the Arabs inherited the crop in the perfected stage from South India even before the invasion by King Alexander and paddy moved further to the other countries from the Arab countries in the later centuries.

Tracing further from Tamil Literature one could deduce that the Ancient Tamils had their perfection in Fine arts as music, dance, sculpture etc., only on their reaching of the prosperity in varied cropping pattern in crops as paddy cotton, sugarcane spices and condiments. As an affluent society with enough produce to export, they flourished in maritime trade and export, warfare and other progressive activities through this abundance of food.

Thus the Tamils could be credited as the forefathers of the advanced farming technology far ahead of other parts of the world.

A deep and further study and probing of the various Tamil Literature will throw light not only on the civilisation, food habits and their period of origin but also the new ideas that may form the nucleus for further research into agriculture.

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ON THE POETIC CONVENTION OF IDENTIFYING PEOPLE BY NAME IN CANKAM LITERATURE

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Introduction

Earlier studies on names of people in Cankam Literature point out the fact that these names are mostly of chieftains and kings.[1] This paper contends that

1. It is not an accident that we find the names of only the chieftains and kings in Cankam Literature;
2. There must have existed a very old and rigid convention forbidding the use of personal names (i.e. names of persons) in poetry; and
3. This rigid convention was relaxed over a period of time due to societal changes by which certain people such as chieftains, donors, kings and poets turned out to be the 'chosen few,' who then were identified by their names in poetry.

Three stages are set up in the history of this convention and an attempt is made towards establishing the relative chronology of the themes employed in the poems of the puTam (புறம்) category.[2]

It was a Convention, Not an Accident

Questions might be raised here, asking, "Why do we have to consider this as a poetic convention as opposed to anything else? Could it be a mere accident that the names of only certain people are found in Cankam Literature?" The following reasons can serve as an answer:

1. Only the names of chieftains, donors, kings and poets are found in Cankam Literature.
2. Commoners like an ascetic (PRN 251, 252), a bard (PRN 68), a brahman (PRN 305), a drummer (PRN 287), a potter (PRN 228, 256), a warrior (PRN 311), or a washerwoman (PRN 311) are not identified by their "iyaTpeyar" (இயற்பெயர்).[3]
3. Similarly, we hear about the wife of a dead warrior (PRN 250, 255), wife of a chieftain (PRN 143-147), wife of a poet (PRN 163, 164, 210), wife of a king (PRN 71; PrP 38), mother of a dead warrior (PRN 278), mother of a living warrior (PRN 86), the mother and father of a chieftain

(PRN 137), daughters of a chieftain (PRN 200, 201) etc. None of them is identified by her/his name.

For example, we get to know the name of the much celebrated donor PeekaN's wife as Kanhnhaki (கண்ணகி), only from the collophons to the poems composed in her favour addressing him. Of such five "PuTanaaNuuTu" (புறநானூறு) poems (143-147), four (143-146) identify him, the chieftain, by his name, PeekaN (பேகன்), and the other (147) refers to him as "aaviyar koo" (chief of the "aavi" clan). But all the five poems refrain from identifying his woman by her name, Kanhnhaki (கண்ணகி). Another example is PRN 245, attributed to a Ceera king, CeeramaaN Kooddampalattutunjciya Maakkootai (சேரமான் கோட்டம்பலத்துத் துஞ்சிய மாக்கோதை). According to the collophon, the poem was composed when this ceera king's wife died. In the poem, he mourns the death of his wife , refraining from mentioning her name. He uses the term "madantai" (an innocent woman), to refer to her. A good many examples can be added to such a listing.

There are 147 instances where the poems avoid the use of names of people for whom they were composed, whereas the collophons provide us with their names.[4] But, since the validity of the collophons can be questioned, as is done in the case of PatiTTupattu, one may not like to consider this data as solid evidence for proving our contention.[5] However, it cannot be denied that even those poems which celebrate dead warriors and make references to the hero-stones, do not mention the names of their heroes. The hero-stones, which were installed in memory of the fallen heroes, had the dead warriors' names inscribed on them. PRN 264 and AKN 67, 131 provide us with the evidence. Yet, we do not get to know the name of an ordinary dead warrior (PRN 277) ; neither do we find the name of a triumphant warrior, who, after defeating his enemies, successfully recovered the cattle that were stolen in a cattle-raid (PRN 264).

Evidence such as the above-mentioned strongly suggests the possibility of a tendency among the composers to bring to the eyes of the public only the names of a certain people whom I wuold like to refer to as the 'chosen few.' They were the chieftains, donors, kings and poets.

Observations

One can make the following observations about this poetic convention as it is employed in C.L.

Who is Identified by Name and Who is Not ?

Akam Poetry :

1. In akam poetry, not only the 'talaivi' and the 'talaivaN,' but also the others who play a role in their love-life are not identified by their iyaTpeyar. For example, the 'tooLi' (female friend of the talaivi's), the 'cevili'

(talaivi's foster mother), the 'parattai' (talaivaN's other woman), the 'tantai' (talaivi's father) etc., are never identified by their iyaTpeyars. They are identified only by their role-names.[6] These people who play a role in the love-life of the 'talaivi' and the 'talaivaN' are referred to as 'akam characters' for the purpose of this paper.

2. No commoners are identified by their names in akam poetry.[7]

3. A chieftain, donor, king or poet who is not an 'akam character,' is identified by her/his name. Kaddi (கட்டி, a chieftain, KU 11), PanhnhaN (பண்ணன், a donor, AK 54), Kilhlhi ValhavaN (கிள்ளிவளவன் a king, AK 346), KapilaN (கபிலன், a poet, AK 78), Velhlhi Viiti (வெள்ளி வீதி, a poetess, AK 147) are a few examples. Given an akam poem, we can see that the names of such people are used so long as they are not the 'akam characters' in the poem.

PuTam Poetry :

1. The 'talaivi' in a puTam poem is never identified by her name. As was pointed out earlier, examples like that of chieftain PeekaN's wife Kanhnhaki, Paari's daughters and the ceera king's wife are evidence for this. Much stronger evidence is found in the poems employing the theme 'MakadpaaTkaanjci' (மகட்பாற் காஞ்சி), which avoid the names of the 'talaivis' they celebrate. Some of the poems employing this theme mention some chieftains' names for some reason.

2. As in akam poetry, no commoner is identified in puTam poetry.[8]

3. The 'talaivaN' is identified by name in puTam poetry. However, it is important to note that not all puTam poems do this. For example, PRN 235, attributed to Avvaiyaar, is about AtiyamaaN NedumaaN Anjci (அதியமான் நெடுமானஞ்சி), a chieftain. The poem does not mention his name ; we get to know his name only from the collophon to the poem. In fact, many puTam poems do not worry over mentioning the names of their 'talaivaNs'.[9]

4. PuTam poems do not hesitate to mention the name of a chieftain, donor, king or a poet even when he is not the 'talaivaN' in a given poem. Note that this is in contrast with akam poetry wherein a chieftain, donor, king or a poet is identified by her/his name only in poems in which she/he is not an 'akam character.'

5. It is mostly the case that the clan name is used to refer to a king and 'iyaTpeyar' is used for referring to a chieftain, donor or poet.[10]

Analysis Based on the 'Tinhai' and 'Tutai' Classifications[11]

1. Poems employing certain 'tinhais' do not identify their 'talaivaNs'/'talaivis' by name. Of the 11 'tinhais' of PRN 4 (vedci, karantai, kaanjci and kaikkilhai ; வெட்சி, கரந்தை, காஞ்சி, கைக்கிளை) fall into this catogory. The remaining 7 'tinhais' (vanjci, nocci, tumpai, vaakai, paadaanh, peruntinhai and potuviyal; வஞ்சி, நொச்சி, தும்பை வாகை, பாடாண், பெருந்திணை, பொதுவியல்) fluctuate, in the sense that some poems employing certain themes belonging to these 'tinhais' identify their 'talaivaNs' by name, while some others do not.[12]

2. Poems employing certain 'tuTais' (nearly 47 out of a total of 82), do not identify their 'talaivaNs'/'talaivis' by name. Th rest (35 out of 82), do not necessarily identify their 'talaivaNs' by name.[13]

For example, the name of a chieftain, donor or king is freely used in a poem employing a theme like 'araca vaakai' (அரசவாகை), or 'iyaNmoLi' (இயன்மொழி), whereas in a poem employing a theme like 'unhaaddu' (உண்டாட்டு)or 'uvakaikkaluLci' (உவகைக் கலுழ்ச்சி), the composer refrains from mentioning the name of the 'talaivaN'.

Discussion

The factors to be remembered here are :

1. A great majority of poems do not identify anybody by name.[14]
2. PuTam poems employing certain 'tinhais' do not identify anybody by name.
3. Even those poems which do mention somebody's name follow a definite pattern, namely, identifying only a 'chosen few' by name.
4. In most cases, clan names are used for referring to the kings whereas 'iyaTpeyars' are used for chieftains, donors and poets.

Thiru K. N. Sivaraja Pillai (1932) suggested that the unbounded power of kings for good and evil, the dependence of the poets on their goodwill, and the respect the poets had for the kings were reasons underlying the avoidance of the personal names of kings in poetry.[15] However, it is worth recalling that even in situations where a poet did not have to address a king, he did not freely mention the 'iyaTpeyar' of the king. Some elegiac poems are examples of this.[16] So, we can almost be certain that it was not the anxiety of a poet for winning the goodwill of a king that contributed towards the anonymity of the king in poetry.

PRN 154, attributed to MoocikiiraNaar (மோசிகீரனார்), is thought-provoking in this respect. The first five lines of the poem can be loosely translated as follows : 'People, even when they walk along the shores of a sea, enquire others

to get drinking water. Likewise, the learned ones ('pulavar'), even though they stay near kings, will go away looking for donors.' It is obvious that donors were esteemed more highly and preferred over non-donors in the view of this poet. It did not matter to him even if the non-donor was a monarch. There are quite a few instances where the poets unhesitatingly applaud the donors who are, incidentally, chieftains, while expressing their 'not-caring-too-much-for' attitude towards the kings (PRN 122, 127, 137, etc.).

Can we say then, that the poets were closer to the chieftains than they were to the monarchs, or should we say that the poets preferred immortalizing the entire clan of a king over immortalizing the individual king? Such questions remain unanswered.

Next arises the question of the poetic convention itself. From what has been said so far, we can infer two aspects of the convention : (1) a more rigid one, and (2) a less rigid one. The more rigid convention forbade the use of anybody's name in any poetry, and the less rigid one permitted only the names of certain people. Looking at the entire collection of C.L., from the point of view of their number and 'tinhai' - 'tuTai' classifications, one can see their tendency as being towards maintaining anonymity of people. So, it is possible to contend that the more rigid convention is the older convention, and the less rigid convention, the later one.

Positing Three Stages

The facts just pointed out encourage me to set up three stages in the history of the convention that we are dealing with here.

Stage 1 : Nobody was identified by name in any type of poetry.
Stage 2 : The 'akam characters' continued not to be identified by their names, whereas only the 'talaivaN' in a puTam poem was identified by his name.
Stage 3 : The poets also came to be identified by their names.

Stage 1 represents a period when a community was conceived of as a single unit and recognition was given to the entirety/wholesomeness of it, not fussing over, or giving special attention to, any individual member of the society. Woman/man was considered as part of a community to which she/he belonged. The individual woman/man probably did not matter much, and therefore, only a human emotion such as 'love' and a virtue such as 'valor' were regarded as important enough to be sung. PRN 312, which lists the duties that a mother, a father, a smith, a king and a youth have to perform in the society, is a case in point.[17]

Stage 2 represents a period when some people were looked upon as patrons/leaders for some communities because of their excellence over others. At this point, the focus of attention in poetry has obviously shifted from the 'abstract' to the

'concrete'; from 'virtue' to the 'person who possessed the virtue' ; i.e., from 'valor' to the 'valiant.' The delicate emotion 'love' still preserved the anonymity of the akam characters.

Stage 3 represents a period when the poets gained popularity because of their association with kings.

Conclusion

The need for a political set-up, the need for protecting one's own land or kingdom, indulging in a battle, winning in the battle, the victorious being praised by poets—all these must have happened again and again. The never satiated thirst for being eulogized by poets must have urged the chieftain and kings to patronize them, who in turn wanted to immortalize their patrons in poetry. It seems legitimate to suspect that there existed a period in which the poets had to reconcile the need to immortalize their patrons in poetry with the more rigid, older convention of maintaining the anonymity of people. This dilemma triggered a less rigid convention of identifying the 'chosen few' by name in certain themes.[18] Some songs employing certain themes such as 'unhdaaddu' (உண்டாட்டு), 'uvakai-kaluLci' (உவகைக் கலுழ்ச்சி), etc., were composed following the older convention, and new themes such as 'iyanmoLi' (இயன் மொழி), 'araca vaakai' (அரச வாகை) etc., were created in order to accommodate the less rigid convention.[19] The anonymity of heroes in some poems employing certain themes is attributed to defective collophons by Dr. Kailasapathy (1968), who also suspects that such poems are the more primitive type of heroic songs which draw their heroes from any class.[20] Leaving aside the case of poems with defective collophons, we see that nearly 147 poems with perfect collophons also maintain the anonymity of their 'talaivaN.' The 'talaivaNs' for these poems are chieftains and kings. So, it is possible to aver that anonymity was deliberate in the case of a commoner, and publicity was accepted, but not mandatory in the case of the 'chosen few.'

Summary

In the preceding pages, it was shown that the presence of only the names of chieftains, donors, kings and poets and the absence of names of commoners in C.L., cannot be attributed to chance. It was contended that the more rigid convention of maintaining the anonymity of people in any type of poetry is older and societal changes triggered a less rigid convention of identifying only a 'chosen few' by name. Three stages were posited in the history of this two-fold convention, and a relative chronology of the themes employed in puTam poetry was suggested.

Abbreviations

AK — AkanaaNuuTu (அகநானூறு)
AKN

C. L.	—	Cankam Literature	(சங்க இலக்கியம்)
KU	—	KuTuntokai	(குறுந்தொகை)
PRN	..	PuTanaaNuuTu	(புறநானூறு)
PrP	—	PatiTTuppattu	(பதிற்றுப்பத்து)

NOTES

1. Dr. Kailasapathy, K., 1968., page 261.
   Dr. Subramoniam, V.I. 'A Study of Personal Names in Cankam Literature,' *Indian Linguistics,* Volume 16, 1955, page 172.
2. The poems of PatiTTuppattu (பதிற்றுப்பத்து) and PuTanaaNuuTu (புற நானூறு)
3. 'IyaTpeyar' (இயற்பெயர்) is the Tamil term for what is commonly known as 'given name' or 'proper name' in Western terminology.
4. A few examples are PRN 4, 5, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 47 and 50. Please see appendix for the rest (the amount may vary slightly depending upon different editors).
5. Dr. Gnanasambanthan, A.S., 1955, p. 129.
   Dr. Kailasapathy, K., 1968, page 127.
6. Role-names are the names derived from the roles they play in the love-life of the 'talaivi' and the 'talaivaN.'
7. Information on the names of two women, Aiyai (ஐயை,) and Akutai (அகுதை) is scanty, so we cannot come to a definite conclusion. Strangely enough, their names are used to refer to their fathers (see AkanaaNuuTu (அகநானூறு) 6 and 96).
8. As far as I can see, the only name that needs an explanation is that of Iyakkan (இயக்கன்) mentioned by a Pandya king (PRN 71). The epithet used by the king to refer to Iyakkan is 'வெஞ்சினை' which suggests that he was a chieftain.
9. Please see note 4.
10. Three techniques are used by the composers to refer to the kings :
    (a) Identifying a king by his clan name, such as 'ceLiyaN' (செழியன்) for a king of the Pandya Dynasty, 'valhavaN' (வளவன்) for a king of the Chola Dynasty, 'poTaiyaN' (பொறையன்) for a king of the Chera Dynasty, etc.
    (b) Referring to a king by associating him with a place under his rule, such as 'kaaviri-kiLavaN' (the lord of the river Kaaviri / the one who has the claim for Kaaviri), 'kuudal-veendu' (king of Kuudal), etc.

(c) Making references to a victorious deed that the king did, such as 'aa lang kaaNattu amar kadantu adda kaala muNpa' (ஆலங்கானத்து அமர் கடந்து அட்ட கால முன்ப, the one who won the battle at AalangkaaNam), etc·

11. The 'tinhai' and 'tuTai' classifications of akam poetry are left out here because they do not identify the 'akam characters' by name, and so do not tell us who they are.
The 'tinhai' classification is absent for PatiTTuppattu (பதிற்றுப்பத்து).

12. Please see appendix.

13. Please see appendix (the amounts may vary slightly depending upon different editors).

14. More than 85% of the Akam poems do not identify anybody by name. More than 55% of the PuTam poems do not identify their 'talaivaNs' or 'talaivis' by name.
Also see Sivaraja Pillai (1932), page 47.

15. Thiru. Sivaraja Pillai, 1932, page 49.

16. A few examples are PRN 65, 219, 231 and 237.

17. PRN 314 is another example.

18. Please see appendix.

19. Please see note 13.

20. Dr. Kailasapathy, K., 1968, page 23.

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An Analysis Based on the 'Tinhai-TuTai' Classification of the PuTam Poems

REFERENCE

Column A — The poems employing these 'tuTais' do not identify their 'talaivaNs'/ 'talaivis' by name.

Column B — Some of the poems employing these 'tuTais' identify their 'talaivaNs' by name ; some other poems do not.

Column C — The poems employing these 'tuTais' provide us with indirect references about their 'talaivaNs.'

Column D — The poems employing these 'tuTais' invariably identify their 'talaivaNs' by name.

A. *PuTanaaNuuTu*

'tinhais'	A	B	C	D
1. vedci	unhdaaddu	..	..	..
	talaittooTTam	..	..	..
2. karantai	kudinilai uraittal	..	..	..
	kaiyaTunilai	..	..	..
	cerumalaital	..	..	..
	niinhmoLi	..	..	..
	nedumoLi	..	..	..
	paanh paaddu/ paadaanhpaaddu	..	..	..
	pilhlhaippeyarcci	..	..	..
	veettiyal	..	..	..
3. vanjci	perunjcooTTunilai	koTTa valhlhai	nallicai vanjci	..
		tunhaivanjci	mutal vanjci	..
		maLapula vanjci	..	..
4. nocci	kudirai maTam	mahalh maTut-tal	..	..
	ceruvidai viiLtal	..	..	..
5. tumpai	uvakai-kaluLcci	taaNai maTam	..	..
	erumai maTam	..	..	..

A. *PuTanaaNuuTu*, (Cont'd)

'tinhais'	A	B	C	D
	kalhiTTudanilai	..	..	..
	kudirai maTam	..	..	..
	taaNai nilai	..	..	..
	tokai nilai	..	..	..
	nuuLilaaddu	..	..	..
	paanh paaddu	..	..	..
6. vaakai	eerkkalha uruvakam	araca vaakai	..	..
	eeTaanh mullai	vallaanh mullai	..	..
	taapata vaakai	..	..	..
	paarppana vaakai	..	..	..
	maTakkalha vaLi	..	..	..
	maTakkalha veelhvi	..	..	..
	muutiN mullai	..	..	..
7. Kaanjci	kaadu vaaLttu	..	vanjcinak-kaanjci	..
	puukkoolh kaanjci	..	..	..
	perungkaanjci	..	..	..
	peeykhanjci	..	..	..
	makadpaaTkaanjci	..	..	..
	manaiyaTam/ tuTavaTam	..	..	..
8. paadaanh	vaalh mangkalam	The aaTTuppa-dais	udanilai	kudai mangkalam
		iyaNmoLi	..	puuvai nilai
		iyaNmoLi vaaLttu	..	vaaLttu
		kadai nilai	..	..
		kadai nilai vidai	..	..
		ceviyaTivuTuu	..	..
		paricil	..	..
		paricil kadaanilai	..	..
		paricil tuTai	..	..
		paricil vidai	..	..
		vaaLttiyal	..	..
9. kaikkil-hai	paLiccutal	..	..	..

A. *PuTanaaNuuTu* (Cont'd)

'tinhais'	A	B	C	D
10. peruntin-hai	kuTungkali (talaivi's name not mentioned)			kuTungkali (talaivaN's name is mentioned)
11. potuviyal	taapata nilai	aaNantappaiyulh	..	..
	mutupaalai	kaiyaTu nilai	..	
		porulhmoLik-kaanjci	..	
		mutumoLik-kaanjci	..	

B. PatiTTuppattu

'tuTais'

A	B	C	D
olhvaalh amalai	iyaNmoLi VaaLttu		uLinjai aravam
kalhavaLi	kaadci vaaLttu		kaaval mullai
kuravai nilai	centuTai-paadaanh-paaddu	– –	paanhaaTTup-padai vaakai vaakai
tumpai aravam			
naadu vaaLttu	paricittuTai--paadaanh-paaddu		
perunjcooTTu nilai	vanjoittuTai-paadaanh-paaddu		
mullai			
vaakaittuTai-paadaanh-paaddu	viTaliyaaTTuppadai		

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE ANCIENT TAMILS
(Upto 6th century A.D.)

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"It is through education that a race derives the benefit of its cultural heritage".[1] The Tamils are a race with a very ancient and great civilisation. Therefore they should have had with them an educational system which was instrumental in the preservation of this great culture over the ages. So far the world has not come to a full knowledge of the educational system of the Tamils. In fact the view is prevalent among historians that the entire history of the Tamils has not been investigated in its totality. This fact is exemplified by a statement of Winston Smith who says: "All our attention has been focussed, for a long time, on North Indian thought and literature. In future at least, we should give due regard to non-aryan civilisation".[2]

Historians mainly used literary works as the source material for their studies of ancient Indian literature. As a result, when they thus drew their historical conclusions using the Vedas and the Puranas as the source material, they did not take into consideration South India which was the seat of Tamil civilisation. They have come to the wrong conclusion that the Vedas and the Puranas, which were of North Indian origin, embodied in them the history of the entire Indian nation. As a result, it is obvious that their historical classification of the phases of development of Indian educational thought does not take into account the educational system of Tamil Nadu. Their classification is as follows :

1. Prehistoric time to 1000 B.C. (Vedic Period)
2. 1000 B.C. to 200 B.C. (Upanishads, Epic-period—Nanda-Maurya Period)
3. 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. (Dharmasastra period—Gupta Vakadaka Period)
4. 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. (Puranic Period—Harsha, Bhoja Period).[3]

The above classification does not take into any account whatsoever the political, literary, cultural or historical trends of Tamil Nadu. Literature is the basis of this classification ; and all the literature employed is Sanskrit literature of the North Indian Aryans.

The Tamils who lived in Tamil Nadu had a distinctive Dravidian civilisation of their own which was different from Aryan civilisation. At this juncture we should take note of an accusation levelled by a historian: those who employ the Puranas—

and myths as the basis of history do not employ as source material for history the Sangham literature of Tamil which is full of historical events.[4]

The source material that is available to us for the study of the educational system of the Tamils is the Sangam literature. All Tamil literature that preceded this period was engulfed by the sea.

When we consider the characteristic quality of the available literary works we find that they point to a quality of life, thought and culture which could have been possible only as the result of a system of education which had developd over a long period of time.

Maritime trade relations had been existing between Tamil Nadu and Greece from as far back as 2500 B.C. The historian Pliny states with regret that annually 500 million sesters of Roman wealth was spent on the import of luxury goods from South India. Historians have proved that the Tamils had engaged in active maritime trade with numerous countries at a time when the North Indians had not learnt even the rudiments of the art and science of navigation. Sanskrit and Pali texts state that it was during the 7th century B.C. that the Aryans came to know of Tamil Nadu and started settling down there.[5] Thus even at a time when there was no contact between North and South, Tamil Nadu was prospering materially and culturally as a result of the wealth earned through its commerce with other nations. Therefore we can infer that the Tamils who had such a high standard of civilisation, must also have had a splendid system of education which would have served as the basis on which such a civilisation was built up and maintained.

The Social Order and Education

There is no evidence to indicate the prevalence of the varnashrama system in ancient Tamil Nadu. There were five types of settlements corresponding to five different types of geographical climes and each of these five types of societies had its own characteristic life style and norms of conduct. But later, some of the later Tamil poets, attracted by the Aryan system of the four varnas, began to ascribe a quadruple nature to the Tamil social order too.

The educational system that prevailed in North India was based on the Varnashrama system. Education was the exclusive privilege of the Brahmins and the Kshatryas. It was completely denied to the Sudras. But "Universal education" had been accepted as a principle by the Tamil society. We find individuals belonging to diverse vocations among the bards of the Sangham Period. This indicates a state wherein educational opportunities were not denied to anybody.

But men of learning and knowledge were given honour and priority in society. They were considered the greatest in ancient Tamil society. They enjoyed a position of

honour even superior to that of the king. Even for a person to become a king learning was considered one of the requisite qualifications. Though there was no stratification in society on the basis of caste, differences were recognised on the basis of educational attainments. Knowledge was considered as the yardstick of one's greatness. The learned were considered as the high and the uneducated as the low in society. Wealth and effort were aiso considered to confer greatness on an individual[6] but poverty never deprived a man of learning his due honour and regard. Ancient Tamil society upheld education as the sole criterion of greatness and honour.

The Educational system

We do not have any definite evidential material to quote regarding the educational system of Tamil Nadu during its very ancient times. The literature that is available to us today(such as Ettuthohai, Pattupattu etc.)contains evidences pertaining to the educational system that prevailed during the period after the 2nd century B.C. Again, we do not have sufficient material to work out fully the history of the Tamils during the Kalabhra period from the 3rd century A.D. to the 6th century. Yet we can make inferences regarding the educational system of that period on the basis of the ethical works of this period.

When we consider the great poetic genius of the bards of the Sangham period and the references to astronomy that occur in the works of the poets we come to the conclusion that education of a very high order mut have been imparted at that time. In Tamil Nadu there were men so learned as to be able to compute daily the pathway traversed by the sun, the movements of the sun, the direction of the movements of the winds and various dimensions of space and the heavens as if they themselves had been to the very limits of the universe ; they could also state what the length or duration of each day would be. The fact that the poets of the Sangham period, besides belonging to various vocations, hailed from various regions of Tamil Nadu shows that education was widespread throughout the country.

The view that the learned are always teachers too is emphasised in Tamil literature. A verse in *Purananooru* states that it is the duty of the State to provide education to the citizens (312). The saying "A village without a teacher is no village"[7] shows what a high place was given to education. When that learned bard Pisiranthaiyar was asked as to how it was that his hair had not turned grey despite his very advanced age he attributed the cause to the fact that his land was full of men of learning (*Puram* 191).

Though the social institutions like Manru, Avai and Ambalam which existed in the Tamil society served a number of functions, their primary service was in the field of education. After the coming of the Jains and the Buddhists to Tamil Nadu there were established throughout the country a large number of monasteries which served as centres of charity and also as centres of education. The Jains and the

Buddhists arrived in Tamil Nadu around the 1st century B.C. The Jains emphasised the need for house-holders to offer the four-fold gifts of food, medicine, shelter and education as charity. As a result there was increased educational activity in the country.

The Nature of the educational system

The ancient Tamils led an essentially secular life. Their main concern was to serve the people and to safeguard the welfare of society. Love and eithical conduct were the values that reigned in society to the exclusion of religious values. As a result religion did not hold an important place in society. Religion in India is not something that binds or fetters a man. It merely helps a man to adapt his norms of conduct to suit the diverse circumstances of life and his various stages of spiritual development. It is only in this sense that the Tamils can be said to have been religious. The education imparted in a society should correspond to the life-style of the people of that society. In keeping with this requirement education in Tamil Nadu was free of all religious bias. The Sangham literature is by no means religious. It merely mirrors the life of the people of that period. Thus religion, which did not have a place of importance in the way of life of the people, did not have any place in the educational system either.

In the development of formal education we find that it is in its initial stages of development that education has a religious character. The fact that the early educational system in North India was Vedic in nature lends support to this view. We have no knowledge of the education that prevailed in Tamil Nadu during very ancient times but it is clear that the education that prevailed dring the Sangham period was secular and therefore denotes a highly evolved stage of development in education. We have to reach this conclusion because the religious element in education is seen at its fullest in the intial stages of evolution and, as evolution progresses it gradually diminishes and finally disappears altogether.

But it is a matter of surprise that the Buddhists and the Jains, who had taken charge of education in Tamil Nadu around the 3rd century A.D., continued to maintain the same secular spirit in education. We should consider this surprising because the spreading of their religion was the chief concern of the Buddhists and Jains. However they probably realised the secular spirit and nature of the Tamil society and realised that an attempt to spread religion and overtly or directly in such a society would be futile. So they employed indirect methods to propagate their religion and laid emphasis on ethics since ethical principles were the basis of their religion. Thus their movement has been called a crypto-religious one which stressed the importance of knowledge and ethical conduct. So their educational system too was free of all religious learnings and continued to maintain that same secular spirit which had prevailed in Tamil Nadu before their arrival which was characteristic of that land.

The chaotic situation that developed in the political sphere in Tamil Nadu disorganised the social order of the land. They vehemently opposed the vedic system of education and the concept of Varnashrama which was basic to this sytem of education. It was heartening for them to note that Tamil Nadu had a social order of a different kind free of these aspects of social organisation. The educational system was secular in nature and offered equal opportunity for all.

It is noteworthy that the educational system of present day India too is secular. The Christian missionaries too who had come to propagate their religion in the east claimed that they were imparting an education that was secular. At this juncture it would be useful to take note of a view expressed in the report of the University Commission of India which states : To be secular cannot be taken to mean a state of complete ignorance of the field of religion. It implies a deep commitment to spiritual life and values but not an attitude of religious bigotry.

According to the ethical works of Tamil Nadu two types of education were to be found in Tamil Nadu namely "Kalvi" and "Kelvi". Kalvi referred to formal education wherein knowledge was acquired through books and schools ; in this method communication of knowledge was through the written medium. "Kelvi" refers to education acquired through informal means. The very fact that there were two such types of education recognised shows that a written mode of communication and education existed in ancient Tamil Nadu.

Books speak of two types of education in Tamil Nadu namely "En" (Number) and "Eluthu" (Writing). *Elati* refers to the general broad field of knowledge as *Eluthu*. These show that writing is the basis of education. The book and the writing stick are mentioned among the things that have to be gifted to a pupil. (Elati 63). The Jains considered the production and distribution of copies of books to be a religious duty. The more affluent members of the society gave away books as charity during wedding festivals and as part of funeral rites. Even today these practices are to be found among the Tamils. All these definitely point to a high level of education.

The resolve to wipe out illiteracy was deeply rooted in Tamil society. The saying "A villge without a teacher is no village" is illustrative of the degree of importance that was attached to education in Tamil society. The word 'teacher' in this saying refers to the teachers of the elementary or primary school. This shows that there were a very large number of elementary schools scattered all over the country.

Education was imparted in two states, namely, Primary education and Higher education. There was also Advanced education. Tolkappiyam states definitely that a student had to take leave of his beloved and be away for a period of not more than three years to gain this Higher education. This is in contrast to the Vedic system of education where after "Upanayana" the student has to remain parted from his

marital partner and observe bramacharya for a period of twelve years and be a disciple under a guru in *gurukula* during this period to acquire his education. There were no such gurukulas in Tamil Nadu. In the story of Siruthondar, he is said to have gone to a school to bring back his son to receive a guest at home. So it appears the practice in Tamil Nadu was for students to attened schools to get their education. Tirikadukam says that if a student finds that a school does not correspond to his taste, interest and inclinations he should change his school. (46).

The gurukula system was the live-wire of the Vedic system of education. Such gurukulas did not exist in Tamil Nadu. Nor did the Buddhists and the Jains welcome the spread of these gurukulas to Tamil Nadu ; in fact they totally opposed the gurukula system. As a result the student preserved his freedom and independence in the Tamil system of education unlike in the North Indian Vedic system of education where the gurukula took away this independence from the student. So we can say that the Tamil system of education enabled a student to preserve and develop his individuality.

"Education for all" and "Free Education" were the accepted principles in the educational system of Tamil Nadu. Yet, it was realised that in actual practice, on account of economic disparities among individuals, educational opportunities were not available for some. To enable such individuals to have "continuing education" throughout their life, *Kelvi* or "informal education" was advocated and its value and necessity in society was well emphasised. The festivities, debating forums, speeches, programmes of dances, drama and songs which were often held in various parts of the country were all media through which this informal education was imparted.

Compulsory Free education

It was considered the duty of the learned to impart education to others. Copper plate inscriptions state that the author of "Pattinapalai" was awarded sixteen lakhs of gold coins. There are evidences to show that this author taught the Tamil language to an Aryan king called Bragathan. Through such awards, which were given often and in considerable amounts, a form of free education prevailed in Tamil Nadu. Three villages had been donated to support and maintain the Bahoor school at Puducheri.[29] The Jains and the Buddhists offered education in addition to food as charity. *Elathi* says that those who help to impart education free to others shall acquire honour and lead a prosperous life (63). Thus the state and society adopted all possible ways to impart free education to people.

It was realised that social evils could be eradicated only through education. Therefore, in the interests of social welfare, it was generally held that education should be compulsory for all. *Purananooru* says: "It is the duty of the father to make his son a noble character. It is the duty of the State to offer education to people" (312).

During the period of the Kalabhar,Buddhist and Jain institutions had taken responsibility for education. By making education compulsory for all they attempted to enhance the importance and influence of their monasteries and charitable institutions. As a result, educational opportunities were enhanced.

Vocational education

There were various types of vocations prevalent in Tamil Nadu. Everybody received his vocational training at his own home by working with his elders ; or he would go to some kinsman of his and undergo training in his family vocation. While receiving training thus the pupil would be treated like a son by the kinsman and all the finer aspects of the vocation would be taught to the student. Each vocational group had its own body of knowledge embodying all the intricacies and subtleties of the trade. The student learns the trade under the guidance of his elders until he himself becomes fully proficient in it. During this period of training and apprenticeship whatever the student produces through his labour belongs to the teacher.

Agriculture was the vocation that was held in the highest esteem in society. Besides agriculture there were numerous vocations in society like fishing, carpentry, metal work, leather work, jewellery, spinning, weaving, pottery, painting, dyeing, shipping and architecture. There was no discrimination of high or low among these trades, all being given equal prestige. The special priority given to agriculture was merely on account of its social utility and its vital importance in the maintenance of society. It was considered necessary for an individual to acquire, in addition to a general education, knowledge and skill in some particular vocation so that social life could be maintained. Since the vocational skill was really a family skill it was said to come naturally and easily to an individual.

Martial education

"Learning was also said to include in it the art of using weapons". The ancient Tamils considered martial education to be a part of education. Military education did not consist of learning to use the weapons alone. The formation of military columns, the construction of fortresses, spying, assessing the strength and might of the enemy were all part of military education. But this skill was not the monopoly of any particular group of people. This is in contrast to the situation in North India where the right to fight and wage war was the exclusive privilege of the Kshatriya caste. The Tamils held that the entire people of the land should possess military skill and knowledge. We may note that in Sparta too a similar view was held; in fact the Spartans held military education to be the sole content of all education but the Tamils imparted military education in addition to a general education.

The cultivation of a fearless spirit and an inner strength were the first steps in martial training. The centres for such training were situated in the out skrits of a

village and they imparted training in such martial arts as fencing, wrestling, horse-riding, elephant-riding, chariot-riding and arrow-shooting.

Women's education

Women enjoyed equal privileges and were held in equal regard and honour with men in ancient Tamil society. Dravidian culture held womankind in high regard and esteem. Women were given equal educational opportunites. Of the 449 bards of the Sangham period more than 30 were women many of whom possessed youth and beauty showing that women possessed a high degree of learning even at a young age. All women had equal educational opportunities in society as shown by the fact that some of the poetesses of the Sangham period had the name *Kura makalir*, a term which referred to the women of gypsy tribes.

Tradition that Kakkaipadini, a woman. was the disciple of Agasthiyar and a fellow student of Tholkappiyam shows that there was co-education in the period.

Pattinapalai mentions that it was the practice during the Sangham period in Tamil Nadu for educated minstrel women called "Padini" to go about in groups from place to place and call on kings who patronised them and rewarded them with gifts. This shows that educated women were to be found in large numbers in Tamil Nadu and that they were very much in need of material support and patronage for their existence.

From *Manimekalai* we can infer that in addition to a general education, women were given a specialised education which taught them the arts of pleasing men. Books state that a family woman should have knowledge too in addition to beauty. She should have a good figure and knowledge combined together. In this special education women were taught various arts like dancing, singing, walking gracefully, playing various types of musical instruments like the "Yaal", the flute and drum, cooking, sporting in water, painting, decorating oneself by painting the body and the eyelashes, making garlands, bed-room decoration, acting with due regard to time and circumstances, judging the time and the seasons, gauging the thoughts and intentions of others, posing and solving riddles and playing the ball. While this training was given as a necessary part of education to all women, in course of time, due to the unworthy behaviour of some of those who were skilled in these arts, this special knowledge came to be associated with a particular class of women.

The content of education

"Arithmetic and language ("En " and "Eluthu") are to be valued as dearly as one's own eyes" and "despise not Number and Language" are sayings of the ancient Tamils. Thiruvalluvar too emphasises the vital importance of these two which,

according to him, are to be valued as dearly as one's own eyes. All these sayings indicate that education was broadly categorised into these two fields of Number and Language.

The Tamil word for Number is "En" which can be taken to mean thinking and in this sense "En" can be said to refer to knowledge and logic. Parimelalakar gives the meaning of "En" as Number, The commentator Kalingar defines "En" as the ability to discriminate between the pleasures of this worldly life and the happiness in the life after death. Taking all these views together we can conclude that the term "En" referred to that natural knowledge of things which sprang from the power of one's thinking and can therefore be considered to be synonymous with "natural science".

The substance of the subject "En" was comparable in its effect and value to the benefit that one derives from the company of the great. Through company with the great one gains in knowledge, skill and character and is inspired to lead a life of righteousness. The subject "En" was said to confer similar benefit on an individual. The saying "Arithmetic is to be valued as dearly as one's own eyes" shows the high place that was given to arithmetic in ancient Tamil society and is comparable to Plato's maxim "He who does not know geometry, let him not enter this place". We might say "En" refers to all those subjects which are based on calculations such as mathematics, logic, science and astrology.

Subjects such as language, philosophy, logic, religion, music, sculpture, medicine and mathematics are found mentioned specifically and individually in the work "Sirupanchamulam" clearly confirming that these subjects formed part of the educational curricula of the period.

The term "Eluthu" which might be equated with the English words "Writing" and "Language" referred to that aspect of knowledge which we refer to as the "Humanities". In this field, literature, which has language as its basis, plays an important role. The word "arts" would be even more appropriate than the word "literature", since the former has a wider scope in meaning and application and was considered to be synonymous with "education" by the ancient Tamils. Grammar, Literature and the various arts subjects together constituted the content of that field of education which was categorised as "Eluthu". It was this subject which was also called "grammar". Swami Vipulananda says "what has been compiled into works of grammar by our forefathers has been elaborated in great detail by the savants of other languages". As an illustration of this he mentions Tolkappiyam which includes in its contents such diverse fields as phonetics, philology, grammar, rhetoric, prosody, military science, ethics, physical science, zoology, botany, aesthetics, sociology, politics, civics, music and dramatugy.

Educational Institutions

Manru, Palli, Avai, and Sangam were the terms by which the educational institutions of the ancient Tamils were described. Of these, Manru and Palli are institutes corresponding to elementary education. Avai and Sangam were higher educational institutions.

The educational system of the Tamils could be divided into two stages - elementary education and advanced education. Yet another basis of division is mentioned in the work *Sirupanchamulam* which speaks of secondary education which imparts worldly knowledge and advanced education which enable a person to realise the Truth and gain enlightenment (91, 92).

In ancient Tamil Nadu, elementary education was imparted at the home of the teacher itself. The class-room was situated in the court-yard in front of the house, under a tree, on a platform built of bricks and encircling the tree (Kuruntokai 33).

In each village there was a *manram* where young students gathered to acquire education. Nilakanta Sastri says that these *manrams* also served as a meeting place for the members of the village and as the centre of political administration of the village. It would appear that the teachers who taught at these centres also engaged themselves in public activities by virtue of their learning and knowledge.

Palli meant a temple and the King's palace. The use of the term *Palli* to refer to educational institutions dates from the time of the Jains. Originally the term was applied to the resting place of the Jains but the Jains also made active use of their monasteries to impart education which was of a high quality. As a result, the term "Palli" has come to refer in course of time to centres of learning.

The term *avai* too refers to centres of education. We find this term being used in *Tirukkural* in the Chapters *avai arithal* and *avai anchamai* to denote centres higher education.

Another seat of learning and education was the "Selunkalainiyamam". The qualities attributed to this centre make it the equivalent of the University of modern times. Men of great wisdom and knowledge got together at these institutes and engaged in scholarly study of the Tamil Language, according to Pattinapaalai. The centre referred to in this work was situated at Madurai. Manimekalai too makes reference to the Selunkalainiyamam as a hallowed seat of learning and knowledge, as the very temple of the Goddess of Knowledge. These institutes were centres of research which stimulated thought and brought out the inner genius of individuals. Such centres of higher learning existed in Madurai and Kanchi. Each of these centres had a common hall where people met and gathered. It was this "Selunkalainiyamam" which at later times was called the "Sangam". The poet "Kamban"

of the Chola period refers to the seat of higher education by the name "Therikalaimanram".

The "Selunkalainiyamam" of such high repute subsequently fell prey to the vandalism of the Kalabrar, invaders who came from outside. The establishment by Vajranandi at a later date of the Diravida Sangham can be considered in reality to be an effort to restore the "Selunkalainiyamams" in Tamil Nadu. The Jain work "Digambara Dharsanam" states that Vajranandi established a Diravida Sangham in A.D. 470. Many ethical works were introduced to the public through this Diravida Sangham in the same way as the ancient works of Tamil literature had their origin in the "Selunkalainiyamam" of Madurai. By giving rise to creative works in literature, by encouraging and offering inducements and rewards to men of learning and by acting as a common meeting place where scholars could get together and further the cause of knowledge, we might say that the "Selunkalainiyamams" of ancient Tamil Nadu played a role in society comparable to that of the Universities of our times.

The educational system of the Tamils, which thus had its own characteristic qualities, lost its uniqueness due to the impact of the Saiva, Vaishnava movement which started wielding its influence in Tamil Nadu around the 6th century A.D. and ultimately gathered sufficient momentum to make a deep impact on the educational system of the Tamils. As a result of this influence the secular thinking of the Tamils gradually gave way to a religious thinking. Religion began to hold their interest and pervade their thought and life to an increasing degree and the Tamils thus developed a religious outlook on life. The religious practices of the Tamils and that of the Aryans merged to give rise to a common religious culture. It was in this manner that Hinduism evolved and developed by the union of the religious thinking of the Aryans and that of the Tamils and this resultant Hindu culture came to be the common culture of the people of India. Corresponding to this common Hindu culture there also arose a new system of education which could be called the Hindu system of education. Thus, due to the influence of the Vedic educational system, the Tamil educational system lost its individuality and gave way to a Hindu educational system. The Jains and the Buddhists, who had preserved the uniqueness of the traditional Tamil educational system for a period of nearly three centuries, could not continue to do so in the face of the onslaught of the Saiva Viashnava movement.

FOOTNOTES

1. M. A. Balathathcubtha, "Education in ancient and Medieval India" - Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta Vol. XVIII No. 8 August, 1967: pp. 250-256.

2. X. S. Thaninayagam, "Tamil Culture and Civilisation", Bombay, Asia Publishing House: 1970. pp. 1-4.

3. D. S. Altekar, "Education in Ancient India", Varanasi, Nandha Khisor Brothers: 1951: p. 234.

4. K. D. Thirunavukkarasu, "Tamilar Nagarika Varalaru", (Tamil) Madras. Tolkappiyar Noolakam, Vidivelli, 1962 pp. 12-15.

5. R. K. Mukerji, "Fundamental Unity of India", p. 77 as quoted by K. D. Thirunavukkarasu Ibid. p. 28.

6. Naladiyar (Tamil) Verse 195

7. Thirukkural (Tamil) Verse 10

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